MODERN WORLD

BETTEN AND KAUFMANN

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THE MODERN WORLD

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ANCIENT TIMES

BY

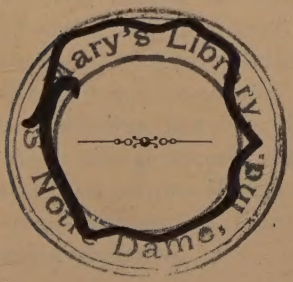
REV. FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

AND

REV. ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

. . . ars historica quae tantum habet nobilitatis.

. . . historical science endowed with so eminent a degree of nobility. — LEO XIII.



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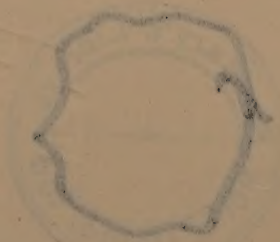

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PREFACE

In his letter on Historical Studies Pope Leo XIII says among other things: *Est autem in usum scholarum confectio commentariorum necessaria, qui salva veritate et nullo adolescentium periculo ipsam artem historicam illustrare et augere queant.* "It is necessary that for the use of the schools textbooks be composed which are calculated, with due regard for truth and without exposing the young students to any pitfalls, to expound and propagate the science of history." Encouraged by these words the authors have undertaken to issue the present work.

The book, like F. Betten's *Ancient World*, aims to furnish an abundance of material much of which is not found in other books accessible to students. From this teachers will make their own selection. Several sections, Chapter VII for instance, are readily recognized as reference matter. These sections may be omitted whenever a shorter course is desired.

The authors have freely utilized the information contained in a great variety of works, large and small, and they wish to express their indebtedness to these. Thanks are due also to other scholars from whom it was the authors' privilege to receive aid and advice. In particular, however, they wish to thank Mr. Willis Mason West, who generously consented that entire passages be taken over from his own *Modern World*.

May this work, too, contribute its share towards the promotion of true Christian education.

The Authors.

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JUN 28 '88

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

DIVISION OF HISTORY 1
THE SOURCES OF HISTORY 2

SUMMARY OF ANCIENT TIMES

CHAPTER

I. BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRIST
A. From the Creation to the Dispersion of Nations . 3
B. The Oldest Nations after the Flood . . . 6
C. The Greeks 11
D. The Roman Republic 16

II. JESUS CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY 19

III. THE ROMAN EMPIRE
A. The Story of the Emperors 22
B. Topical Survey. (1) Two Centuries of Prosperity . 24
C. Topical Survey. (2) Two Centuries of Decline . 30

IV. RISE AND VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY 34

V. DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE 43

VI. THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST
A. The Peoples — Old and New 44
B. The Wandering of the Nations 48
C. Civilization and Christianity 51
D. Monasticism 55

VII. FUSION OF TEUTON AND ROMAN 61

VIII. RISE OF THE FRANKS 68

IX. MOHAMMEDANISM 71

X. THE ALLIANCE OF THE PAPACY AND THE FRANKS
A. The New Frankish Dynasty 77
B. Foundation of the Papal States 79

XI. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE
A. Charlemagne and His Wars 84
B. The Revival of the Roman Empire in the West . 87
C Life in Charlemagne's Empire 89

BOOK I. THE ERA OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

PART I. FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

Section I. Origin of the European States

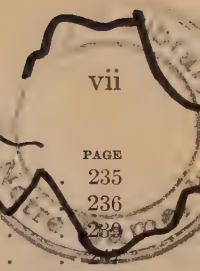
CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE WORLD ABOUT A.D. 800	97
II.	DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE	102
III.	THE NATIONS OF THE NORTH AND THE EAST	
	A. The Northmen	107
	B. The Slavs	111
	C. The Hungarians	115
IV.	BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND	
	A. Britain and Its First Invaders	117
	B. The Danish Invasion — Alfred the Great	121

Section II. The Political System (Feudalism) — The Church

V.	FEUDALISM	
	A. The System Explained	126
	B. Military Features of Feudalism	138
VI.	LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE	
	A. The Manor and Its Population	143
	B. Life of the Nobility	147
VII.	THE CHURCH	157

Section III. Political Development of Europe to the End of the Crusades

VIII.	ENGLAND TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES	
	A. The Last Saxon Kings	171
	B. Norman Influence	176
	C. The Four Norman Kings	181
	D. The Plantagenet Kings	184
IX.	FRANCE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES	205
X.	GERMANY AND ITALY TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES	
	A. The First Rulers after the Carolingians	213
	B. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation	217
	C. The Hohenstaufen Emperors	224



Section IV. The Period of the Crusades

CHAPTER | PAGE

XI. Reformatory Movements in the Church . . . 235
A. The Evils in the Church 236
B. Reform Popes and Their Struggles . . . 239
C. The Mendicant Orders 244

XII. The Age of Crusades
A. The Christian and the Mohammedan Orient . . 250
B. The Crusades 253
C. The Results of the Crusades 269

XIII. Medieval Cities
A. Character 274
B. The Gilds 277
C. The Cities as States 281

XIV. Learning and Arts
A. Literature 286
B. Schools and Universities 288
C. Doctrines and Teachers in the Universities . . 291
D. Architecture 298

PART II. FROM THE END OF THE CRUSADES TO THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

XV. England and France
A. First Two Periods of the Hundred Years' War . 303
B. English Development during the War . . . 308
C. France: Close of the Hundred Years' War . . 316
D. England and the Wars of the Roses . . . 320
E. Ireland 324

XVI. Germany and Her Dependencies 327

XVII. Other Nations
A. The Struggle against Mohammedanism . . . 336
B. The Countries of the Northeast and North . . 340

XVIII. Church and Papacy in the Latter Part of the Middle Ages
A. The Inquisition 343
B. The Period of Avignon and the Western Schism . 347

XIX. The Period of the Renaissance
A. The Renaissance Proper: the Revival of Classic Literature 357
B. Inventions, Discoveries, Arts 362

BOOK II. FROM THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY TO OUR OWN TIMES

PART I. THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER		PAGE
XX.	Need and Possibility of True Reform	369
XXI.	The Reformation Period on the Continent	
	A. The Protestant Reformation in Germany	375
	B. Emperor Charles V.	384
	C. Further Extension of Protestantism	387
XXII.	The British Isles during the Reformation Period	
	A. England: (1) Henry VIII and Edward VI	391
	England: (2) Mary the Catholic	398
	England: (3) Elizabeth	402
	B. Ireland	406
	C. Scotland	408
XXIII.	False and True Reform	412
XXIV.	Religious Wars	
	A. The Revolution of the Netherlands against Spain	415
	B. Other Spanish Affairs	420
	C. Religious Wars in France	423
	D. The Thirty Years' War	426

PART II. ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

XXV.	Review of the Changes between 1450 and 1600	431
XXVI.	England under the First Two Stuarts	
	A. James I	439
	B. Charles I	442
XXVII.	The Great Rebellion and the Commonwealth	
	A. The Civil War	451
	B. England under Cromwell	454
XXVIII.	The Restoration and the Revolution	
	A. England under the Last Two Stuarts	460
	B. The Revolution of 1688	464
XXIX.	The Expansion of Europe	
	A. Beginnings: Spain and Portugal	473
	B. France in America	474
	C. England in America	476

PART III. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXX.	FRENCH LEADERSHIP	
	A. Character of the Period	480
	B. Wars of Louis XIV	481
	C. Conditions in France under Louis XIV	486
XXXI.	THE RISE OF RUSSIA	489
XXXII.	PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS	
	A. Prussia before Frederick the Great	493
	B. Frederick the Great	494
	C. The Seven Years' War	496
XXXIII.	AUSTRIA AND THE EAST	
	A. Austria and the Southeast	501
	B. The Partitions of Poland	505

PART IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

XXXIV.	ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	
	A. The French People	509
	B. Government and Taxation	514
	C. The Spirit of the Revolution	519
	D. Attempts at Reform	524
XXXV.	THE REVOLUTION IN TIME OF PEACE	
	A. May to August, 1789: The Assembly at Versailles	528
	B. August, 1789, to September, 1791: The Assembly in Paris	536
	C. The Constitution of 1791	540
	D. The Legislative Assembly to the War	544
XXXVI.	THE REVOLUTION AT WAR	
	A. The War to the Fall of the Monarchy	550
	B. The Fall of the Monarchy; the Girondists	554
	C. The Reign of Terror	558
XXXVII.	THE DIRECTORY	
	A. Ascendancy of the Middle Class	565
	B. The Rise of Napoleon	566
XXXVIII.	THE CONSULATE	572

CHAPTER PAGE

XXXIX. The French Empire
A. The Government of Napoleon 577
B. The Wars of Napoleon 579
C. The Fall of Napoleon 590

PART V. THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

XL. The Congress of Vienna: Rearrangement . 594
XLI. Central Europe to 1830 601
XLII. The South of Europe — Revolutions of 1820 608
XLIII. France, 1815–1830
A. The Monarchy under the Bourbons . . 615
B. The Revolution of 1830 617
C. The Revolution of 1830 over Europe . . 619

PART VI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

XLIV. The Revolutions in Methods of Work . . 621
XLV. The Revolution in the Workers' Lives . . 630
XLVI. The Revolution in Ideas about Government . 636

PART VII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848–1871

XLVII. The Revolution of 1848 in France . . . 643
XLVIII. The Second French Empire, 1852-1870 . . 651
XLIX. Central Europe in 1848 657
A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire . 658
B. The Revolution in Germany 661
C. The Revolution in Italy 664
L. The Making of Italy 671
LI. The Making of Germany
A. The Expulsion of Austria from the Confederation 679
B. The Founding of the German Empire . . 686

PART VIII. GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1815

LII. Political Reform in England
A. The First Reform Bill 692
B. Reforms in the Victorian Age 697
C. The British Constitution 702

CHAPTER PAGE

LIII. Social Reform in England 707

LIV. England and the Irish Question . . . 714

LV. English Colonies and Dependencies . . . 724

PART IX. WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

LVI. France: The Third Republic

A. The Paris Commune 731

B. The Definite Establishment of the Republic . 734

C. France To-day 739

LVII. Germany after 1871

A. The Government 747

B. Recent Movements 753

C. Trade and Colonies 760

LVIII. Italy since 1870 763

LIX. Austria-Hungary 768

LX. The Smaller States of Western Europe

A. Spain 773

B. Portugal 780

C. Belgium 782

D. Holland 785

E. The Swiss Republic 786

F. Denmark 792

G. Norway 794

H. Sweden 797

PART X. SLAV EUROPE

LXI. Russia

A. Growth and Population 799

B. Economic and Social Movements . . . 804

C. Government and Politics 807

LXII. The Balkan States 819

PART XI. THE NEW AGE

LXIII. The Expansion of Europe into Africa and Asia

A. World Commerce 827

B. Partition of Africa 834

C. European Expansion in Asia 836

CHAPTER PAGE

LXIV. International Relations since 1871
A. Alliances 842
B. Other Movements 848

LXV. The Great War
A. Outbreak of the Great War 853
B. The Course of the War 858

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Reims Cathedral	*Frontispiece*
The Word *Nabuchodonosor* in Cuneiform Script	7
Hieroglyphic Script	8
Sphinx and Pyramids in Egypt	9
Temple of Jerusalem. — A "Restoration"	10
Cooking Utensils Found at Cnossus in Crete	11
Acropolis at Athens. — A "Restoration"	14
Greek Soldier	15
The Claudian Aqueduct	17
Ancient Monograms of Christ	19
Inner View of St. Paul's Gate, Rome	26
Roman Chariot Race. — A modern imaginative painting	29
Crypt of St. Cecilia in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus	36
Church of "St. John-in-the-Lateran," Rome	38
The "Monogram Page" of the Book of Kells	40
Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell	41
Abbey of Citeaux	58
The Tara Brooch	59
Church of St. Sophia, Constantinople	62
Judicial Combat. — Religious preparations	64
Judicial Combat. — Companion piece to the foregoing	65
Seventh Century Villa	66
Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Noble	68
A Frankish Warrior	69
Mosque of Omar	75
Seal of Charlemagne	84
Walls of Constantinople To-day	98
Cathedral of Aachen	103
Remains of a Viking Ship	107
St. Martin's Church Near Canterbury	120
Carnarvon Castle, Wales	127
A Baron's Court	130

PAGE

An Act of Homage 133
A German Knight of the Twelfth Century 136
Knight in Plate Armor, visor up 136
Drawbridge and Portcullis 138
Medieval Castle of the Larger Sort, with Moat and Drawbridge . 139
The Castle of Pierrefonds in the Fourteenth Century 140
Villeins Receiving Directions for Work 141
Jugglers 143
Ancient Manor House, Melichope, England 144
Hall of Stoke Castle 144
A Reaper's Cart Going Uphill 145
Peasants' May Dance 147
A Victor in a Tournament 148
A Court Fool 151
The Exercise of the Quintain 152
Durham Cathedral. — Norman Style 160
Speyer Cathedral. — Romanesque Style 164
York Cathedral. — Gothic Style 167
Anglo-Saxon Plowing 171
A Norman Ship. — From the Bayeux Tapestry 174
Battle of Hastings. — From the Bayeux Tapestry 175
Statue of William the Conqueror at Falaise 177
Opening Lines of Magna Carta. — Reduced facsimile . . . 193
Sections 39 and 40 of Magna Carta 194
A Gold Florin of St. Louis IX 210
The Temporal and the Spiritual Power 217
Castle of Barbarossa on the Rhine 224
Moorish Vase 253
Court of Lions, Alhambra 254
A Crusader. — From a thirteenth century manuscript . . . 258
Crusaders on the March. — Old representation 262
Church of the Holy Sepulcher 265
Effigies of Knights Templar 268
Siege of a Medieval Town. — The summons to surrender . . . 274
Medieval Town Hall, Oudenarde, Belgium 275
City Gate at Aigues Mortes. — A town in Southern France . . 276

PAGE

The "Ducal Palace," Venice. — Residence of the "Doge" . . . 282
St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice 283
Friar Teaching the Globe. — From a thirteenth century manuscript . 294
Amiens Cathedral. — Gothic Style 299
Flying Buttresses. — From Norwich Cathedral 301
Dress of French Ladies, Fourteenth Century 304
English Lady on Horseback, Fourteenth Century 304
A "Bombard." — From a sixteenth century German woodcut . . 307
A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby . . 309
English Carriage, Fourteenth Century 310
Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince 313
Joan of Arc at Orleans. — From a modern picture in the Pantheon at Paris 318
Warwick Castle 321
Illustration from a Fifteenth Century Manuscript, showing Maximilian of Austria, his queen, Mary of Burgundy, and their Son Philip 331
Petrarch 358
St. Peter's Church, Rome 364
Sir Thomas More. — After a portrait painted by Holbein . . . 394
Henry IV Confiding the Government to the Queen. — From a painting by Rubens in the Louvre 425
Charles I 442
Cromwell 455
Louis XIV 486
Church of St. Basil, Moscow 489
Peter the Great 491
Château of Chenonceaux 511
Voltaire 521
Marie Antoinette 524
Fall of the Bastille 533
Lafayette 539
Robespierre 548
Napoleon at Arcola 566
Arch of Triumph, Paris 575
The Vendôme Column 580
Napoleon toward the Close of His Rule 583

PAGE
Napoleon Leaving Moscow 591
The Duke of Wellington 597
Metternich 602
The Wartburg Castle 606
A Complete Assortment of Farm Tools in 1800 622
Whitney's Cotton Gin 624
Fulton's *Clermont* 627
First Steam Passenger Train in America 628
Karl Marx 637
Leo XIII 640
Napoleon III 649
St. Paul's Church at Frankfort 662
Mazzini 666
Pius IX 668
Cavour 671
Victor Emmanuel I 677
Bismarck 681
Proclamation of the German Empire 690
Queen Victoria 697
Disraeli 698
Cardinal Newman 709
Gladstone 712
Daniel O'Connell 718
Lloyd George 722
Gibraltar 725
The Parliament Building in Ottawa 729
Thiers 735
Chamber of Deputies, Paris 738
A Typical Alpine Town 787
A Fjord in Norway 794
The Church of the Archangel, Moscow 799
The Congress of Berlin 819
Constantinople 825
The Hague Peace Palace 849
General Pershing 863

MAPS

PAGE

Field of Ancient History 5
First Homes of Civilization; Colored . . . . . *after* 8
Persian Empire; Colored . . . . . *after* 10
Greece 13
Roman Empire; Colored . . . . . *after* 16
Germanic Kingdoms on Roman Soil; Colored . . . . *after* 48
Some of the Most Influential Medieval Monasteries 57
Europe at the End of Seventh Century; Colored . . . . *after* 74
The Four Great Powers at the Time of Charlemagne; Colored . *after* 98
Realms of the Carolingian Kings after the Division of Verdun; Colored . . . . . *after* 102
Norse Settlements 108
Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms about 802 118
England and the Danelagh about 900 123
Empire of Knut the Great 172
Europe about 1000; Colored . . . . . *after* 206
England and France; Colored . . . . . *after* 208
German Dukedoms about 900 214
German Colonization on the East; Colored . . . . . *after* 216
Eastern Empire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries 251
The World during the Crusades; Colored . . . . . *after* 256
Crusading States during the Twelfth Century 259
The Latin Empire at Constantinople 266
Dominions of the Hansa and of the Teutonic Order; Colored . *after* 284
Localities of the Hundred Years' War 305
Germany during the Interregnum; Colored . . . . . *after* 328
The Swiss Confederation 1291–1500 333
Spanish Kingdoms in the Middle Ages; Colored . . . . *after* 336
Southeastern Europe at the Entrance of the Turk; Colored . *after* 338
Ottoman Dominions at the Time of Their Greatest Extent . . 339
Germany about 1550; Colored . . . . . *after* 372
Europe under Charles V; Colored . . . . . *after* 386
Ireland; Colored . . . . . *after* 406
The Netherlands 416
The Territorial Changes Effected by the Thirty Years' War; Colored . . . . . *after* 428

		PAGE
Europe, 1740–1789; Colored	*facing*	493
Prussia at the Death of Frederick the Great		499
The Partitions of Poland		505
Europe in 1802; Colored	*after*	572
Europe in 1810; Colored	*after*	586
Europe in 1815; Colored	*after*	594
The Germanic Confederation; Colored	*after*	602
Growth of Italian Unity		673
Prussia, 1815–1867		684
The German Empire of 1871; Colored	*after*	748
Austria-Hungary: Race Distribution; Colored	*facing*	769
The Balkan States, 1878–1881; Colored	*after*	820
The Balkan States, 1912–1913		824
Africa in 1914; Colored	*facing*	835
The World Powers; Colored	*after*	840
Europe in 1914; Colored	*after*	854

SUMMARY
OF
ANCIENT TIMES

DIVISION OF HISTORY

ANCIENT HISTORY extends from the Creation of Man to the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, about A.D. 800.

The last part of Ancient History, from about A.D. 400 to 800, was a period of transition. A new religion, Christianity, which had been previously persecuted, now spread freely over all Europe. The great Roman Empire disappeared. New nations with new languages and customs, founded new states. Whatever good these nations brought with them gradually blended with the inheritance of older times, and Christianity became the sole religion of all Europe. By A.D. 800 this transformation of Europe was complete.

MODERN HISTORY extends from Charlemagne, about A.D. 800, to our own time. This Modern History is the subject of the present book.

For seven hundred years after Charlemagne all Europe was of one religion, the peoples and their rulers being Catholic. All recognized the Catholic Church with the Pope at the head as their guide in all matters, private and international, in which questions of Faith and Morals were concerned. This was the *Era of Christian Unity,* or *Early Modern History.*

In the sixteenth century many nations fell away from the Church. Even those rulers who remained Catholic became less submissive to Catholic principles in the conduct of their public affairs. Various other causes helped to bring about a change in the views of men, in the relation of rulers to their subjects, and of states to one another. Thus began *Later Modern History.*

Historical writers frequently employ the term **Middle Ages, or Medieval Times.** It denotes a period which covers about eleven hundred years; namely, from A.D. 400 to 1500. During this period Catholic Christianity became and remained dominant. The term is, however, more commonly applied to the seven centuries after Charlemagne than to the four preceding him.

Agreeably to a wish expressed by many teachers, a "Summary of Ancient Times" has been prefixed to the present volume. It affords a welcome opportunity to represent Jesus Christ as the real center of all human history.

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY

1. The student learns of the many events and facts which make up the history of mankind from the historical books written and published in our own days. But how do the authors of these books know what happened centuries ago? They consult what we call *the sources of history*. These are of three kinds:

(1) **Oral traditions.** The stories of happenings of the past, if handed down and propagated by word of mouth only, are called oral traditions. Though such stories very frequently have undergone changes in the course of time and have become more or less fabulous, yet historians are often able to discover in them a certain amount of truth.

(2) **Relics.** By relics we understand the weapons, tools, household goods, and many other articles of ornament or utility, which were used by men of former ages; also their works of art, the ruins of their buildings, the very remains of their dead, buried in simple graves or elaborate mausoleums; finally pictorial representations and sculpture.

(3) **Written Records.** Such records as inscriptions and especially manuscript or printed books constitute the most important historical source,[1] coming from persons who are both able and willing to tell the truth.

The noblest of all written records is the *Bible*. Its real author is God Himself, since He "inspired" those who wrote it in His name. Its various parts, called "books," date from about 1500 B.C. to 100 A.D. Its historical information is practically confined to the Hebrews, the chosen people of God. But incidentally it gives precious references and hints concerning the most ancient nations of the world.

[1] Written records are lacking for the history of some nations or for certain periods of their earliest existence. Such nations or periods we call *prehistoric*. This term is, however, by no means synonymous with savage. Relics may show a high degree of civilization in a prehistoric people.

A SUMMARY OF ANCIENT TIMES

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE COMING OF JESUS CHRIST

A. From the Creation to the Dispersion of Nations

2. Before the Deluge. — "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." In six periods of uncertain duration, which Holy Writ calls "days," He further prepared the dwelling place of man. Finally He "formed man of the slime of the earth and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Man thus came directly from the hands of his Creator, endowed with perfect faculties of body and soul, and with a wonderful knowledge of the natural things which surrounded him. To make Adam the true fountainhead of mankind, Eve, the first woman, was created from his body. She was to be his "helpmate" in the occupations of his earthly existence, but his perfect equal in the vocation to eternal life. This is the origin of matrimony.

In the very act of creation God had raised man to an essentially higher level by endowing him with Sanctifying Grace, which elevated him to the supernatural order. Unfortunately Adam failed to stand the test of fidelity and lost Sanctifying Grace for himself and all his posterity.

But in His mercy *God promised a Redeemer*, who was to atone for the offenses against His Divine Majesty and regain for mankind the possibility of entering the supernatural bliss for which the human race was created.

3. The Deluge. — Adam's descendants multiplied rapidly. But wickedness also increased among them, so much so that God resolved to destroy all men by a terrible inundation which we call *the Deluge*. Only Noah with his wife, his three sons and their wives, were to be saved in the Ark, a huge ship built by Noah at the command of God. All other persons perished in that appalling catastrophe.

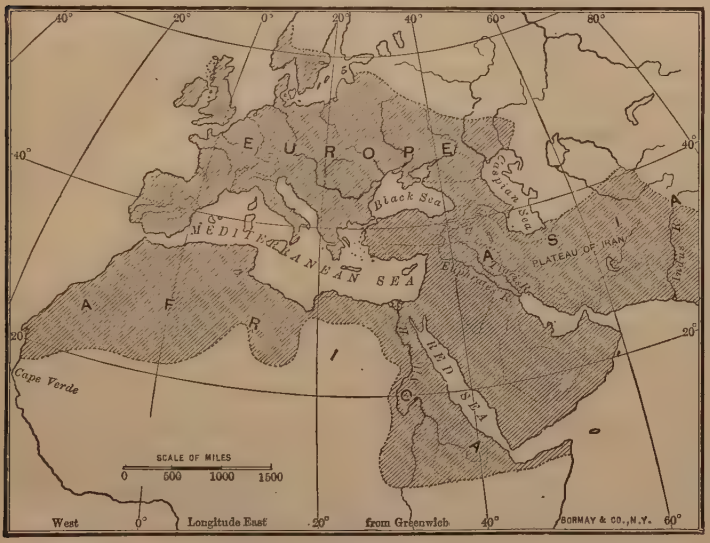
We do not know how many centuries before Christ Adam was created, nor at what exact date the Deluge took place. The Church does not condemn those who think mankind existed much longer than the traditional four thousand years before the birth of the Savior. But conscientious scientists assure us that there is no reason to go beyond eight or ten thousand years before Christ for the creation of man. The Deluge extended at least far enough over the earth to destroy all men save those in the Ark. All men now living are descendants of Noah.

4. Spread of the Human Race. — The three sons of Noah became the ancestors of three families of nations. The descendants of Sem (Shem) are called the *Semites;* to them belong the Assyrians, Arabs, Jews. Cham (Ham) was the father of the *Hamites*, among whom are the Chanaanites (the first inhabitants of Palestine), the Babylonians, Egyptians, and the Negroes of Africa. The *Aryans* or *Indo-Europeans* were the offspring of Japhet. They comprise the Hindoos of India, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks, Italians, Celts, Germans, and Slavs.

But mixture of races and the influence of climate and country produced a vastly greater variety of nationalities. There is in fact scarcely any people which represents unmixed stock. Hence it is that we can hardly trace the origin of such nations as the Chinese and Japanese. But racial diversities among the inhabitants of the globe, however pronounced, furnish no solid reason for doubting the unity of the human race.

5. Civilization after the Flood. — At the time of the Deluge mankind had reached a high degree of civilization. Men were

acquainted with various arts and even skilled as metal workers. Nor was this precious heirloom suddenly lost. The various tribes took it along to their new domiciles. But those that settled in less favorable regions and lost connection with the stream of original civilization might forget or fail to practice much of what they or their fathers had seen in their ancient



FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

homes. Their civilization thus gradually sank to a lower level and was likely to sink still more with every new generation. The natural sources of history disclose the fact that nations living at the same time but in different countries show a remarkable difference in civilization. Some, rendered helpless by isolation or the poverty of their soil, resorted to hunting and fishing for their livelihood, and to wood or bone or stone for their implements. Intellectual civilization also, that is the taste for arts of all kinds, could by degrees be wholly or partially lost.

But some nations always kept the torch of material and intellectual culture burning and in their turn spread its light abroad. They even added to it, each nation according to its own character, by devising better methods of government for cities and empires, and by building up systems of every kind of science. By vigorous contact with them other races could be reclaimed from barbarism. Thus Divine Providence watched over the greatest natural possession of mankind. God did more for its religious interests.

6. Religion after the Flood. — Again men fell from the purity of religion which they had inherited from their ancestors. They began to adore false gods, thereby violating one of their gravest obligations, namely, to give supreme worship to the true God alone, "Who made heaven and earth." The other duties also, which are known to every man by the natural light of reason, came to be widely disregarded.

But the Almighty forgot not the promise He had given to Adam and Eve. While the world was sinking deeper and deeper into idolatry and wickedness, He took care that at least one nation remained faithful, and persevered in waiting for the appearance of "the light for the revelation of the Gentiles." This nation, the Hebrews or Jews, is not by any means the oldest nation. Abraham, their ancestor, lived about the year 2000 B.C. But over no other people did God exercise such a wonderful protection.

The importance of the Hebrews for the religious and moral culture of the world is paramount. Through them a small place was preserved in the wide world, where never ceased the worship of the true God, and where the Redeemer was to find a starting point for his life work.

B. The Oldest Nations after the Flood

It is impossible for us to treat of all the nations which arose soon after the Deluge or at later times. A complete universal history would include the Chinese and the many other peoples of the Far East of Asia. In this book we confine ourselves to those nations from which many of the elements of our present-day civilization have been drawn.

7. The Babylonian Nations and the Egyptians we must consider first. The history of both goes back to about 5000 years before Christ.

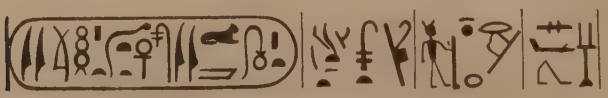
In the Valley of the Euphrates and Tigris lived the *Chaldeans, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians*, all of whom are frequently mentioned in the Bible. For the greater part of their existence they formed but one kingdom. Their kings ruled with absolute power; that is, the people had no part in the government. But many of those monarchs governed well. King Hammurabi is famous for the excellent laws he gave to the country, which in many ways have not been surpassed by the most modern legislators.

The people used a kind of writing which is called "cuneiform," wedge-shaped, because its characters are made up of strokes which resemble wedges. They wrote on bricks when the clay was soft and baked them afterwards. Many of their writings have been preserved and are now found by thousands in the ruins of their buildings. They had books on agriculture, mathematics, and astronomy — all on brick tablets. The Babylonians knew the week of seven days with one "day of rest for the soul," which was afterwards made a strict duty for the Jews by the third commandment of the Decalog. They invented our sun-dial and water clock, and devised an excellent system of weights and measures based on the length of the hand and foot. The face of our watches to-day, with its divisions by twelve and by sixties, recalls their work, as also do the curious figures on our star maps; the signs of the zodiac in our almanacs; the symbols of our Apothecaries' table, still used by our physicians; many of our carpenters' tools and much of our common kitchen ware — even some of our fairy stories, like that of Cinderella.

THE WORD NABUCHODONOSOR IN CUNEIFORM SCRIPT.

They erected splendid buildings, chiefly of sun-dried bricks, produced beautiful and majestic statues, and left many inscriptions in stone and on rocks.

8. The Egyptians, on the banks of the Nile, were, like the Babylonians, ruled by despotic kings. The characters used in their writings are called "hieroglyphs," sacred letters. The immense number of their literary works, ranging from novels to scientific treatises of all branches, were written on a



Hieroglyphic Script.

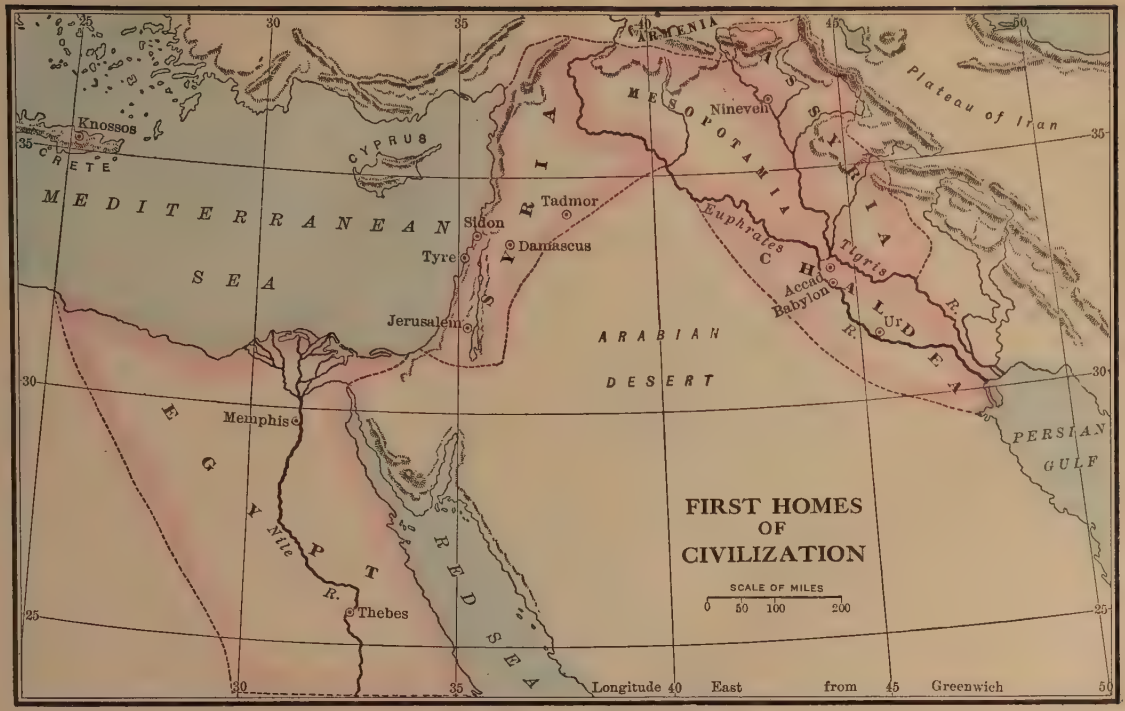
The name of King Ptolemy is distinguished by a line drawn around it.

material called papyrus.[1] From them we have the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. They, too, erected large and magnificent buildings, but of massive stone, and placed statues, often of gigantic size, in the public places and along streets and avenues. The walls of their temples and palaces resemble libraries in stone on account of the numerous and extensive inscriptions engraved on them.

In both countries the overflow of the rivers was used to fertilize the fields, and for this purpose miles of canals and dikes and gigantic reservoirs were constructed.

9. Civilization. — Both countries possessed a high degree of material and intellectual civilization, but it soon became rigid and unfit for any further development. The religious decay, spoken of in § 6, had set in. False gods were worshiped, the natural law inscribed in every man's heart was flagrantly and publicly violated. Yet the people were not entirely bad. Some persons practiced kindness towards their neighbor, and

[1] It was prepared from the stem of a reed called by this name. From it our word "paper" is derived.


ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
Nineveh
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Knossos
CRETE
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
SYRIA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
CHALDEA
Accad
Babylon
LURDEA
Jerusalem
ARABIAN DESERT
PERSIAN GULF
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
FIRST HOMES OF CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude 40 East from 45 Greenwich
25
30
35
40
45
50

the civil authority on the whole succeeded in upholding law and order and protecting the essential rights of individuals, for instance, the right of property.

10. The Hebrews. — Between Babylonia and Egypt lay Palestine, the land of the Chosen People of God. For many

SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS IN EGYPT.

Now about five thousand years old. The sphinxes were figures having a lion's body and a human head to express both strength and wisdom. The pyramids, built of massive stones, were tombs of kings. Some are nearly five hundred feet high.

centuries this small nation was not disturbed by its mighty neighbors. Under the great kings, David and Solomon (about 1000 B.C.), it even extended its rule over other tribes and kingdoms. But after it had fallen into idolatry, God allowed the people to be carried into captivity to Babylonia, and the capital, Jerusalem, to be destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, King of the Babylonians. Later on, however, Cyrus the Great, King

of Persia, permitted them to return (§ 11). They rebuilt Jerusalem and the temple, and ever after remained faithful to the God of their Fathers, the God "Who made heaven and earth."

11. The Persians. — In the middle of the sixth century before Christ another power arose in Asia, the Persians. Their king,

TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. — A "Restoration."

Cyrus the Great, took possession of Babylonia and many other countries. His successors conquered Egypt and soon became masters of all the lands from the river Indus in the East to the Ægean Sea in the West. In the West they met with the Greeks, who lived on both sides of the Ægean Sea. Those on the Asiatic side were overpowered, but those in Greece proper repelled the armies of Darius and Xerxes, then the kings of Persia, and retained their liberty (§ 16).

Among the Persians, religion had not sunk so low as with the Babylonians and Egyptians, though it had lost much of its

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
Oxus R.
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
BACTRIANS
Bactra
PARTHIA
GREECE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sardis
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
PARIA
Halys R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
MEDIA
Ecbatana
ASSYRIA
SYRIA
Damascus
Babylon
Susa
SAGARTIA
GANDARIA
(AFGHANISTAN)
INDIA
Indus R.
Perseopolis
PERSIS
PARICANIA
PERSIAN GULF
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
Karnak
RED SEA
ARABIA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE
490 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road

them to have been a highly cultured people. The center of their civilization was the island of Crete.

After 1500 B.C., other races immigrated into these countries. At first they stood on a lower level. But possessing the same mental agility, resourcefulness, and originality, they worked out a civilization entirely their own. They finally grew into one nation which is known in history as *the Greeks*. *The Greeks are rightly called the teachers of mankind in things natural.* They lived not only in the country still called Greece, but also on all the islands and coasts of the Aegean Sea, including the coast of Asia Minor. Within the next several hundred years they established countless settlements along the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

13. Geography had much to do with the character of their institutions. — They did not dwell in vast plains nor in the long-stretched valleys of mighty rivers. Their several settlements had no great common material interests to guard, nor miles of dikes to construct and to maintain. They inhabited numerous small islands, and their towns on the continent were separated from one another by mountain ridges, which though not precluding all intercourse threw every settlement more or less upon its own resources. The soil, on the whole, less fertile than in the great Oriental realms, required more labor to wrest from it the means of a livelihood. There was in consequence a stronger feeling of equality among these many cities. Individual men, too, felt more the equals of their neighbors. Greece is the home of democracy. Not even the Greek kings of the early times claimed the despotic powers enjoyed by Oriental rulers. *Greece never was one large common political unit.* This is the cause of its final downfall, but it is also one of the causes of Greek originality and versatility of thought. In the times of Grecian greatness every city was a little republic, but none ruled itself in exactly the same manner as its neighbor. *Oriental uniformity had given way to European diversity.*

No doubt the variety and wondrous beauty of the country, or rather countries, the intermingling of land and water, of hill and dale and sun-lit ocean, had contributed much to give the Greeks their many-sided genius and their lively but well-controlled imagination. Among all peoples before and after, none developed a greater love of harmony and proportion.

GREECE ABOUT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WAR.

14. Greek arts and literature reached a very high degree of perfection. Their buildings, chiefly temples, were less massive and colossal than those of the Orientals but the more graceful and attractive. The Greeks, or *Hellenes*, as they called themselves, knew how to make excellent statues and other works of the sculptural art of marble as well as metal. But more important is their *literature*. Their alphabet came originally from

the East, but they adapted it, like everything else, to the peculiar character of their language. Their oldest works, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, composed, it is said, by a blind poet, Homer, remain unsurpassed as models of epic poetry. Their dramas are essentially of the same kind as our modern plays. Historians still learn from the Greek masters Thucydides and Herodotus ("the father of history"). Their greatest philoso-

Acropolis at Athens. — A "Restoration."

phers are Socrates, who had an uncommonly clear conception of the immortality of the soul; and Aristotle, the most prominent of all non-Christian masters (§ 271).

In the *natural sciences* the Greeks made much less progress than we might be led to expect. They did not employ systematic experiments for the purpose of discovering the secrets of nature.

15. Limitations of Greek Civilization. — The brilliant Greek civilization was not without very serious drawbacks. (1) It rested essentially on slavery — less extensive indeed than that of the Oriental world, but involving nevertheless large numbers

of people. (2) Men alone partook of its benefits. Women received no education to speak of, and the wife, at best, was only a higher domestic servant. (3) Worse still, *the moral side of Greek life fell far below the intellectual.* The Greeks adored a great variety of gods and goddesses, subject to human frailties and low passions. Religion had no influence upon the moral conduct of man. Philosophers taught a lofty morality, and a few nobler characters practiced a certain degree of natural virtue. But the bulk of the people were given to an almost inconceivable immorality. The chief motive for right conduct, as far as it went, was a certain admiration, based on natural grounds, for moderation and temperance.

16. Story of the Greeks. — There was much bravery and patriotism in Greece. By the ever glorious battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis they drove back, in the beginning of the fourth century, the huge armies of the mighty Persians (§ 11). They thus saved European civilization from being crushed by the Asiatics. A hundred and fifty years later, under the leadership of Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, they even conquered the entire Persian Empire as far as the Indus River. Though after Alexander's death his new empire broke up into several kingdoms, Greek culture and language spread over a great part of Asia and formed a common bond of union between these lands. Another hundred and fifty years later, the Greeks had to submit to the victorious arms of the all-conquering Romans. But the brilliant city of *Athens* remained for a long time the most honored seat of intellectual civilization in the Roman Empire.

Greek Soldier.

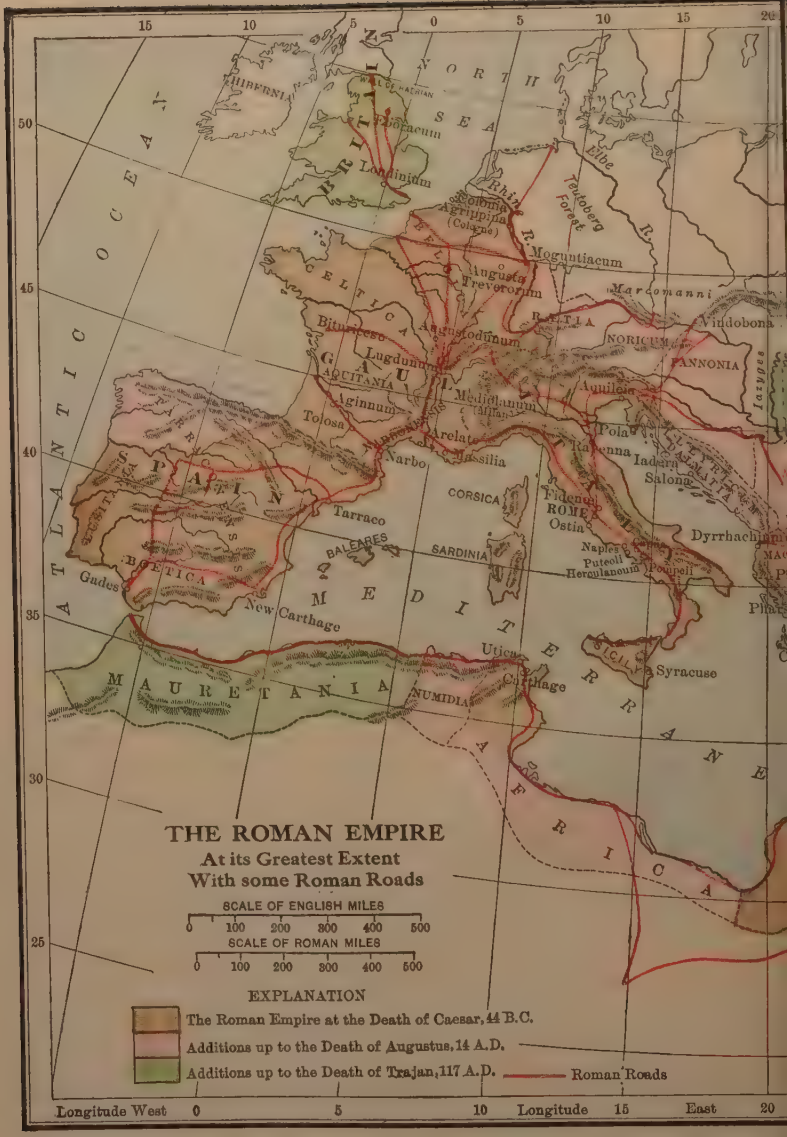
D. The Roman Republic

17. The Romans. — While Greece was rising to the height of her civilization there grew in Italy, the peninsula west of her, another power which was destined to rule the world. This was Rome. The city, said to have been founded in 753 B.C., was in the beginning an insignificant town situated upon seven elevations, called hills, and in the valleys between them. The people spoke Latin, the language of that particular part of Italy in which the city lay. Rome enjoyed certain geographical advantages. Her citizens, moreover, were the greatest warriors the world had ever seen, and still more remarkable were they for a rare genius of organization. Soon she was the head of an alliance of some thirty Latin towns.

At this time Rome was a republic under two presidents called consuls. But there arose a fierce struggle between the lower classes of the citizens, or Plebeians, and the nobility, or Patricians, which resulted in a full equalization of the two orders. Now began a long period of conquest. Having made herself the mistress of all Italy, Rome reduced to subjection a number of countries on the western and eastern part of the Mediterranean. Her fiercest antagonist was Carthage, the next mightiest state in the West.

Greece was among the Eastern conquests. But the Romans were honest enough to recognize Grecian superiority in art, literature, and intellectual life in general. The conquerors became the disciples of the conquered. Thus Greek civilization with all the elements received from the Eastern nations acquired a new opportunity to diffuse itself far and wide within the borders of the vast Roman dominions.

18. Shortcomings of Republican Rome. — Not all the inhabitants of the vast empire were Roman citizens. And of those who were, few had the opportunity to vote. *There was no representative government.* If a citizen wished to make use


THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East 20
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
HIBERNIA
BRITAIN
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eboracum
Londinium
Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)
Rhine R.
Teutoberg Forest
Elbe R.
Moguntiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Marcomanni
Vindobona
RATIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Iazyges
CELTICA
Bituriceso
Augustodunum
Lugdunum
GAUL
AQUITANIA
Aginnum
Tolosa
Mediolanum (Milan)
Aquileia
Pola
Ravenna
Iadera
Salona
Arelate
Massilia
Narbo
SPAIN
LUSITANIA
TARRACONENSIS
Tarraco
CORSICA
Fidenae
ROME
Ostia
Dyrrhachium
BALEARES
SARDINIA
Naples
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Pompeii
BOETICA
Gades
New Carthage
Utica
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
AFRICA

Volga
R.
Sarmatians
CASPIAN SEA
ALBANIA
COLCHIS
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Philippi
Thessalonica
Nicaea
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Halys
GALATIA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
Pergamos
Athens
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
CILICIA
Edessa
Issus
Antiochia
Euphrates
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris
ASSYRIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Xanthus
LYCIA
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Emesa
SYRIA
Palmyra
Seleucia
Ktesiphon
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Caesarea
JUDÆA
PALESTINA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile
RED SEA
Mecca
Greenwich

of his franchise, he had to be in Rome to cast his ballot. Hence the franchise became the privilege of those who lived in or near Rome and of the few who could afford to travel to the capital. Moreover, a considerable number of the voters in Rome formed a mob of unruly idlers and loafers.

As long as Rome was a little city republic, and even while her sway was limited to Italy, the government was good. But when

THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT.

The arches supported the channel in which the water was carried — often from distances of twenty or more miles. Remnants of such structures are found in many parts of the former Roman Empire.

the wide Mediterranean world lay at her feet, she lost her bearing for a time. For about a century the large dominions were ill governed. The moneyed men knew how to control the voting bodies so as to keep the public offices in the hands of a privileged few. They had themselves appointed governors of the provinces, and considered the wealth of these districts lawful plunder.

19. The Roman Emperors. — Then came *Julius Caesar.* After a long struggle with other ambitious but less capable men he contrived to have all the greatest offices of the republic conferred on himself alone. He was a king in reality, though he retained the titles of the republican functionaries. Thus he swept away the outgrown republic and established what is known as the "imperial government." From this time on there was but one ruler in Rome, called the "Emperor," in whose hands was all the real power. *From a republic Rome had become a monarchy.* The Roman Empire, thus constituted, was, as far as we know, *the best governed large state the world had ever seen.*

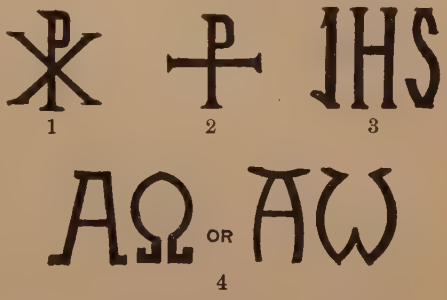
The Romans originally were not remarkable for learning, nor did they in their earlier days excel in arts and literature, in philosophy and science. But they learned so much from the Greeks (§ 17) that the writings of *Latin authors* form a most valuable contribution to the world's literature. Their direct influence upon the molding of literary art is by far greater than that of famous Hellas. In *architecture*, too, they received very much from their Grecian models. Those structures which may be said to be completely Roman were nearly all of a practical nature, for instance, their gigantic aqueducts. Peculiar to them is the employment of the vault, a contrivance of which the Greeks were ignorant. In road building the Romans surpassed all the older nations, the Persians included. But what has made the Roman Empire the basis of the modern world is the political and administrative features of its organization.

Caesar was assassinated in the year 44 B.C. But at once another Caesar arose in the person of his grand-nephew, Octavianus *Augustus.* During the long and peaceful reign of this able ruler was born Jesus Christ, the promised Redeemer of mankind.

CHAPTER II

JESUS CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

20. The Coming of Jesus Christ. — Religion and morality had sunk very low in the whole world. The highest religious duty of adoring the one true God "Who made heaven and earth" was grossly violated by universal idolatry. The right of the weaker members of the race, the child, the slave, the woman, were trampled under foot. One small nation alone (§ 10) remained faithful to the true God and observed the Ten Commandments; and it continued to expect the Savior of the World, Who had been promised to mankind in paradise.



ANCIENT MONOGRAMS OF CHRIST.

Figure 1 consists of the two first Greek letters of the name of Christ. X in Greek is our CH, and P is a Greek R. Constantine placed this symbol upon the Labarum, the standard of his army. In Figure 2 the lines of the X have been turned so as to form a cross, and one of them becomes identical with the vertical stroke of the P. The center letter of Figure 3 is a Greek E, so that there are here the three first letters of the name of Jesus. In later centuries the devotion of the several Christian nations has put its own interpretation upon these three letters. Figure 4 shows the first and the last letter of the Greek alphabet, "Alpha" and "Omega." It was suggested by the text, "I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." Apoc. I, 8.

"In the forty-second year of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, when the whole world was at peace, JESUS CHRIST, eternal God and Son of the eternal Father, desirous to sanc-

tify the world by His most merciful coming, was born in Bethlehem of Juda, having become man, of the Virgin Mary."

The world at large took no notice of this most memorable event. Even the nation of the Jews, whose whole existence had no other purpose but to prepare for His coming, acted as if He were of no concern to them and their national life. Later, during His public teaching He proved Himself by words and miracles to be indeed the Son of God, the Messiah, foretold by the Prophets. But the leading factions among the Jews combined against Him and delivered Him up to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, to be crucified. After His death and resurrection, His religion began to spread over the whole world.

21. Christianity restored the worship of the true God and again made the Natural Law, as expressed in the Ten Commandments, the moral code of human conduct. The crowning point of Christianity, however, is charity, "the bond of perfection," which sees in every man a brother redeemed by the blood of Christ, and makes the practice of brotherly love a duty and even the characteristic mark of the new religion. (See *Ancient World*, §§ 572, 573.)

Those, however, who wish to receive the benefits of Christ's religion *must belong to a visible society* in which there is a well-defined difference between the governing and the governed. This society the Redeemer called His Church. He commissioned His Apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations, baptize them and teach them to observe all things He had commanded them (Matth. xxviii. 18–20). Paramount was the position of St. Peter, on whom all the strength and stability of the Church was to rest, as an edifice rests upon its foundation. The Apostles were succeeded by bishops. There was in every larger community one bishop with full jurisdiction, but assisted by priests and deacons, and sometimes by other bishops. St. Peter's prerogative passed to his successor in the See of Rome. All these offices must exist as long as there are men to be saved

by the doctrine and merits of Christ. Hence the Savior promised the Church His divine assistance until the consummation of the world, so that the gates of hell will never prevail against her.

We shall see how Christianity, protected by Divine Providence, spread in the Roman Empire and beyond its borders.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

A. The Story of the Emperors

22. Boundaries of the Empire. — A glance at the map will show the Roman Empire extending, at this time, around the whole Mediterranean Sea. Ocean waves and sandy deserts were its defense on the South and West. The Rhine and Danube rivers practically formed its northern boundary, though Britain, the present England, was the northernmost province. The Euphrates is commonly spoken of as the eastern boundary, but this river was not a frontier like the Rhine and Danube.

North and east of the latter rivers lived the Germans or Teutons, who made constant attempts to break into the Roman dominions. East of the Euphrates were the aggressive Parthians, succeeded, later on, by a no less warlike kingdom of the Persians. Thus one of the chief tasks of the rulers of the empire was the defense of the northern and eastern frontiers.

23. The Emperors. — The first six emperors, beginning with Caesar, are called the *Julian Emperors*, because of their relationship with Julius Caesar. The second of them, the great **Augustus** (41 B.C. – 14 A.D.), subjected the governors of the provinces to strict supervision, and obliged them upon the expiration of their term of office to give an account of their administration. As a consequence they now actively sought to promote the welfare of the provincials instead of enriching themselves at their expense (§ 18). This is only one of the good points of the new system of government which slowly developed

under successive rulers. The last Julian emperor, the infamous Nero, inaugurated the first persecution of the Christians.

The two *Flavian Emperors,* Vespasian and Titus (69–96), were efficient rulers, though they, too, persecuted the Christians. At this time the Jews in Palestine revolted against the Romans, and, in punishment, Jerusalem, the Holy City, was besieged and destroyed by Titus A.D. 70. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Our Lord: "They shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone" (Luke xix. 44).

Next is the period of the *Five Good Emperors* (96–180), who greatly promoted the temporal welfare of all classes. Among them Trajan and Hadrian are the most famous. Persecutions of the Christians, however, occurred under these emperors also.

Then comes the century of the *Barrack Emperors* (180–285), so called because nearly all of them were raised to the throne by the soldiers. There were twenty-five during those hundred years, and at one time nineteen pretenders claimed the imperial dignity. On several occasions the throne was literally put up at auction by the Pretorians, the emperors' bodyguard. In a war with the Persians, who threatened to overrun all the Roman provinces in Asia, the emperor Valerian was taken prisoner and died in degrading captivity. He as well as his predecessor Decius had been fierce persecutors of the Christians. There were, however, even during the period of the Barrack Emperors several excellent rulers. Under Severus Alexander the empire enjoyed many years of internal peace, the system of the Roman laws was perfected, and the emperor gave his protection to the Christians.

24. Diocletian and Constantine the Great. — A new era was introduced by the accession of Diocletian (§ 32), the same who near the close of his twenty years' reign severely persecuted the Christians (§ 39). To secure a more efficient administration and defense, he divided the vast empire into four sections, to be ruled by himself with three associate emperors. Diocletian abolished nearly all reminiscences of the old republic (§ 19). In imitation of the Persian kings *he surrounded himself with royal splendor and an elaborate court ceremonial.* He considered it more conducive to efficient government that he should be monarch not only in reality, as were his predecessors, but in name and appearance as well.

Diocletian was eventually succeeded by *Constantine the Great*, who retained and further developed the new system. He was, however, the *first Roman emperor to give full recognition to Christianity, an event which is of the utmost importance in the history of the world.*

B. Topical Survey. (1) Two Centuries of Prosperity

25. Unity and Prosperity of the Empire. — Whatever elements of civilization the Oriental and the Western world had to offer ultimately found their way into the Roman Empire. Its territory embraced the West as well as the most important nations of the East, and with its vast central sea, the Mediterranean, it covered an area of about the same size as the United States. In these countries, then, there lived under Roman sway about seventy-five million people.

Practically all these lands had been annexed by wars flagrantly unjust, and had been for at least a century robbed and illtreated most shamefully (§§ 17, 18). The fact that they now belonged to a wider body politic, and were no longer obliged to defend themselves against foreign aggression, must have reconciled them somewhat to their fate. But a complete change set in with the introduction of the new imperial methods. There grew up a universal feeling of contentment, which resulted in a common and unbounded patriotism. In language and somewhat in culture the West remained Latin and the East principally Greek. Nor was the individuality of the many races effaced. But Spaniards and Egyptians, Greeks and Britons, Italians and Syrians, all came to look upon themselves as Romans. None of the many peoples that had been forced under the Roman yoke now desired to be released from its benevolent régime.

26. All these millions rested in the **good Roman peace** for more than two hundred years. There were few wars during this period. "And the distant clash of arms on the Rhine and

the Danube or Euphrates scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." Few troops were seen within the empire, while all its parts were developing more and more.

Northern Africa, now so sparsely inhabited, became, by irrigation, the garden of the world. Celtic Gaul (the present France) though only lately Romanized, had its flourishing cities, with baths, amphitheaters, aqueducts, and famous schools of rhetoric and eloquence.

The follies and vices of the wicked emperors — there were few bad rulers during *this* period — affected only the nobles of the capital city, while the well fixed course of the government went on undisturbed. To the people in the provinces the emperor was the symbol of peace and prosperity.

27. Cities. — Their number was myriad. Most of them counted less than 20,000 inhabitants. Alexandria as well as Antioch may have had half a million, and four or five other cities some 250,000 each. Rome probably counted two millions. The administration of such centers of population with their dangerous mobs was in the hands of imperial officials. But the smaller towns usually elected their own magistrates. The ideas of municipal government were thus perpetuated, to be taken up later on by the new nations.

Pompeii, which was buried beneath the lava at the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 80 A.D., was one of those smaller cities. When it was excavated in recent times, some 1500 political posters were found painted on the walls, which exhibit quite modern methods of electioneering. A baker is nominated for quaestor (treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread." Near by a leading aristocrat is supported as one of whom it is known that "he will guard the treasury." Trade unions make some of these nominations. One "wide-open" candidate for aedile (police commissioner) is attacked by a wag in several posters, one of which reads, "All the late-drinkers ask your support for Valia."

The ex-magistrates, in such towns, made up a "senate" which voted local taxes and looked after town matters in general. In some towns the ordinances, initiated by these

"senates," were submitted to an assembly of the citizens for ratification.

The town was the center of an *agricultural district*. Outside Italy the small farms had not yet been absorbed by latifundia (large estates). There was still a sturdy peasantry, each man

Inner View of St. Paul's Gate, Rome.

The gate itself is part of the fortifications erected in the third century under Emperor Aurelian, but received its present shape 200 years later. The pyramid, about 120 feet high, was built in B. C. 12 as the tomb of one Cajus Cestus. By this way St. Paul was led out to execution.

owning his own farm or holding as tenant a plot which his ancestors had worked under the same terms for generations. The larger cities, of course, were busy with *industry* and manufacture of all kinds. Each had its trades unions. The bakers' union of Rome listed more than 250 shops. The Emperor Hadrian, upon a visit to Alexandria in Egypt, wrote in a letter: "No one is idle here; some work glass; some make paper (from the

papyrus plant); some weave linen. Money is the only god." This was true of all the big emporiums of the empire.

28. Travel on sea and land was perfectly safe from end to end of the vast dominion. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman writer exclaims that there are as many men upon the waves as upon land. The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines from every frontier toward the heart of the empire, with a network of branches in every province. This made possible a rapid exchange of all products of industry. Jewelry made in Asia Minor was worn by women in the Swiss mountains; and Italian wines were quaffed in Britain and Cilicia.

There was also a vast *commerce with regions beyond the boundaries of the empire.* As English and French traders, three hundred years ago, journeyed far into the unexplored regions of America for bargains in furs, so the indomitable Roman trader pressed on into parts where Roman legions had never camped. They visited Ireland. From the Baltic shores they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to deck their heads. A Latin poet of the time speaks of the " many merchants " who amassed " immense riches " by daring voyages over the Indian Ocean to the mouth of the Ganges. *Men traveled for pleasure* as well as for business. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentlemen of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as it is for the modern American to spend a summer in Europe.

29. Literature and Learning (§ 19). — It is impossible here even to mention the great number of poets, historians, essayists, philosophers, and other writers, who have made these two hundred years illustrious. The most important of all literary productions, however, were the books of the New Testament, whose true author is God Himself (§ 1). They were finished before the year 100 A.D. The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities existed *universities,* as we would call them now, with numerous professorships and large libraries (of manuscripts). The professors

ranked as Roman nobles, with good salaries, and assured pensions after twenty years of service. Language, rhetoric, and philosophy made up a group of literary studies, called the *trivium*. The sciences, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy formed the *quadrivium*. Law was a specialty in Rome, medicine at Alexandria.

In all the large provincial towns there were *grammar schools*, likewise endowed by the emperors. Those of Spain and Celtic Gaul were especially famous, and in particular the schools at Marseilles, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The walls of the classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters enjoyed privileges similar to those of the professors in the imperial universities.

Many of the small towns possessed schools of a lower grade. But all this education was for the benefit of the upper and middle classes, and for the few bright boys of the lower ranks who were lucky enough to find a wealthy patron. *Little was done to dispel the ignorance of the masses.*

30. Morals. — The morals of the Roman Empire do not represent so bright an aspect. Through idolatry they had "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man." Therefore "God delivered them up to a reprobate sense," and they became "filled with iniquity, avarice, full of envy, deceit, malignity; haughty, proud, disobedient to parents, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy." This is the verdict of St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans (Chapter I).

Rome herself was indeed the very seat of iniquity. Not only the rabble but highly accomplished men, and women as well, enjoyed the bloody fights of the *gladiators* — men who, sometimes by the hundred, battled with one another in deadly combat. Similar atrocities were connected with the theatrical shows. *The fact that such cruelties were clamored for by the people as a right reveals an unspeakably low standard of public*

morals. Among the Romans the women had always held a more honorable position than among the Greeks. During the period we speak of they enjoyed still greater liberty. This served, unfortunately, to estrange them more and more from their natural love of the home where woman reigns as queen of the household. Divorces, always lawful in Rome, now became of dreadful frequency. Child murder, the destruction of the blossoming life, was very general. Roman civilization, like

Roman Chariot Race. — A modern imaginative painting.

that of Greece, was built upon slavery, but the horrors of Roman slavery were greater and its effects more disastrous. The armies of slaves kept by the wealthy Romans deprived the poorer classes of many of the opportunities for work, and thus helped to swell the crowds of idlers who lived at the expense of the state.

Where Rome led all must follow. There was no provincial town, however small, which did not cherish the ambition to become a miniature reproduction of the capital. Rome herself had received much of her corruption from the highly cultured eastern lands. She now passed it on, increased and intensified, to the western provinces, where it slowly but surely blighted the few primitive and natural virtues which had survived.

By way of contrast to the depravity that reigned in Roman society, instances of kindness and compassion, of true friendship and domestic happiness, are found recorded. At best, however, all this was too exceptional to modify the severe indictment pronounced by so competent a judge as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

C. Topical Survey. (2) Two Centuries of Decline

31. Lack of Men. — In ancient times Rome had possessed a considerable degree of sterling natural virtue, which secured the sanctity of matrimony and the respect for social relations and human life in general. The little that was left of this old morality at the time of Caesar was fast disappearing during the most glorious period of Rome's history. The brilliancy of her administration, however, prevented some of the evil effects from rising too boldly to the surface. **It was different after the advent of the "Barrack Emperors."** Bad rulers far outnumbered the good, and the machinery of the state began once more to weaken before the increasing attacks of immorality.

Slavery kept on grinding down free labor. The slaves themselves as a rule were not permitted to marry and the free people, rich and poor, did not care to have families and raise children. To this must be added the fearful ravages of *pestilence* which after the year 166 several times swept the empire from east to west. (See the effects of the Black Death on Europe (§ 286).) Under the good emperors the population had become stationary. Now, it was constantly on the decline. The only measure which retarded the diminution of the numbers that inhabited the once glorious cities and the fertile districts was the *introduction of barbarians from without.* As kidnaped slaves, as prisoners of war, as tribes admitted on friendly terms, as foreign-born soldiers discharged from service, they entered the empire in ever increasing numbers. Still they but partially filled up the gaps in the population.

Lack of men was the growing evil of the empire. More-

over, the old warlike spirit was no longer alive in the millions that remained. The armies consisted chiefly of foreigners, mostly Germans. The citizen armies were a thing of centuries long past.

32. The Accession of Diocletian (§ 24) wrought a change which gave the empire new strength for two hundred more years. The four great divisions, each under a separate ruler, were subdivided in various ways. There was now a series of officials in regular grades as in an army. Each official sifted all the business that came up to him from his subordinates and sent on to his superior the more important matters. This arrangement fixed responsibilities precisely and distributed duties in a workable way. It was kept up and developed under the next emperor, Constantine the Great, and his successors. It maintained order in the interior and made the boundaries secure against the attacks of barbarians. But it was not without *evil results*.

33. Taxes Became Crushing and Specie Became Scarce. — The swarms of new officials, each with a staff of assistants and a domestic court, must, perforce, be supported by taxation, while the reorganization of the army necessitated new and increasing expenses. The time came when the people dreaded the tax-collector more than the barbarians. There was, moreover, and had been for centuries, a constant drain of the precious metals to foreign countries (§ 28). Though the supply within the empire did not equal this loss, the rich continued to turn gold and silver into articles of ornament. Hence even the imperial officers were forced to take part of their salaries in kind — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to return to the primitive form of barter. (See *Ancient World*, § 19.)

34. The Classes of Society Were Becoming Fixed. — At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were peasantry and artisans, who produced food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility, and a local aristocracy of each city.

The Aristocracies. (1) *The imperial nobility* were great landed proprietors. They had many special privileges. Through their influence upon the government, they escaped most of the burdens of taxation — which they were better able to meet than any other class.

The homes of these nobles, and of the wealthy men of the middle class, were places of comfort and luxury. The rooms were usually built around one or more "courts" open to the sky. In its center, ornamental fountains played, surrounded by flowering shrubs, with marble statues gleaming through the foliage. Besides his town house, each wealthy citizen had one or more country houses, with extensive, parklike grounds containing fish-ponds, vineyards, and orchards. Such establishments, surrounded by large walls, were called *villas*. The troops of slaves that tilled the soil had their huts leaning against the wall of the villa grounds; and the more skilled artisans, — carpenters, smiths, bakers, — lived in somewhat better quarters. For most purposes a villa was self-sufficient. It raised its own food and prepared it for the table, and carried on most of the other industries necessary for the ordinary life of its inhabitants.

(2) *The local nobility* (*curials*) were the families of the senate class (§ 27) in their respective cities. They, too, had some special privileges. They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to bodily punishment. They were compelled, however, to undergo great expenses in connection with the offices they had to fill. And, in particular, they were made responsible, personally, for the collection of the imperial taxes in their districts.

Between these local nobles and the artisans there had been, in the day of the early empire, *a much larger middle class of landowners, merchants, bankers, and professional men.* **This class had now almost disappeared.** Some were compelled by law to take up the duties of the vanishing curials. More, in the financial ruin of the period, sank into the working class.

35. The Artisans had long been grouped in gilds (trades unions; see § 27). The gild regulated methods of work and had

great control over its members. *The artisans were now bound each to his gild as the curial was bound to his office.* Their condition had deteriorated very much. An edict of Diocletian regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one-tenth the wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one-third as much as now.

36. Serfdom. When the empire began, free small-farmers were growing fewer over much of the realm, while great estates (§ 27) were growing more numerous. Grain culture decreased, and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To remedy this state of affairs, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure *a hereditary class of farm laborers*, and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.*

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

The existence and growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. *That class, more and more, sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom*, until the great majority of laborers on the soil were of this order.

CHAPTER IV

RISE AND VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

37. First Propagation of Christianity. — Fifty days after the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, and St. Peter preached the first missionary sermon to a vast crowd of Jews. Three thousand souls entered the newborn Church that day. The Apostles at first confined their efforts to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, where numerous communities of fervent Christians soon grew up. But a persecution scattered the flourishing congregation of Jerusalem far beyond the boundaries of Palestine. This resulted in the establishment of Christianity in many pagan cities, notably Antioch, the intellectual and commercial center of the Orient. St. Peter himself was the first bishop of this metropolis. But so far these new Christian communities were recruited exclusively from the Jewish colonies which existed in nearly all the large cities.

Soon, however, the conversion of *pagans* was inaugurated, and assumed greater proportions. The great St. Paul, more than any other Apostle, made this his special task. St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, after laboring for some time in Antioch, transferred his residence to the Capital of the World, the city on the Tiber. Here he died a martyr's death by crucifixion, in the persecution under Nero, and here, too, St. Paul was beheaded on the same day.

The arrival of the humble fisherman made Rome what she was destined to be: the residence of the Vicars of Christ on earth. It was the greatest event in her history.

Meanwhile Christ's religion continued its peaceful march of victory throughout the Roman world and beyond its borders. It is estimated that by the middle of the second century, that is a little more than a hundred years after the death of Christ, there were about a million Christians. Within another one hundred and fifty years this number had at least trebled, and may have reached ten millions.

38. Advantages of the True Religion. — Christianity had its most powerful ally in the *natural desire of every human soul for truth and happiness*. The teachings of the true religion, in themselves so extremely reasonable, and at the same time proposed in so simple a garb as to be intelligible alike to the learned and the unlearned, naturally made a strong appeal to those common cravings. There was, moreover, the virtuous life of the faithful, especially their great charity, the miracles wrought by God in their behalf, and, among many other things, the missionary zeal of the Christians, including women and even slaves and last, but not least, soldiers.

Divine Providence had prepared the world in many ways for the spread of the new religion. The many separate states around the Mediterranean had disappeared in the unity of the Roman Empire, and one or two languages sufficed for the whole Roman world (§ 25). The farther provinces were made more accessible by the excellent system of Roman roads and the security of travel on land and sea (§ 28). The Romans to a very large extent allowed their subjects to practice any religion they pleased. Greek philosophy, too, had spread ideas which, at least among the educated, made the assimilation of Christian ideas less difficult.

39. Persecutions. — Christ's religion was, however, not allowed to increase in numbers without meeting serious opposition. As the world persecuted Him while on this earth, so it persecuted His adherents. For nearly three hundred years there was hardly any time in which Christians were not suffer-

ing for their faith in some part of the wide empire. The so-called TEN PERSECUTIONS are only so many highwater marks of the storm-tide which never completely subsided.

CRYPT OF ST. CECILIA IN THE CATACOMBS OF ST. CALIXTUS.

From *The Catholic Encyclopedia.*

The causes or rather pretexts were manifold. The people could not bear a religion which came from so despised a race, which proclaimed the Divinity of one crucified as a rebel, which demanded abstention from gladiatorial combats and similar spectacles, which insisted upon the sacredness of marriage, and which enjoined the adoration of One God alone, to the exclusion of all others, even the "divine" emperor. The Christians on hearsay testimony were accused of the most heinous crimes, and were blamed for every calamity which befell the empire. "When the Tiber rises above its banks, when the Nile does not overflow, if the earth quakes, if famine and pestilence come: up goes the cry, 'The Christians to the lions.'"

In the *courts* in general no serious attempt was made to find out the truth of these accusations. The trial consisted in an effort, by means of kindness, threats, or tortures, to make the Christians renounce their

faith. If this was successful, no mention was again made of crimes. Otherwise some painful kind of death was the ordinary penalty.

The most terrible of all persecutions was that under Diocletian.[1] For more than fifteen years he had rather favored the Christians. But towards the close of his otherwise beneficent reign, his advisers succeeded in convincing him that Christianity was a serious menace to the empire. With his usual energy he took up the struggle. The dungeons became so filled with bishops and clerics that no room was left for real criminals. In some places the executions amounted to a hundred a day, not counting those that were thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheaters. One governor had an entire city surrounded by soldiers and set on fire so that all, men, women, and children, perished in the flames.

During times of persecution the Christians of Rome held divine services in the *catacombs*. These are underground galleries, excavated in the soft rock in the neighborhood of the city, running in every direction, often on several levels or "stories" and widening here and there into rooms and spacious halls. They were the burial places of the Christians. Graves were hollowed out on both sides of the galleries, more notable ones for the popes and other prominent persons. (See picture.)

After having been forgotten for many centuries, the catacombs have been discovered again and made the subject of veneration and study. The explorers find in them large numbers of inscriptions and paintings, which clearly show the unity of faith in all essential dogmas.

40. Victory of Christianity. — Constantine the Great (§ 23), the successor of Diocletian, was the instrument employed by Divine Providence at last to give peace to the Church.

Constantine was marching against Maxentius, his adversary. One day he beheld in the skies a fiery cross with the inscription, "In this

[1] Diocletian was one of the few persecutors that cannot be set down without qualification as a bad ruler. Some other persecuting emperors must be credited, too, with a certain amount of natural virtue. We shall probably never find out how far these were personally guilty.

thou wilt conquer." During the following night he saw a vision of Christ, who told him to approach the enemy under the standard of the cross. This he did. The new standard, called "Labarum," preceded his host in the battle at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, in which Maxentius suffered a crushing defeat and was drowned in the Tiber. Constantine publicly ascribed the victory to the God of the Christians.

CHURCH OF "ST. JOHN-IN-THE-LATERAN," ROME.

The adjoining palace, donated by Constantine, served for a thousand years as the residence of the Sovereign Pontiffs. But after their return from Avignon they began to reside in the Vatican. (§ 327 ff.)

In the year 313 *Constantine published his famous Edict of Milan, by which full liberty was granted to the Christians.* All confiscated property was restored to them, together with their ecclesiastical establishments. The Church obtained the power to hold property in its own name, and great privileges enabled the bishops and priests to carry out their sacred duties more efficiently. For the time being, paganism was not prohibited, but it ceased to be the only religion recognized by public author-

ity. The emperor donated large estates to the popes and other bishops. *In Constantine the imperial dignity obtained the position which Divine Providence had destined for it,* namely, to be the protector of the Church of Christ. Unfortunately Constantine, instead of confining himself strictly to affairs within the province of the state, sometimes meddled with matters closely connected with doctrines of faith. But taken all in all his long reign has been the source of immense blessings to the world.

His most momentous step of a purely secular character was the transfer of the capital to his *new city of Constantinople* on the Bosphorus. No emperor ever again made Rome his permanent residence. It still remained the Queen of the World, but became more and more the city of the popes. The papacy was thus enabled to develop its great resources more freely and independently.

One of Constantine's successors, Julian, fell away from Christianity to paganism (hence his epithet, " the Apostate ") and tried to restore the old religion. It was in vain. Forty years later paganism was forbidden by Theodosius the Great, though it took a long time before it actually disappeared.[1]

The Edict of Milan was the most momentous step ever taken by any secular ruler. It threw the history of the world into new channels. The fact that it happened just at this time made possible the conversion and civilization of the German barbarians who later on conquered the Roman Empire politically.

41. Further Development of Christianity. — The Church now began her public career, as the reformer of human society. Her supreme mission was to restore the adoration of the One True God " Who made heaven and earth," and to undo by the power of the Divine Savior the effects of Adam's sin in the souls

[1] Paganism remained longest in the open country. Hence its name, which comes from a Latin word meaning rustic. For a similar reason the Christianized Teutons spoke of their non-Christian tribesmen as heathens (heath-dwellers).

of men. Our previous remarks on Roman morals (§ 30) outline to some extent the gigantic task she was to accomplish.[1]

THE "MONOGRAM PAGE" OF THE BOOK OF KELLS.

The Book of Kells is an Irish manuscript containing the four Gospels and some other minor works. It dates from about 700 A.D. "No words can describe the beauty and splendor of the richly colored initial letters." This page, the most famous, shows the monogram of Christ.

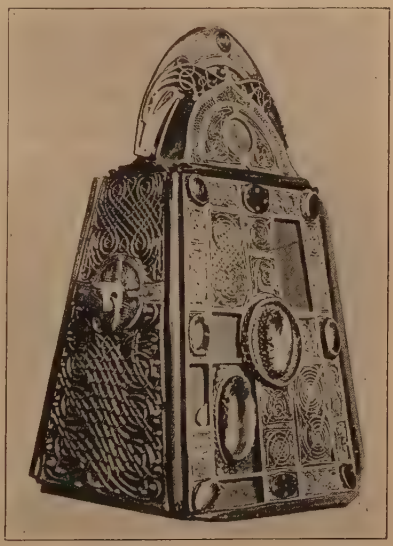
Slavery was not indeed abolished at one blow. But the Church insisted on the equality of all men before God and encouraged the voluntary manumission of slaves. The laws, revised in a Christian spirit by the emperors, safeguarded the essential rights of slaves. Other circumstances not under the control of the Church contributed also to the same end and slavery gradually disappeared (§ 36).

Soon after the Edict of Milan had been proclaimed, *Arius*, a priest of Alexandria in Egypt, began to preach the doctrine that Jesus Christ is not God but only God's noblest creature. This heresy struck at the very root of Christianity. In 325 Constantine, with the approval of the pope, caused a Council to assemble at Nicaea

[1] It was during this period that, for the purpose of more efficient administration, *archbishoprics* or *ecclesiastical* provinces were established, each consisting of several bishoprics or dioceses, under an archbishop or metropolitan. St. Peter had been the first bishop of Antioch and had commissioned his

in Asia Minor where this dangerous heresy was condemned by 318 bishops, met under the presidency of three papal legates.

42. While the interior of the empire was thus more and more Christianized, *missionaries* went in great numbers into *foreign lands*. They established fervent Christian communities in the new *Persian kingdom* (§ 22) and in other non-Roman countries. In this work of expansion St. Patrick played an important part.[1] In 432 he set out for the conversion of *Ireland*. The result of his labors was an intensely Christian nation, whose religious earnestness showed itself in the rise of numerous and well-peopled monastic establishments. In the troublous times which were to come over the continent, science, both sacred and profane, found a refuge in these Irish convents. Irish monks under St. Columba



Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell.

A work similar to the Tara Brooch. (See picture on page 59.) It was made about the beginning of the twelfth century.

disciple, St. Mark, to found the bishopric of Alexandria. The bishops of these two sees were now looked upon as superior in dignity and power to the archbishops. They were called *Patriarchs*. In the West the successor of St. Peter in Rome acted as patriarch, besides being the head of the whole Church. Later on Jerusalem and Constantinople were also raised to the dignity of patriarchates. *Primates* rank above all the archbishops and bishops of a certain nation or country. The subdivision of dioceses into regular *parishes* is of much later date. Distant country districts, however, were always taken care of in a somewhat parish-like fashion.

[1] Special Report: St. Patrick. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 174 ff.

undertook the Christianization of present Scotland, where they founded, upon the Island of Iona, a great monastery as the center and base of their pious enterprises. The monks of Ireland and Iona contributed largely to the complete Christianization and civilization of Central Europe (§ 62).

Some of the *German tribes* which lived upon the border of the empire were Christianized by Arians. Later on, when forcing their way across the frontiers, they brought their Arianism with them. These tribes have vanished from history, as we shall see. Those only survived which professed the "Nicene Creed."

For Further Reading. — Conway, C. P., *Studies in Church History*. Christian Asceticism, pp. 3–31; The Government of the Church in the First Century, pp. 32–55; Christianity and the Roman Law, pp. 56–70. — Fiction: Spillman, S. J., *Lucius Flavus* (a tale of the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem). O'Reilly, A. J., *The Martyrs of the Colosseum*. Wiseman, Card., *Fabiola* (a tale of the Catacombs).

CHAPTER V

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

43. The Later Empire. — Constantine the Great divided the government of the empire among his three sons. One of them finally obtained the whole. Similar divisions and reunions took place several times. But the East and West showed an increasing tendency to fall apart. Constantinople remained the capital of the whole when the empire was united, and of the East when the West was separated. The emperors of the Western half resided either in Milan or at Ravenna. The dividing line, roughly speaking, was the Adriatic Sea. The Eastern division was later on called the *Greek Empire* on account of the language prevailing there; or the *Byzantine Empire* from Byzantium, the original name of Constantinople (§ 40). The succession of Western emperors ceased entirely in 476, when Odoaker, king of an invading German nation, declared the young Emperor Romulus Augustulus deposed, sent the imperial robes of state to Constantinople, and proclaimed himself ruler in the name of the far-off emperor.

These repeated divisions were not thought to constitute different empires. On the contrary **the idea of the ONE empire as the secular center of Christian and civilized society was so firmly rooted in the minds of men, that a world without the empire seemed a thing impossible.** The invaders, as we shall see, fought against the Roman legions, even against the person of the emperor; but they would never profess themselves enemies of the empire itself.

CHAPTER VI

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST

(Migration of Nations)

A. The Peoples — Old and New

44. The Population of the Empire — The Celto-Romans. — Ethnically the population within the empire remained much the same as during the previous period, with the exception of the quiet infiltration of Germanic settlers along the boundaries, and in some places of the interior (§ 31). The rising power of Christianity did not work any change in this regard. Intellectual life, too, moved essentially in the same channels, except that pagan ideas yielded to Christian truth. The same cities remained its principal seats. Special mention, however, is due to the *Celtic population* in northern Italy, in Gaul, and northern Spain. These Celts were thoroughly Romanized. Their language had given way to that of Rome. Their schools more than rivaled those in other parts of the empire (§ 24). A remarkable number of the foremost writers of the time sprung from these regions or received their education there. At the beginning of the fifth century a well-organized Christianity was the religion of all these countries. The Celts of Roman Britain, too, were Christians. They had been tried in the fire of the Diocletian persecution and were like the rest organized under their own bishops.

45. In Ireland lived the only Celts not under Roman sway (§ 42). Christianity did not abolish the existing Irish institutions but purified and perfected them. During the next three centuries the island was undisturbed by foreign invasions,

and reached a high degree of true civilization. The people were ruled by native chieftains and kings, called Righs, under the Ard-Righ, the "King of Ireland," who resided at Tara. Chieftainship and kingship were elective, though limited to members of the chief's or king's family. An elaborate system of laws, controlled by a professional class of jurists, *the Brehons*, regulated all conditions and relations between high and low. Prose and poetry of all shapes, the drama alone excepted, were cultivated by professional writers. Education — there were convent schools and lay schools — was cast into an elaborate system, the full course requiring twelve years. Music was greatly esteemed and almost generally practiced. The products of the metal worker's art, and the books copied and illuminated at that period still rouse our highest admiration. Agriculture was the main occupation. Foreign trade was not neglected. True, life was extremely simple. All the buildings, including most of the numerous churches, were of wood. Domestic wars were waged and crimes committed. Nor did slavery and serfdom disappear. But in this regard the continent was certainly no better off. The Brehon law contained intertribal regulations which essentially mitigated the evils of war. The people as people were fervently Christian, and social intercourse was pervaded by genuine charity and by the refinement and politeness of a highly cultured society. — More remains to be said under another heading (§ 62).

46. The Germans or Teutons [1] had long roamed beyond the boundary line formed by the Rhine and the Danube. Repeatedly they tried to enter the empire. Thousands had indeed settled within its frontiers (§ 31). Now they were to force their way into the Roman lands as enemies. The empire in its

[1] In this historical connection the word German is used in a wider sense, including the ancestors of all the peoples now inhabiting Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and other lands. In this sense some historians prefer Germanic. Teutonic is derived from Teut, the name of the fabulous ancestor of the whole race.

present form was to come to an end, not, however, without exercising a lasting influence on its conquerors. New states were to arise, and nearly all those of modern Europe were developed from these Teutonic foundations.

The Teutons possessed some primitive civilization and peculiar political institutions. Those nearer the empire were more advanced than the rest. All dwelt in plain huts built of wood. They subsisted chiefly upon the cattle they raised and by hunting and fishing. Agriculture, little encouraged by the climate and the condition of the soil, was almost exclusively left to the women and old men. Their commerce was barter. Outside of the armorer's trade handicraft was little developed. They had no true alphabet and no real literature; their simple ballads were orally transmitted and sung to the sound of rude music.

They were noted for their blue eyes and flaxen hair. Their huge bodies made them appear giants to the Romans. The damp and cold climate often made them drunkards and gluttons. They freely indulged in gambling, and when other wealth was lost would stake their liberty on the throw of the dice. Still they had noble traits not commonly found in uncivilized peoples. They revered women. The men dreaded the captivity of their wives, daughters, mothers, or sisters, much more than their own. The Roman historian Tacitus dwells upon the purity and affection of their family life. They possessed, above all, a proud spirit of individual liberty, "a high stern sense of manhood, and the worth of man. . . ."

Their religion was a rude polytheism. Woden (Wotan), the war god, held the first place in their worship, and from him the noble families claimed descent. Thor or Donner, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. Freya was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.[1]

[1] These Teutonic gods live still in our names for the days of the week; Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day are easily recognized in their modern dress. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscure gods, Tiw and Saetere; while the remaining two days are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

47. It is erroneous to think of the Germans of those days as one political unit. *They were divided into numerous tribes*, large and small, which occasionally waged war with one another or formed alliances with other nations. Language, common customs, certain unwritten laws, and religion were the only bond of union, and even in these respects there was some diversity among them. The Teutonic nations most frequently mentioned in history are the *Goths*, subdivided into *East Goths* (Ostrogoths) and *West Goths* (Visigoths), the *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Alemanni*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Franks*.

48. *Government.* — The members of a tribe lived scattered in several villages, each of which had its assembly and its chief. There was also an assembly for the whole tribe. Many tribes elected *kings*, but only from the members of the royal family. The newly chosen king was raised upon a shield and carried through the multitude. Other tribes had no such common head during peace times, but created *dukes* as leaders for the management of wars.

Powerful chiefs surrounded themselves with bands of **companions** who lived in the chief's household, ate at his table, fought his battles, and were ready to give their lives for the safety of their lord. To survive his death, or leave his body to the foe, was a lifelong disgrace. The chief, in turn, was dishonored, if he failed to do his utmost for the safety of his companions. This "personal loyalty" to a great extent corresponded to the Roman loyalty to the state.

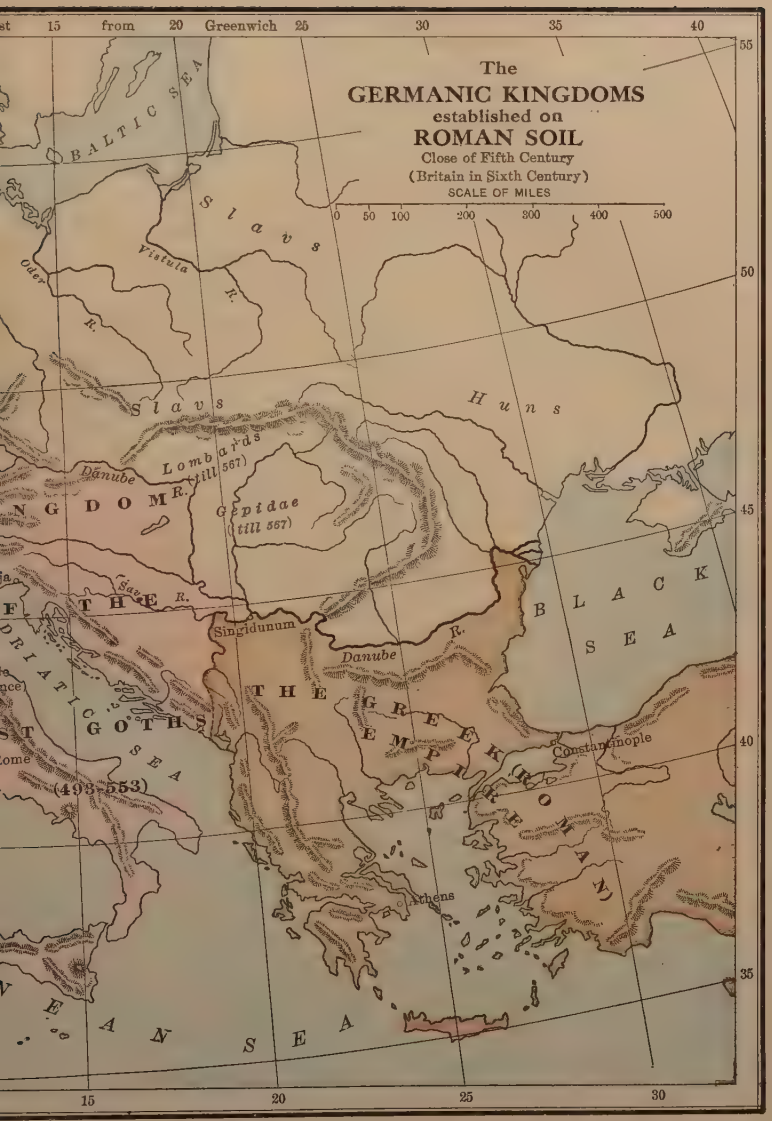
49. **Other Races.** About this time another nation, known as the *Slavs*, began to appear in the rear of the Teutons. Under this name we now group the Poles, Bohemians, Slavonians, and others. Behind both Teutons and Slavs there looms up a confused mass of an entirely different stock, the *Turanians* (including the Mongols or Tartars), represented in the European population of to-day chiefly by the Magyars (Hungarians proper) and the Turks. The fiercest of the Turanians, the *Huns*, furnished the occasion for the beginning of the "Wandering of Nations" and were soon to enter the Roman Empire themselves.

B. The Wandering of Nations

50. Character. — A.D. 400 or thereabouts began the victorious entry of the Teutonic nations into the Roman world. They defeated the Roman armies and set up their own kingdoms in the midst of the Roman population. Still they had no thought of uprooting the empire as such. The mighty fabric with its wonderful methods of government, its imposing cities and majestic buildings, stood too high in the opinion of these open-hearted children of nature. They had, moreover, made their own the conviction of the Romans that the empire was an absolute necessity for the welfare of mankind and consequently neither should nor could be destroyed at all. The fiction prevailed that the Teutonic kings of the states founded on Roman soil had their power from the emperor, though in practice they cared little for his supremacy (§ 43).

51. *The Migrations of the Teutons.* — (1) In 375 the Huns (§ 49) crossed the Volga and attacked the **East Goths** who lived north of the Black Sea. These in turn forced the **West Goths** out of their seats. The latter, with their wives and children, fled southwest to the Danube, carrying their goods in long lines of wooden carts. They petitioned the emperor Valens at Constantinople to give them lands south of the river. The petition was granted, but the greed of imperial agents who were to furnish them food soon drove them into rebellion. They defeated and killed the emperor and obtained better terms, but rose again after twenty years for the same reason. They now roamed for several years, plundering and devastating, through Greece, Dalmatia, Italy, and Gaul, settled on both sides of the Pyrenees, and founded the West Gothic kingdom, which included the south of Gaul and practically all Spain. The most important event during these wanderings was the *three days' sack of Rome*, the news of which struck the civilized world like a thunderbolt. The West Goths were Arians

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths



ted to a small southern strip (Septimania)

(§§ 41, 42). Only after their conversion to Catholicity, in 585 A.D., did they fuse with the " Roman " population. In 711 their kingdom was overpowered by the Mohammedans. But they reconquered the Spanish peninsula by wars that lasted eight hundred years, and thus formed the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The **Vandals**, after a long migration and a temporary stay in Spain, settled in North Africa. A.D. 455 their warriors sailed over to Italy and inflicted upon the helpless capital of the world a second plundering much more frightful than the first. The Vandals ever remained Arians and fiercely persecuted the Catholic population. After a hundred years they disappeared from history.

The **Burgundians** took possession of the Rhone valley. They were Arians but eventually became Catholics. On account of some historical connection with them, the name of Burgundy was in later times applied to several different regions.

Italy suffered most under these invasions. People after people broke into the unhappy peninsula, either to find its grave in it or to leave it again in quest of other dwelling places. But each inroad caused loss of life and devastation beyond description. The chieftain of one of these nations was Odoaker (§ 43). By the beginning of the sixth century the **East Goths** had fixed their abodes in Italy under their brilliant king Theodoric the Great. They were and remained Arians. In 555 their kingdom came to an end (§ 64).

52. (2) Most of the German nations left their old homes entirely and sought new ones in distant lands. It was different with several tribes which had their habitations near the Rhine and the North Sea. The **Alemanni**, living in what is now South Germany, extended their abodes across the Rhine without giving up their former districts.

The **Franks**, who dwelt on the lower Rhine, — Cologne was one of their cities, — pushed into Belgium where there was

already a strong German population. They conquered a remnant of the Roman power in northern Gaul, annexed Burgundy and the whole country of the Alemanni, and eventually drove the West Goths out of southern Gaul. Their kingdom thus included nearly all of present France and a considerable part of Germany. From pagans they became Catholics (§ 55). Providence had assigned a grand mission to the Frankish nation (§§ 69 ff.).

The **Saxons** on the south shore of the North Sea, and the **Angles** and **Jutes** on the Danish peninsula, did not give up their homes. But large multitudes of them crossed over to Britain, dislodged in long struggles the Celtic inhabitants, and changed the greater part of the island into an Anglo-Saxon country.

53. Non-Teutonic Migrations. — After dislodging the East Goths, the **Huns** (§ 51), a savage brood of genuine Mongolian hordes, roamed for some time in the countries north of the Danube. Under their fierce leader Attila, who called himself the "Scourge of God," they invaded northern Gaul with an innumerable host of forced allies. Frightful were their devastations. But the Western Teutons united with the Romans against them. At **Châlons** the Huns were completely defeated, A.D. **451**. This battle is one of the most important in history, because it saved Christianity and civilization from being exterminated by Asiatic heathenism and barbarity. In 452 Attila turned against Italy with the intention of reducing Rome. The pope, St. Leo the Great, met him with no other power than his dignity; and the terrible king, overawed by the pontiff's appearance and words, withdrew to the lands on the middle Danube. Soon the Huns returned into Asia.

The regions north of the Danube, which had been evacuated by the Germans, were now occupied by the **Slavs** as far as the Elbe River. The formation of the later Slav kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia was thus prepared. Other Slavs found their way across the Danube, where there are now the Serbians, Croatians, Bosnians, Slavonians. The

Bulgarians, a race chiefly Turanian but with a Slav language, repeatedly threatened the capital of the Eastern empire, Constantinople.

54. The New Kingdoms. — The Teutons settled amongst the old Roman population, which, in most countries, had to give up one third of their landed estates. This loss was probably not felt so much by the greatly thinned numbers of inhabitants (§ 31). The Teutons became the ruling class, consisting of large and small landowners. They were not evenly distributed. But in the countries near the left bank of the Rhine the population was practically Teutonic. The Teuton king ruled over both parts of the inhabitants. The Romans saw in him a representative of the emperor, and the king was careful to keep up this fiction. Clovis, king of the Franks, for instance, procured an imperial decree proclaiming him "Patrician" of Gaul, and he made it a point to appear at stated occasions in Roman consular robes. Where unity of religion had been secured, mutual understanding and amalgamation, on which the welfare and future of the kingdom depended, was greatly accelerated.

Thus arose the new kingdoms. Their political fabric was the work of the Teutons. It was very rude. Centuries passed before it rose to a stage less barbaric. And yet no other element has since been added in any way so important to the world's development. *In all centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from Western Romano-Teutonic Europe and from its offshoots in other continents.*

But all this did not take place without immense losses in other respects, which it required a long time to remedy.

C. Christianity and Civilization

55. Losses to Civilization. — The invasions were the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Many of the most flourishing cities were destroyed or had

suffered by repeated sackings. The treasures of art, including libraries, were dispersed or lost. Besides the direct loss of life caused by battles and otherwise, agriculture and the trade in foodstuffs became deranged. This further decimated the dwindling population. Whole country districts were deserted, to be inhabited only by wolves and bears.

The new ruling class brought with them their dense ignorance. Illiteracy was beyond doubt the rule with the new lords. The old schools perished for lack of material support. There was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. The traditions of refined and literary life were fast disappearing. Those who outlived the ravages, by and by sank to a lower level. Life became meaner, poorer, harder. Civilized tastes and arts began to fall into oblivion. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons were gaining.

With the decay of literary activity the unity of Latin, the universal language, ceased. In the mouth of the people it was more and more corrupted and mixed with Teutonic elements. In the vast Roman Empire there had always been provincial differences in the language. But until the coming of the Teutons a man who spoke the common language of Gaul or Spain could also understand classical Latin when he heard it. The arrival of the barbarians widened the gap between the spoken provincial and the written language. Thus the language of learning became "dead" for the common people, while provincial differences grew more pronounced. In the course of centuries the dialects changed into the beginnings of the later languages of the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, etc. Latin remained in use amongst the clergy, but at that particular period many even of these knew it rather imperfectly (§ 98, footnote). In the lands along the left bank of the Rhine and in Britain, the language of the invaders dislodged completely whatever there had been of Latin.

56. But Roman civilization was not uprooted entirely. — On the contrary, it slowly began to grow and develop into the later civilization of Christian Europe. The conquests were for

the most part made by *numbers too small* to change the character of the population, and unable to dislodge at one blow all the traditions of the former refined life. Since, moreover, the invaders had settled chiefly in the country, the *cities* and towns as far as they survived remained Roman and preserved some features of the old culture and the old handicrafts. They kept, too, in the south of Europe, their municipal institutions. Finally, the old population for centuries furnished the members of another ruling class, the bishops and the *clergy*. From them the Teutonic lords drew most of their confidential officers and secretaries. And by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization. In this way the Franks and other settlers in Gaul and northern Italy were civilized by the Romano-Celtic population of these countries. "*Gaul far more than Italy and Rome seemed called to be the protectress of ancient civilization. It had to its credit the glory of having for ages maintained a high standard of ancient culture for the benefit of mankind.*" (Grisar, *History*, Vol. III, § 455.) Through these different agencies much of the old civilization which at the time seemed ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutonic kingdoms — so that "nearly every achievement of the Greeks and Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts is now a part of our civilization."

57. But it was above all the Church that saved civilization and reared the new peoples of Europe. By the time that the German invaders began to pour into the Roman Empire, all its provinces were practically Christianized. There was everywhere a well-established hierarchy. Bishops watched over the spiritual welfare of the faithful without neglecting temporal interests. True, the settling of the rude barbarians among the Christians, the concomitant weakening of public order and safety, the loss of life and the decline of material as well as intellectual civilization had a deplorable effect on morals and

discipline. In Gaul, with which we are particularly concerned, the kings, though Catholic, often led almost pagan lives. The conversion of the newcomers proceeded slowly, nor must it be imagined that the newly converted Franks and Burgundians and their first descendants were at once, and without exception, exemplary Christians. All this reacted on the old population. Many of the clergy, some even among the hierarchy, sorely lacked the purity of morals and singleness of purpose required by their exalted vocation.

All this notwithstanding, the Church was the salt that kept the world from complete corruption, and preserved the means to rise again to a higher level of civilization. The Church always demanded a certain degree of education in her ministers and provided for some kind of schools. Even in the most troubled periods there were priests, monks, bishops, and lay persons of both sexes, who were more than ordinarily inspired with zeal for true virtue and righteousness in themselves and their fellow men. The Church protected the weak and stood for peace, education, industry, and right living. "She was the chief force that made life tolerable for myriads of men and women in those dark ages."[1] She also preserved much of the forms and habits of the Roman law and by her advice and example improved the rude methods of the new rulers. "Only to the strenuous exertions of Christians and the spiritual impulse maintained among mankind by the new religion do we owe it that these ages found any pleasure in the classics of antiquity and did not allow them to be irrevocably lost."

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[1] Although the ages now under consideration were in many respects truly dark, this book will not incorporate the term "Dark Ages" in its text. This catchword was originally coined by anti-Christian historians and carries with it the insinuation that the "darkness" is chiefly due to the influence of Christianity. — Uniformity, too, is lacking as to the date when the "Dark Ages" came to an end. Some extend them to the time of the "Reformation," when Luther brought "light" into the "darkness"; others give them five, others two centuries only.

58. *But no Christian institution exerted a more powerful influence for good than the papacy.* The popes ever kept their eye on the needs of the world at large. It was they that sent out the great missionaries to the new nations (§§ 41, 62). The most prominent pope of this period of storm and stress is no doubt St. Gregory the Great, who presided over the welfare of the Church, 590–604. He had the consolation of welcoming into the true fold the Arian nations of the West Goths and the Lombards, and he sent St. Augustine with his monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons from paganism.

About the same time lived the learned Cassiodorus (d. 570), Roman noble and monk, who exerted a lasting influence on the attitude of monasticism to learning (§ 59); Boethius the philosopher (d. 525), — for a long time trusted friend of Theodoric, the great king of the East Goths, — who laid the foundations of the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages (§ 41); and the great Irishman Columbanus (d. 615), to be mentioned presently (§ 62).[1] Spain possessed its St. Isidore, bishop, who was, as his friend puts it, "granted to the country to save from the wreck the (literary) monuments of antiquity." His voluminous writings were of the greatest importance for the literary and scientific life of Europe.

D. Monasticism

59. Origin of Monasticism. — In her task of saving religion and morals and rescuing civilization in its hour of peril the Church was signally aided by an institution which, soon after the liberation of Christianity, had risen into prominence. In one form or another it had, however, existed from the times of the Redeemer Himself. This institution was monasticism. Men and women would entirely withdraw from the world and, living either as solitary hermits or in communities under a superior, devote themselves to the practice of piety and penance. The movement started in the Orient, where *St. Basil* was its

[1] See the excellent articles on "Christian Civilization in the Sixth Century," by Rev. E. F. Crowley, in *Ecclesiastical Review.*, Vol. 54, pp. 139 ff.

greatest promoter. But it spread rapidly in the West. The Teutonic invaders found monastic institutions, called *monasteries* or *convents*, nearly everywhere. Originally each house had its own "Rule," drawn up by the founder or some other prominent man. In the first half of the sixth century *St. Benedict* (d. 543), an Italian,[1] wrote his famous "Benedictine Rule," noted for practical wisdom and moderation. In the course of several centuries all the existing convents adopted it. Each Benedictine *Abbey* was ruled by an Abbot or Abbess. They had, however, no common superior, the unity of the Order being kept up solely by the observance of the same regulations. St. Benedict's chief foundation was the Abbey of Monte Cassino.

The venerable Benedictine Order still exists. In the course of time it has given to the Church 28 popes, over 200 cardinals, and about 6000 archbishops and bishops. The abbeys, however, are now united into "Congregations" and there is at the head of the whole Order a "Primate" in Rome.

The order of St. Basil is practically the only one to which all the numerous monastic institutions in the Orient belonged. It still exists, but most of its convents are separated from the Catholic Church.

60. The Inmates of the Convents lived a life of perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience. Self-sanctification was their chief object and the source from which sprang all their achievements in the promotion of civilization and Christianity. Hence a great part of their time was given to exercises of piety and penance. They would settle in some uncultivated spot and by the work of their hands change it into well-tilled fields and gardens. By word and example they taught the dignity of manual labor, encouraged agriculture, and often showed the dwellers around better methods for working their fields. They also protected the poor against oppression by the rich and powerful, because commonly even the rude invaders respected the

[1] Special Report: St. Benedict. — T. N. Allies, *The Monastic Life*, Ch. IV, "The Blessing of St. Benedict," pp. 134–173.

peaceful and helpless inhabitants of the cloister. Then, too, the monks lovingly copied books, both spiritual and profane. It is they that have preserved for us the treasures of the classical literature of Rome and Greece. For centuries the monasteries were the almshouses, inns, hospitals, and schools of Christendom.

Some of the Most Influential Medieval Monasteries.
Crosses mark monasteries; circles, cities.

The life of the "*nuns*" in the convents of women was similar. Exercises of piety, manual labor in their gardens, the instruction of girls in their schools, the copying of books, and needlework for the benefit of the poor and the service of the altar were

their occupations. Frequently they provided, by their own labor and by collecting alms, for the necessities of the missionaries in far-off countries.

The monks, for the most part, were laymen. Priestly ministrations were not the original and never the sole purpose of the monasticism of those days. Still, not only did the monks and nuns preach a most powerful sermon by their example, but the results of their activity as missionaries are almost incredible. Two instances have already been mentioned (§ 42), others will occur in the course of our narrative (§§ 76, 112).

Abbey of Citeaux.

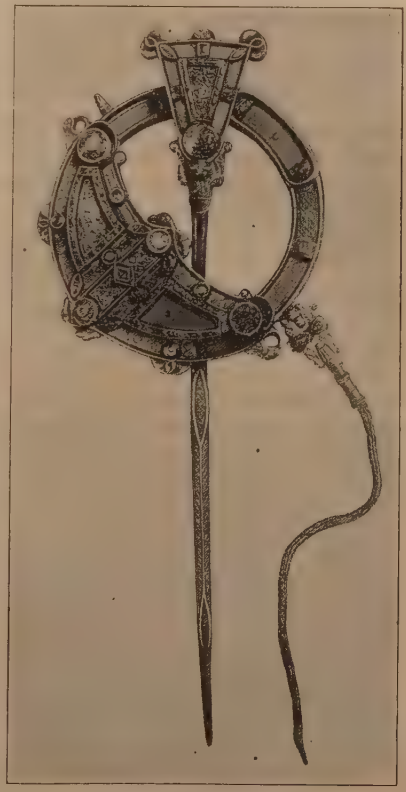
From a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript.

From the earliest period of religious life men and women[1] promiment for rank and wealth entered the convents to spend their lives in piety, humility, and penance. Cassiodorus, the scion of an ancient Roman family, who had held the highest positions under the East Gothic kings (§ 51), founded a large monastery and himself joined the number of its monks. It is chiefly due to him that the convents of the West became the refuge of learning. Occasionally, it is true, corruption found its way into these homes of sanctity. The first fervor might cool, the austerities prescribed by the founder might come to be considered too irksome, or the increasing riches might lead to the relaxation of discipline.

61. Religious Poverty is not pauperism. It consists essentially in this, that the individual depends upon the permission of his superior for the use of all things. Actual want or misery, often experienced by

[1] Allies, *Monastic Life*, Ch. VII, "Three Nuns of Odin's Race," pp. 254 ff.

the first members of monastic institutions, would in the long run rather have a detrimental effect upon the observance of religious discipline. In those times it was understood that the property of each institution should at least enable the members to support themselves frugally by their own labor. Many abbeys, however, grew very rich, chiefly because their labor had increased the value of their once barren lands. This did not constitute a real danger to discipline as long as the monastic regulations were well observed. It was different when men obtained the position of abbots who were not imbued with the right spirit. Such persons, mostly intruded by secular interference, administered the property for their own benefit and cared nothing for the enforcement of the rules. Other causes, too, often exerted a deteriorating influence on monastic life.



THE TARA BROOCH.

It was probably made shortly before the tenth century. It is ornamented all over with amber, glass, and enamel, and with the characteristic Irish filigree or interlaced work in metal. "Perhaps the finest specimen of ancient metal work remaining in any country." — JOYCE.

62. The Irish Monasteries. — During the inroads of the Teutons the European continent was like a storm-tossed sea. But the waves of destruction did not reach the Green Isle (§ 45). Her numerous convents fostered not only piety and penance, but learning, both religious and secular. Here with Holy Scripture

and the Church Fathers the ancient classics were read and studied. Men traveled from beyond the seas to this haven of sanctity and learning and found a hospitable reception. They returned more ardent in their faith and better equipped with whatever knowledge the times were able to offer. The Irish monks themselves emigrated in large numbers to other lands. For the love of God they wished to be far away from all that was dear to them. They settled chiefly in the regions which had suffered most from the invasions. Here they established themselves as hermits or founded convents, which soon were recruited from the surrounding population. Where it was desirable they preached to Christians and pagans, and their schools secured religious as well as secular education to the rising generation. Thus both piety and learning received a new impetus through their presence.

Foremost among these island Celts was *St. Columban*,[1] who with his disciples founded a number of convents in and near the Alps among the Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards. Kings and bishops listened to his advice. He fought paganism effectively among the Alemanni (§ 51) and laid the foundation of their final conversion. Many of the later bishops in the Frankish kingdom were St. Columban's disciples.

[1] Special Report. — Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 149 ff.

CHAPTER VII

FUSION OF TEUTON AND ROMAN

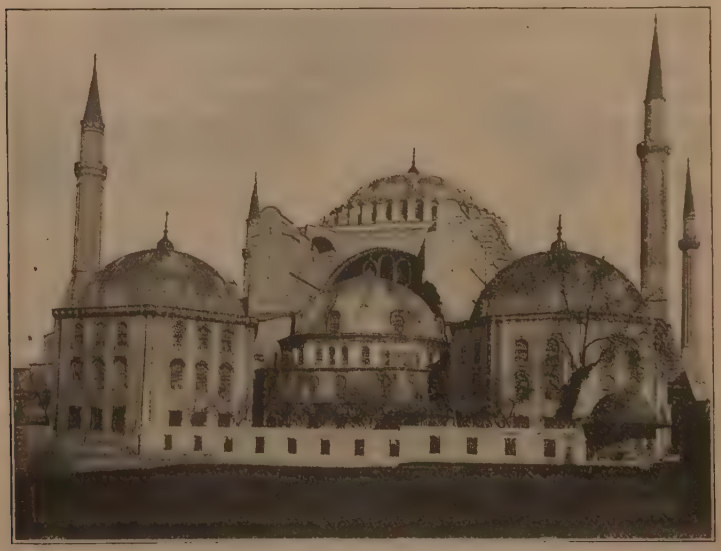
Roughly speaking, the two centuries from 400 to 600 brought the Teuton into the Roman world, and the next two centuries, from 600 to 800, fused the Teutonic and Roman elements, so as to prepare for new advance. In strict accuracy, the two periods overlapped somewhat.

The story of the fusion of the two groups of forces is the subject of this and the next two chapters. The present chapter treats a few important but *disconnected* events, as an introduction to the more connected story of the two following.

63. Codification of the Roman Law. — We have said that the Roman Empire continued in part of Eastern Europe and in Asia, with its capital at Constantinople. Separated now from the Latin part of Europe, the Empire became more and more Greek and Oriental (§ 43).

In the sixth century, after long decline, this Empire fell for a time to *Justinian the Great* (527–565). We remember him chiefly because he brought about *a codification of the Roman law.* In the course of centuries, that law had become an intolerable maze. Now a commission of able lawyers put the whole mass into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly. This is the famous *Justinian Code.* It represents the result of centuries of Roman lawmaking. It was embodied by the Church in her "Canon law," as far as she stood in need of some secular regulations to complement the spiritual. It was natural that when the new Teuton kingdoms began to codify their own unwritten legal customs, the Justinian Code furnished the foundation. Without the knowledge of Roman law none, perhaps, of our modern codes can be fully understood, the most

independent being those of England and America. It is not without very serious shortcomings, however. It does not sufficiently recognize the value and dignity of labor. Moreover, it makes the emperor the sole source of all right, and thus tends to increase the power of the princes. The excesses of some in-



CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

Built by Justinian the Great upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. By Sophia is not meant some Saint of this name, but Divine Wisdom, *sophia* being the Greek for wisdom. The whole interior is lined with costly many-colored marbles. The dome has a circumference of some 340 feet. (See § 277.) In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (§ 319). The slender towers, called Minarets, are Mohammedan additions.

dividual rulers of the Middle Ages are directly traceable to their unreserved adoption of Justinian's principles.

Justinian was not an efficient financial administrator. Taxes rose to an enormous height, without preventing the employment of questionable methods to fill the imperial treasury. Justinian's

absolute and arbitrary power was felt in his ecclesiastical policy also. The emperor meddled with purely dogmatical matters and much more in the Church's discipline. Pope Vigilius was for six years kept imprisoned in Constantinople.[1]

64. The Break-up of Italy. — Justinian's great generals, Belisarius and Narses, had destroyed the promising kingdom of the East Goths in Italy (§ 51). All Italy was again in full reality part of the Roman Empire. It was ruled by an "Exarch" or governor, who resided at Ravenna. Immediately after the great emperor's death, however, a new German people, the *Lombards*, swarmed into the peninsula and soon conquered most of it. Their kingdom was chiefly in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but various Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts.[2] The Empire retained the extreme South and two small districts in the center of the peninsula with the capitals of Ravenna and Rome. These territories were destined to play an important part in the history of Europe and the world.

Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled for centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process.

65. Men continued to think of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate universal government in the world, supreme over all local governments. We can see now that, except for slight survivals, the Empire had ceased in the West before the year 500. *But men of that day did not see it.* They could not believe that the dominion of the "Eternal City" was dead, — and therefore it did not altogether die (§ 54). For three hundred

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[1] Such meddling by the secular power with the duties and privileges of the Church is often called "Byzantinism," from the place where it was so frequently practiced; or "Caesaro-Papism," which signifies that Caesar, *i.e.*, the temporal ruler, wishes to act as pope at the same time.

[2] On this nation, its character, language, and influence see Casartelli, *Sketches in History*, pp. 26–51.

years it lived on, *in the minds of men*, until the coronation of Charlemagne made it again an external fact (§ 86).

66. Teutonic Law. — When the barbarians came into the empire their only law was unwritten custom. Much of it remained so, especially in Britain. Under Roman influence the conquerors soon put parts of their law into written codes (p. 63). But while codification had crystallized the Roman law, the new law of the nations of Europe remained flexible and capable of development.

JUDICIAL COMBAT.

Religious preparations: each party is making oath on Bible and cross to the justice of his cause. From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

Among the features in these new codes that justly surprise us were these:

(*a*) *The forms of trial.* There were two kinds.

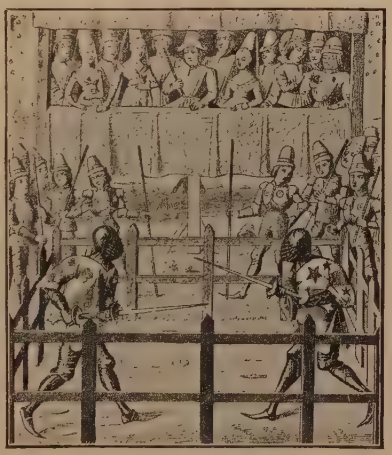
The accused and accuser were each backed by *compurgators*, — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth; the number of compurgators required depended upon the rank of all concerned and the crime committed.

Sometimes the trial was by *ordeal*. The ordeal was based on the erroneous assumption that God will rather work an evident miracle than allow an innocent man to be punished. To clear himself of a charge, the accused would, for instance, offer to plunge his arm into boiling water, or carry red-hot iron a certain distance, or walk over red-hot plowshares. If his flesh was found uninjured when examined some days later, he was declared not guilty. To prevent violence and fraud, the Church,

though never approving of the idea, surrounded these proceedings with impressive sacred ceremonies. It required several centuries to do away finally with the barbarous custom.[1]

The nobles preferred the ordeal of the single combat, supposing that God would assist the arms of the innocent party. A relic of this ordeal is the duel, which happily is becoming rarer in our times. The Church inflicts the severest ecclesiastical penalties on duelists.

(*b*) *Offenses were atoned for by money payments*, varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger to the **wergeld** (man-money) or payment for taking a man's life. The amount varied with the rank of the injured person.



Judicial Combat.

A companion piece to the foregoing illustration.

67. The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. *Three changes* call for attention.

(*a*) *The Teutonic kings became more absolute.* In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated lands, so that they could reward their supporters and build up a strong personal following. Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision.

[1] Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float. See Davis, Readings, II, Nos. 138, 139 (the latter on "ordeals").

Moreover, the Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state, as expressed in the Justinian code (§ 63), had its influence on the views of the Teutonic rulers and subjects. The idea that the king was after all only the head of a real though rude democracy slowly began to give way to more autocratic sentiments.

At his accession, indeed, each king was still lifted upon a shield, just as in the old Teutonic ceremony; and the spear in his hand remained the symbol of royal power. But he also adopted many Roman forms. Coins represent the kings in the Roman toga and with the imperial diadem.

Seventh Century Villa.
A "restoration," from Parmentier's great work.

(*b*) *A new nobility of service appeared.* The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and gave them important powers of government, as rulers (counts and dukes).

(*c*) *The assemblies of freemen decreased in importance.* In the German forests the most important element in the government of a tribe had been these assemblies. They survived in form, in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields," but, though not without influence, they now had a merely advisory capacity.

At the same time, while these assemblies *of the whole nation* lost their democratic elements, they kept much of their old character for various *local* units, as in the counties of the Teutonic kingdoms of England. Thus the Teutons did carry into the Roman world a new chance for democracy. *It is not correct to say that they gave us representative government; but they did give the world another chance*

to develop it. In England, as we shall see, representative institutions grew out of these local assemblies.

68. The Cities of the Roman Times had suffered more in the North than in the South. The Teutons disliked the narrow streets of towns. They lived in the country, giving their time to farming and hunting. Their establishments, rudely fortified, commonly produced everything they needed, and their free and unfree laborers supplied what little handicraft was desirable.

In the South, where the Teutonic elements were not strongly represented, much more of Roman city life and city organization went on in the half dilapidated towns. Sometimes colonies of Greeks were found in them, who were the chief merchants. Much more of refinement and literary taste had survived in these cities than in those of the North.

CHAPTER VIII

RISE OF THE FRANKS

69. Clovis and His Family. — We have seen (§ 51) how the Franks, a confederacy of German tribes living on the banks of the lower Rhine, extended their habitations into Gaul and united that entire country together with a wide territory on the

Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Noble.

After a tenth century manuscript.

right bank of the upper Rhine into one kingdom. This was chiefly the work of one man, King *Clovis* (Chlodwig, Ludwig, Louis, Aloysius), the founder of Frankish greatness. When at the age of fifteen years he entered upon this career of aggrandizement, he was still a pagan and a real barbarian, though not without some noble traits of character and a shrewd mind. He had inherited from his father a leaning toward Christianity. His wife Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, was a devout Catholic.

The decisive battle against the Alemanni, in A.D. 496, which tradition places at Zülpich, became the occasion of his conversion. In the crisis of the battle, Clovis vowed to serve the God of Clotilda, if he would gain the victory. His prayer being granted, the king and three thousand of his warriors were baptized.

The Baptism of the Frankish King was a Momentous Event. — By it that nation which was to play the most important part in the political history of the future entered into a union with the Church, the champion of true righteousness and civilization. It brought to Clovis the good will and confidence of the Catholic population of Gaul and the hearty support of the Church authorities, including the papacy. While the rule of Arian kings was hated, the Frankish kingdom enjoyed the blessings of perfect religious unity. Nor did Clovis neglect to reconcile the political feelings of the Celto-Roman population (§ 54).

A Frankish Warrior.

Clovis meant to rule as a Christian king. He placed the Celto-Roman population on the same footing as his Franks, and left the bishops undisturbed in the execution of their office. He ever preserved an unswerving devotion to the saintly Clotilda, whose example and encouragement he followed in the practice of a far-reaching charity towards the unfortunate, and great liberality towards ecclesiastical institutions. At the same time, however, acts of violence and cruel revenge and the charge of broken pledges disfigure the records of his political career.[1] The nation, like the rulers, did not at once become thoroughly Christianized. Only gradually did the Church succeed in taming its wild passions. Criminals and saints often lived under the same roof.

[1] See, on this point, Guggenberger, Vol. 1, § 113, note.

The sons of Clovis completed the subjugation of Burgundy and added to their realm Bavaria and Thuringia, two districts well beyond the borders of the ancient Roman world. The family of Clovis is known, from his grandfather Merowig, as *Merovingians*. The Frankish kingdom was repeatedly divided and reunited. The Franks themselves spread little south of the Loire; North and South Gaul remained rather distinct from each other in blood and language. But in spite of these divisions the unity of the Frankish rule was preserved by the cooperation of the kings in foreign relations, by the identity of law and custom in governing, and last but not least, by the bond of a common religion and hierarchy. In fact, historians agree that *union with the Church was the strongest prop of the Frankish kingdom.*

70. The Mayors of the Palace. — Many of the later Merovingian kings were weak and indolent, and allowed the real power to slip from them into the hands of the Mayors of the Palace. These officials were originally the chiefs of the royal household, but the very nature of their position and the incapacity of the kings enabled them to seize, one by one, all the powers of government. They finally became the actual rulers and even made their office hereditary. The last of the Merovingians, called the *Do-nothings*, were merely the nominal heads of the state. Once a year, however, they issued from their retirement, and with the rude pomp of their ancestors were driven on an ox-cart in stately procession to the popular assembly, the Mayfield (§ 67, *c*).

The greatest of the Mayors of the Palace was *Pippin of Heristal*, who succeeded in reuniting almost the whole Frankish kingdom under his sway, thereby securing the ascendancy of the Teutonic element. His son, *Charles Martel* (the Hammer) is more famous still. He firmly established his power throughout the entire realm and made the Frankish kingdom the most powerful state in Western Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL

71. Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a mighty power arose in far-off Arabia — a region until then beyond the pale of history. Arabia is mainly a desert, with occasional small oases, and some strips of tillable soil near the Red Sea. The best tribes of the *Arabs* or *Saracens* [1] are related to the Jews and Assyrians (§ 4). Most of them had never been subject to any foreign power. Some noble traits in their character notwithstanding, they were given to a low kind of idolatry which was connected with hideous excesses. The few cities near the Red Sea, on the road between India and Europe, practiced arts and carried on commerce. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors.

Mecca, the most important of the cities, was the birthplace of Mohammed, the man destined to make Arabia for centuries a world power. He is described as of a retiring disposition and religious inclinations and subject to epileptic fits. Until forty he led the life of an influential merchant, but withdrew every year for some time into the desert, where he devoted himself to pious meditations. On his business tours he had picked up bits of information concerning Christianity and Judaism. Finally

[1] The term *Saracen* is sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, but strictly it belongs only to the Arabs. In North Africa, the Arabs mixed with the native *Mauritanians*, and the race became known as *Moors*. These were the Mohammedans who ruled Spain for eight hundred years. The *Turks*, a Turanian race, came into the Mohammedan world from Central Asia. (See §§ 49 and 236.)

he claimed to have had an apparition of the Archangel Gabriel, who, he said, announced to him that *he, Mohammed, was the great prophet foretold by Moses.* This was the beginning of the new religion, which he worked out further in the course of his life. For almost every phase and feature of it he claimed a special revelation.

Mohammedanism. In comparison with the confusion and degradation of the Arabic religions, Mohammed's system represented a partial progress. Its best elements he had gathered from Christian and Jewish sources. The chief article of his "creed" is that "there is One God, 'Allah,' and Mohammed is His Prophet." The service of Allah is *Islam*, and those that profess it call themselves *Moslem.* They deny the Blessed Trinity, and hold that Moses and Christ were minor prophets sent to prepare the world for the coming of Mohammed. Prayer five times a day, a pilgrimage to Mecca once during lifetime, fasting during the entire month Ramadan, and almsgiving are enjoined. And faithful Mohammedans rigidly submit to these laws. But strangely in contrast with this emphasis on good works is their "fatalism," the doctrine that nobody can change the fate once destined for him or for anything else. The true Moslem will go to a heaven of sensual pleasures, where each of them will be waited upon by at least 80,000 slaves. There is a terrible hell for the bad. Polygamy is allowed; the husband may divorce his wives for almost any reason, but a wife cannot leave her husband. The Prophet himself, after the death of his first wife, married several. A sure way to paradise is war against the "infidels" (non-Mohammedans); "the sword is the key to heaven." Islam permits revenge, and confines what might be called its charity to Moslems. Friday is the sacred day. Mohammed's teachings were collected, by his first successor, in a book called the *Koran*, the Mohammedan Bible. It is divided into 114 Suras, or chapters, without any system or connection. Its numerous contradictions are one of the causes of the rise of many sects in Mohammedanism.

Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once, but for the first twelve years he had few other converts. His townsfolk of Mecca jeered at his pretensions. The priests of the old religion roused the people against him and at last drove him out of the city.

72. Mohammedanism Becomes a Conquering Power. — The emigration of the Prophet from Mecca, in 622 A.D., is the **Hegira**, the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons time as does Christendom from the birth of Christ. Mohammed now made converts rapidly by means of the sword and soon captured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible. He himself was unscrupulous in the selection of means, so long as they served his ends. By the time of his death he ruled over all Arabia as Prophet and king, supreme in all matters, civil, military, and religious. This character descended to his successors, the **Caliphs**, and has been claimed by the chief ruler of the Mohammedan world ever since.

At the head of united Arabia, the Caliphs began a career of conquest. They took Jerusalem, A.D. 638, and tore Palestine and Syria from the weak eastern empire. They destroyed the Persian kingdom, subjected Egypt, and by A.D. 700 their dominion extended from the Caucasus through Northern Africa to the Atlantic Ocean. Thus Europe was threatened from east and west.

The conquest of Christian territory did not mean that the entire population was at once forced to apostatize. Christians, however, who remained faithful to their religion had to pay an extra tribute and, as a matter of fact, were very frequently subjected to vexations and even cruel persecutions.

73. The Two Great Repulses. — In the East. — In 717 the Mohammedans appeared with a numerous force before Constantinople. The emperor, Leo III, called the Isaurian, was a thorough-going Byzantine, imbued with the spirit of meddling with matters of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline, and without any respect for the consciences and pockets of his subjects. But he was an energetic and able general. After a siege of twelve months the Mohammedans were forced to retire, having suffered immense losses. *This formidable menace*

to Christianity and Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantine.

In the West. — At nearly the same time the Arabs entered Spain and were soon masters of the West-Gothic kingdom (§ 51), which at this critical moment was torn by domestic dissensions. Only a few remote fastnesses in the North of the peninsula remained in the hands of valiant Christian defenders. Then crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now indeed it seemed "that the Crescent was about to round to the full." But there was the powerful Frankish state under its able ruler, Charles Martel. The danger served to reunite it completely. The Duke of Aquitaine, who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy, now threw himself upon Charles' generosity and fled to him for aid. Under Charles' leadership the Christian army met the foe near *Tours*. From dawn to dark raged the fight. But at night the surviving Arabs stole in silent flight from their camp. Christianity and European civilization were again saved.

The repulses at Constantinople and Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, and Châlons in the long struggle between Asia and Europe (§§ 16, 53). In point of high significance, however, the parallel with Châlons is the more complete. Tours and Constantinople, no less signally than Châlons, saved Christianity, the only true religion — the soul of the European civilization that was to be.

74. Mohammedanism after the Repulses. — For more than seven centuries Europe was safe. Mohammedanism soon split into two empires which were more or less hostile to each other. The Caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, which soon became one of the richest cities of the world. The Caliphate of the West consisted chiefly of the Spanish peninsula with Cordova as capital.

Mohammedan Civilization. — Both capitals became centers of art and literature. In sculpture the Mohammedans did not accomplish

EUROPE
End of 7th Century
695
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
Roman Empire
Teutonic States
Saracens
Slavs
Turanians
10 Longitude East 20 from Greenwich 30
Finns
Northmen
Swedes
Scots
Picts
Angles
Saxons
Britons
York
London
Köln
Mainz
Trier
Metz
Paris
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Dyons
Milano
Venice
Pavia
Ravenna
Zadera
Spalato
Ragusa
Dyrrachium
Toulouse
Toledo
WEST-GOTHIC KINGDOM
Cadiz
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
SICILY
Syracuse
Argos
CRETE
CYPRUS
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Antioch
Nicomedia
Constantinople
Chersonesus
Bulgars
Avars
Magyars
Chazars
CALIPHATE

much, because the Koran strictly prohibits any picture or statue. Their ornamentation consists chiefly of *Arabesques*, *i.e.*, fancifully interlaced lines, curved and straight. But many of their buildings are imposing. Famous are the Alhambra of Granada, and the former mosque, now cathedral, of Cordova, a vast building of nineteen naves.

Their literature is less important. Its most noted production is a collection of fairy stories, the *Thousand and One Nights*. In spite of

MOSQUE OF OMAR.

A famous Mohammedan temple at Jerusalem on the site of Solomon's Temple. From a photograph.

the prohibition of the Koran they studied the Greek philosophers, which Christian Syrians had translated into Arabic. It is in the Arabic translation that the books of Aristotle first became known to Western Europe (See § 271 and *Ancient World*, § 316). But the original works of the Arabian philosophers are of little value. They transmitted to us our " Arabic " numbers and the science of Algebra, which they had received from India. The same country furnished to them a better system of medicine, which they improved by introducing the experi-

mental method. They studied and in some points improved the mathematical and astronomical works of the Greeks. Many of the technical terms referring to these sciences are Arabic.

Still, the genius of the Arabic nation is, on the whole, not creative. In later times political leadership fell to races still less capable of civilization, like the Turks (§ 236). Fatalism, slavery, and the degradation of woman by polygamy and its consequences were other obstacles to genuine progress. Mohammedan culture, despotic, uniform, stagnant, was sure to be outrun by the rude but progressive civilization of the Western World.

CHAPTER X

THE ALLIANCE OF THE PAPACY AND THE FRANKS

We have seen how, by the conversion of Clovis to the Catholic religion, the Franks entered into a close union with the Church. This union was to become an official alliance by the coronation of a Frankish king as Roman emperor. Several steps led up to this goal. The brilliant defense of Western Christianity against the forces of Islam may be considered as one such step. But two more were to follow, namely, the accession of a new line of kings and the establishment of the Papal States.

A. The New Frankish Dynasty

75. Death of Charles Martel. — Shortly after the victory at Tours the Do-nothing king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, but neither did he place any Merovingian on the throne. With the consent of the nobles he divided the dignity of Mayor of the Palace between his two sons, Karlman and Pippin "the Short." But these, feeling less secure than their victorious father, again raised a Merovingian king, Childeric III, and ruled in his name. Karlman, however, soon retired into a monastery, as indeed many princes of that and later ages have done. *Pippin the Short* was thus left sole Mayor of the entire kingdom.

76. The Work of St. Boniface. — It was during the time of Charles Martel, Karlman, and Pippin, and with their hearty support, that St. Boniface,[1] the Anglo-Saxon monk, began and finished the *systematic* conversion of the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom, which was later on to develop into modern

[1] This name, which means benefactor, was given him by the pope. His Saxon name was Winfrid.

Germany. Through him these regions entered into the life and organism of the Catholic Church, a fact which naturally went far to promote the consolidation of the Frankish state.

Christianity had been planted in many localities of those provinces, notably in the districts near the Alps, by zealous Irishmen and Franks. But their efforts were more or less sporadic. There were no bishops to provide priests for vacant stations and combat corruption, ignorance, and heresies. Wide regions, moreover, had never heard the voice of the Gospel at all. St. Boniface under incredible hardships converted the numerous heathens. In constant intercourse with Rome by visits and letters, he established bishoprics with himself as archbishop. This made him the Apostle of Germany.[1] As Papal Delegate for all the countries north of the Alps he at last undertook, chiefly by a long series of Councils, a reformation of the Frankish Church in morals, discipline, and doctrine. Charles Martel and much more Karlman and Pippin gave him their powerful protection.

During the seventh century the intercourse between Rome and the Frankish kingdom was reduced to a minimum. St. Boniface now for nearly forty years referred everything of moment to Rome, conducted his affairs according to instructions from Rome, and emphasized in all his transactions with rulers and nobles the absolute necessity of keeping in close touch with the center of Christian unity. This brought about a complete change. The whole kingdom recognized most vividly the position and power of the Successor of St. Peter, the common Father of Christendom.

77. Accession of the Carolingians. — Pippin the Short meanwhile thought of setting aside the nominal king and assuming the royal dignity himself. Such a step would enable him to rule with greater power and efficiency. Nor was it beyond the competency of the nation to remove an unfit ruler. This was a strictly domestic affair; but an embassy crossed the Alps to

[1] By thus giving religious unity to the German tribes east of the Rhine and combining them into one ecclesiastical organization, St. Boniface laid the foundations of the later German kingdom, which was formed after Charlemagne. Protestant historians, too, call him the "Maker of Germany." — Special Report: St. Boniface. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 294 ff.

far-off Rome to lay the matter before the Holy Father. Pope Zachary answered, it was better that he should be king who was actually performing the king's duties. Thereupon Pippin the Short was unanimously chosen king by the Franks. St. Boniface, by order of the Pope, anointed the first king of the *Carolingian* line,[1] A.D. 752. Childeric, the last Merovingian king, ended his days in a monastery. "An important revolution of the greatest benefit for Church and State, one of the most momentous events in history, was thus brought about without the slightest disorder." [2]

B. Foundation of the Papal States

78. Rome and the Popes. — Constantine the Great besides giving liberty to the Church donated large possessions to the Apostolic See and other ecclesiastical institutions. His example was followed by others. Eventually the pope became the richest landowner in Italy, a fact which enabled him to be, during the stormy period of the barbarian invasions, the benefactor of the poor and distressed throughout the whole world. Various emperors, moreover, bestowed on the popes regular governmental powers, such as the administration of the existing poor laws. All this helped to make the pope in the course of time the most important personage in Italy, particularly in Rome — the more so because, after the foundation of Constantinople, no emperor ever made the ancient capital his permanent residence. "Old Rome" was despised by the emperors as an unimportant provincial town. Their energy was required for the defense of the eastern frontier and was often squandered in domestic revolutions and religious disputes. It was the popes

[1] This family is named not after its ancestor but after its greatest member, Charles the Great or Charlemagne (in Latin Carolus Magnus), who was Pippin's son. Sometimes, however, the family is styled "the Pippinides."

[2] Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273.

that kept up order in the little district which surrounded it (§ 64). They even collected the taxes exacted by the greedy ruler on the Bosphorus.

The Roman as well as the Ravennese territory was suffering from the persistent attacks of the Lombards. This Teutonic nation, even after its conversion to Catholicity, retained much of its primitive ferocity. The conquest of a city spelled certain ruin for its inhabitants. The emperor confined himself to writing encouraging letters and intrusting the popes with the defense of the country by arms, or by diplomatic missions to the Lombard court. If the helpless territories had not been swallowed up in A.D. 750, it was exclusively due to the popes.

The more were the people drawn towards the actual ruler of their little "state." The district was looked upon as the property of St. Peter and his successors. The pope certainly would have violated no right, had he renounced an allegiance which had long been forfeited by powerless, careless, or incapable emperors.

79. Foundation of the Papal States. — About A.D. 750 the attacks of the Lombards were renewed with increased violence. Letter upon letter went to Constantinople, and as usual nothing came back but letters or messengers offering words of encouragement with neither money nor army. Under these circumstances, Pope Stephen III finally resolved to apply for aid to the new king of the Franks, Pippin the Short. He himself made the journey across the Alps and was received with the greatest honor by the nation and their monarch. In a solemn assembly king and nobles swore that they would not fight against the Lombards, hitherto their friends, to reconquer territory either for themselves or for the emperor whose claims had lapsed, but they were ready to vindicate with their swords the rights of the Church, St. Peter, and the Holy See.

The Franks crossed the Alps, and the Lombard king Aistulf gave up his conquests. Pippin might have kept these provinces

for himself. He was able to defend and take care of them. But such was not his intention. He "restored them to St. Peter and his successors, to be possessed by them forever." In 756 A.D. the district of Rome together with that of Ravenna became the **Papal States**. Pope Stephen III, now real sovereign, gave Pippin the title of *Patrician of the Romans*, which made him the secular protector of the new papal monarchy.

To the Byzantine ambassadors who urged him to make the conquered provinces over to the empire, Pippin gave the noble answer: "It is not to please men that I have so often engaged in battle. It is only for the love of Blessed Peter, and to obtain pardon for my sins. No amount of treasure can move me to take back what I have once offered to Blessed Peter" (Mann, Vol. I, Part II, p. 312).

80. Importance of the Papal States. — In Rome, as a matter of fact, the popes had ever been either persecuted and prisoners or the most prominent personages. Though at all times desirable, a full sovereignty was less needed for them as long as nearly the whole Church was confined to the Roman Empire. It would be different in the times to come. "By a special dispensation of Divine Providence," says Pope Pius IX, in 1871, "the civil sovereignty came to the Roman Pontiff. If he were subject to another monarch's rule, he could never, in performing the duties of his Apostolic office, keep himself free from the influence of his sovereign, who might even fall away from the faith or wage war with another power." No nation will turn with full confidence to a pope who has to reckon with the political and commercial views, plans, and interests of another nation's head, government, and political parties.

Had not their little principality made the popes independent of all other powers, the popes could never have freely rebuked potentates for immorality and oppression or acted as arbiters between warring parties. They could never have kept in view and effectively promoted missionary work in foreign countries. The Crusades would have been an impossibility. General councils, without an independent head, could

have commanded little respect, neither would their injunctions have been carried into execution. Decisions concerning conditions in other countries would have been viewed with suspicion, had the pope been the subject of a foreign and perhaps hostile power.

The Papal States are for the Church what the District of Columbia is for the United States. They are not the private property of the popes any more than the White House is the property of the President or the parochial residences the property of our parish priests.

The territorial independence of the papacy is a necessary element in the life of the Middle Ages. This evident fact cannot always be referred to expressly in this textbook. Let the student himself ask the question, whether, on certain occasions, the pope would have acted as he did had he been the real subject of, say, France, or Germany, or England.

81. Meaning of Temporal Sovereignty. Persons not well informed sometimes understand by the "temporal sovereignty" of the popes the peculiar position which the popes held in the Middle Ages as heads of the entire Christian commonwealth, in virtue of which they occasionally went so far as even to *depose emperors or kings*. *But this was no sovereignty at all.* By virtue of this position the popes never claimed any of the rights of kings or rulers in the realms concerned; they never, for instance, claimed that they could make purely commercial laws for the Christian countries, or that they, if the matter was purely temporal, could accept an appeal from a king's decision. It was simply the same power as that which they had over every other individual member in the Church, the right to see that the laws of God were obeyed, and to *inflict suitable punishment* in case of flagrant immorality and tyranny or other transgressions. Excommunication, for instance, was inflicted not only on Philip I of France for adultery, but also by St. Paul on a man of Corinth for a similar crime. The power to act thus was part of the universal care for the spiritual welfare of all Christians, rulers as well as subjects. (The power of the popes to depose unworthy rulers was not seriously questioned in the Middle Ages.) But all this was no temporal sovereignty.

Temporal sovereignty is the supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power in a state, whether held by a monarch or a republican magistrate; that is to say, the power to make laws which bind all the subjects, to decide cases referring to temporal matters without the interference of a higher authority, to levy and dispose of revenues for the maintenance of public order and the furthering of temporal welfare. This was the

power the popes held over the territories granted to them by Pippin the Short. And they held it not for its own sake but for the additional advantage which it confers: political independence. They were obliged in turn to give their territory a good administration. Since the object of this independence is the exercise of the highest and most necessary office in the Church, *it is a sacred possession, and its violation is sacrilegious.*[1]

[1] For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, Vol. II, No. 144, 145; Thos. W. Allies, *Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood*, Ch. viii, pp. 420 ff.

CHAPTER XI

CHARLEMAGNE

A. Charlemagne and His Wars

82. Charlemagne the Man. — In 768 Pippin, king of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Karl. This prince is known in history as Charlemagne.[1] No doubt he was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and his work has profoundly influenced all later history. His friend and secretary Einhard (Eginhard) describes him as a full-blooded German, with yellow hair, fair skin, and large, keen, blue eyes. He was simple in habits, temperate in eating and more so in drinking. He usually wore the ordinary dress of the Frankish noble, with a sword at his side and a blue cloak flung over his shoulders. But he was also a lover of Roman culture, and spared no efforts to preserve and extend it among his people.

Seal of Charlemagne

This is the nearest approach to a likeness of the greatest of the Franks. The inscription, much abbreviated, is XPE PROTEGE CAROLUM REGE(M) FRANCR(FRANCORUM) *Christ, protect Charles the king of the Franks.* The cross stands for an X; see legend of illustration in § 20.

He handled Latin as readily as his Frankish tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken. Later in life he learned to write, but was never able to do much more than sign his name. For

[1] See note on § 77. — The French form *Charlemagne* has won general acceptance among English writers. However, the student must not think of him as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." At that time there was no France in our sense of the word. The following chapters will make this clear. Charlemagne was "King of the Franks."

the times, however, he was an educated man, and most willing to appreciate the learning of others. At table he liked to have some one read to him, and had a predilection for historical subjects. He gathered learned men around him from distant lands and delighted in their conversation. After his death, legend magnified and mystified his fame in all the countries that had been under his sway.

83. Character of Charlemagne's Wars. — The Frankish state was still in peril, from Mohammedanism on one side, and still more from barbarism on the other. His grandfather and father had checked the invasion. But under the vigorous new prince the Franks took the aggressive and rolled back the peril on both sides. His reign of nearly fifty years (768–814) was filled with ceaseless warfare, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. At first glimpse, therefore, Charlemagne stands forth a warlike figure, like Caesar and Alexander. Like them he supported by arms the extension of the area of civilized life. But very unlike them, he conceived of no civilization except that imparted by Christianity. In fact, the protection and spread of Christianity he considered as his chief aim from the beginning of his long reign. He did not war for glory or gain as such. The greater part of his time and efforts was given to interior organization and government. Charles was not so much a fighter as a statesman and ruler. His wars had a twofold political result: (*a*) the enlargement of the Frankish State, (*b*) the establishment of tributary border states.

84. The Enlargement of the Realm. *Winning of the Saxon Lands.* — The heathen Saxons still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea.[1] They were constantly harassing the Frankish dominions by devastating raids. Missionaries could never penetrate into the land. For Charles the war against them was a necessity. But it proved a desperate enterprise. Nine times, after they seemed subdued, the Saxons shook off his yoke, massacred the Frankish garrisons, and re-

[1] At present the name of Saxony is chiefly applied to other districts.

turned to the abominations of paganism with its human sacrifices.

Unfortunately Charles' methods were not above reproach. Contrary to the spirit of Christianity he forced the Saxons to be baptized. It is a blot on his name, too, that he executed after one rising forty-five hundred men (a number doubted by good historians). The rebels, however, had been condemned by their own chiefs. The genuine conversion of the Saxon leader *Widukind* meant a great step toward final submission.

But these wars were the most fruitful of the whole century. The Saxon country came to be covered with churches and monasteries and the schools inseparable from them. The Saxons became fervent Christians and proved loyal subjects to their stern conqueror. This conversion and the establishment of bishoprics in Saxony completed the work of St. Boniface for Germany. Christian civilization now extended to the Elbe. The country thus gained was destined to play an influential part in the formation of medieval Germany.

In other campaigns Charles thrust back the *Saracens* in Spain as far as the Ebro and established there the Spanish March.[1] The last *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope. After fruitless negotiations Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the Apostolic See, conquered the kingdom of Lombardy, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and with the partial consent of the nation proclaimed himself king of the Lombards.[2] He also reduced Bavaria, which had never been a secure possession, deposed its duke and incorporated it into the Frankish state. With it went the countries between Bavaria and the northern end of the Adriatic Sea.

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[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with the Saracens. The details are fable, but the *Song of Roland* was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

[2] Note the distinction: *Lombardy* first remained a separate kingdom though under the Frankish king; after an attempt at rebellion Lombardy like *Bavaria* became part of the kingdom of the Franks, with no separate government.

Thus all the surviving Germanic peoples on the continent of Europe, Lombards, Burgundians, Bavarians, Alemannians, Saxons, Frisians, Franks, and part of the Visigoths were united in one Christian state. The population, except in the Northeast, was overwhelmingly Roman, notably Celto-Roman, while the rule was in Teutonic hands. This unity seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne.

It is worthy of notice that the small Teutonic states outside his realm, — in Denmark, Scandinavia, and England, — recognized in some vague terms an overlordship in the ruler of the continent.

85. The Tributary States. — Beyond the German territory there stretched away indefinitely the Slavs and Avars, who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in its own strongholds. These long wars were really *defensive* in character. Gradually the first line of the people beyond the Elbe and Danube (including modern Bohemia and Moravia) was reduced to tributary kingdoms. *They were intended to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*

But the event which more than anything else has given to Charlemagne his place in history is the revival of the Roman Empire in the West.

B. The Revival of the Roman Empire in the West

86. Possibility of the Revival. — In the West of Europe the idea of an emperor was not forgotten (§§ 43, 54, 65). The nations, Teutonic as well as Roman, desired to see an emperor rise again who would combine imperial power with an imperial title, who would, according to the notion cherished since Constantine, be *a defender of the Church, as protector of right and justice* (§ 40). There was now a ruler who lacked none of all the requisites but the title. Some exchange of thought on this subject had evidently taken place between the pope and Charlemagne, at least in some general way. A renewal of this sacred

dignity was of advantage to both. The magic of the name would enormously increase the king's authority over the many nationalities of his realm, and the pope would gain a greater claim to the active assistance of the Frankish monarch. The only one who, according to the spirit of the time, could take the initiative and act as the spokesman of the nations, was the pope. An emperor sanctioned and crowned by the Head of all Christendom would meet with a general and unbounded enthusiasm.

87. Coronation of Charlemagne. — In A.D. 799 a band of Roman nobles, probably relying on the support of a Lombard and Byzantine faction in Italy, attacked Pope St. Leo III in a procession, and only with great difficulty could he save himself by flight. Like Stephen III he went in person across the Alps, and obtained from the king the promise of his assistance. The following year saw Charlemagne in Rome, where he took vigorous measures for the future safety of the Holy Father. Then, on Christmas, when Charles was kneeling in St. Peter's Church to hear Mass, the pope unexpectedly approached him, placed a golden crown upon his head, and greeted him with the words, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving **Emperor of the Romans.**" The cry was repeated in the church and re-echoed by the crowds outside. Christmas Day of the year 800 is one of the most memorable dates in the history of Europe. It is the birthday of the **Holy Roman Empire.**

88. Relation of the Emperor to the Pope and to Other Rulers. — By his elevation the emperor gained neither any new territory nor the right of interfering in the interior affairs of any other state. Nor did he become the sovereign of the Papal States; on the contrary, it was one of the obligations of his office to guarantee these possessions to the incumbent of the Holy See. Only when requested by the pope was he allowed to exercise jurisdiction within them. Neither did his position make him a subject of the pope in temporal matters. But the

new dignity endowed him with a moral power which no feat of arms or successful conquest could have given him. Over other Christian princes, should there be any, the emperor would possess a primacy of honor, and the right of summoning them to his assistance in any enterprise undertaken for the welfare of the Church. Papacy and empire were to stand side by side, each supreme in its own sphere, the emperor being ever ready to support with physical force the spiritual government of the pope and to defend all the interests of the Church of God on earth.

The great act of A.D. 800 in St. Peter's Basilica was the beginning of that intimate union between Church and State, which in spite of many shortcomings must ever be considered as the nearest realization of the true ideal relation between the two which the world has ever known. The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire were the two centers around which moved events of the greatest importance in European history.[1]

All these attributes of the imperial dignity were rather acknowledged instinctively by the contemporaries of Charlemagne than formally expressed. The very designation of "Holy Roman Empire" was coined later. The medieval emperor stood essentially higher than any other ruler; he was endowed with a sacred character; only one prince might rightfully call himself emperor, and he only after being crowned by the head of the Church in Rome. By his tact Charlemagne soon overcame the sensitiveness of the Byzantine emperors, and before long was addressed by them as "emperor and king."

C. Life in Charlemagne's Empire

89. Economic Conditions. — We must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries

[1] Charlemagne is said to be the first secular ruler who employed the Christian Era (*Ancient World*, § 591, note) when dating documents.

more. In 800 the West was ignorant and poor. There was barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect; brigands infested them; and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was agriculture.

Perhaps we can see this condition best by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. *There were no taxes*, as we understand the word, — partly because there was no money with which to pay them, and little produce. Payment was made *by service in person*. The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks of the army, the nobles by serving with their followers, and also by acting, without salary, as officers in the government. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the "gifts" which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came *from the produce of the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.

The king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm to consume the produce upon the spot. Charlemagne took the most minute care that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times. (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 149; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 18.)

90. The Government. — The complex and efficient system of government of the *old* Roman Empire had vanished even more completely than the old roads and commerce and taxing system. The new government of Charlemagne's Empire was rude and simple, but suited to the conditions of the age.

Five features deserve attention, — the *counts;* the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici;* the *king's own marvelous activity;* the *capitularies;* and *Mayfields.*

Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom had

fallen under the rule of *dukes*, who became almost independent sovereigns and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these *hereditary dukes* with *appointed counts*, more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; so these officers were numerous. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks"), and were called *margraves*.[1] To counts and margraves the king intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self, — overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.[2]

This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because of *his own marvelous activity*. Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

With the help of his advisers, the king drew up collections

[1] The title of count has nothing to do with counting. It is derived from a Latin word which means companion. This was the appellation of certain officials in the later Roman Empire. The German word for it is *Graf*, the ancient form of which appears in margrave (Markgraf).

[2] See instructions to the *missi*, in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 139–143.

of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as *capitularies*. (Davis' *Readings*, II, pp. 377 ff., gives extracts.)

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen. (Cf. § 48.)

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. *Lawmaking was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.

A modern French historian (Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus: "An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent upon him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything; the nobles only advised."

91. Education. — Attention has been called (§ 82) to Charlemagne's interest in learning. The difficulties in building up a system of education were almost beyond our comprehension. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the better clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men, domestic and foreign. Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Italian scholars received every kind of encouragement. In those days scholarship was almost exclusively represented by the clergy. Charles brought about the opening of schools in monasteries and at the seats of bishops; and he urged that these schools should not

only train the clergy, but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. Charlemagne also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the young nobles of the court at Aachen; and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the boys.

92. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — Charlemagne restored order to Europe, at least for his lifetime. It is true he was ahead of his age; and, after his death, his great design in many respects broke to pieces. But the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against the forces of anarchy in behalf of order, peace, and progress. It is true, too, that he built upon the work of his father and grandfather. But he towers above them, and above all other men for centuries, easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five great movements. He expanded the area of Christianity and of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived as the outward form of this state the Roman Empire in the West, reorganized civil society, brought about a revival of learning, and in various ways assisted in securing for the papacy the independent position which it needs to develop its divine resources. Looking at this work as a whole, we may say he wrought wisely to combine the best elements into a new Christian civilization.

In his Empire the various streams of influence that we have traced in *Ancient History* were at last fused in one great current. [1]

Exercises on this *Summary of Ancient Times* are not given, because this part of the book is often covered by classes in Ancient history, and teachers may wish to pass over it rapidly.

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[1] See *Ancient History*, § 4.

THE MODERN WORLD

BOOK I

THE ERA OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

(Early Modern History)

PART I. FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

SECTION I. ORIGIN OF THE EUROPEAN STATES

CHAPTER I

THE WORLD ABOUT A.D. 800

93. The Great Powers of the Time. — The world was divided chiefly among four great powers, two Christian empires and two Mohammedan caliphates. (See map of "Great Powers.") The old historical countries of Western Asia, that is, the lands on the Euphrates and Tigris, Syria and Egypt, were now in the hands of the Mohammedan rulers, who extended their sway over the whole Northern coast of Africa. These vast provinces formed the Caliphate of *Bagdad*. The Caliphate of *Cordova* embraced the Spanish peninsula with the exception of the northern mountains and the Frankish county between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The two great Christian states were the *Eastern Empire* and the *Empire of Charlemagne*.

The *Civilization* of the Mohammedan world has been referred to already (§ 74). In many of their countries the religious and literary life of the subjected Christians, though much disturbed, still went on for some centuries more.

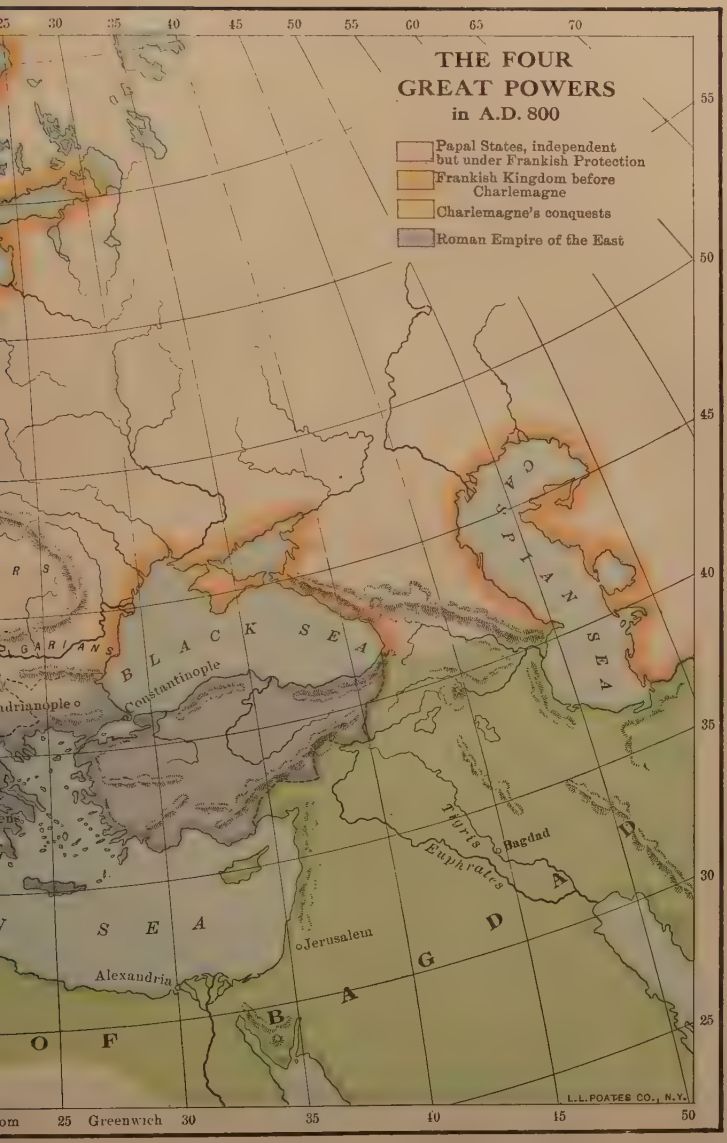
94. The most civilized part of the world, both materially and intellectually, was the Eastern Empire. Here, in the cities around the Aegean Sea, there remained, practically untouched by the effects of the Migration of Nations, the old culture, the inheritance of centuries of refinement, elevated by the influence of

Christianity. Constantinople above all was the home of civilization. It was the most splendid city in the world. It possessed beautiful parks, and its well-paved streets were lighted by night. Its brilliant churches and imperial palaces were the marvel of the universe. Hospitals and orphan asylums took care of the poor. It was also the center of trade and manufacture. Its silks, jewelry, glazed pottery, weapons, and

Walls of Constantinople to-day. — From a photograph.

mosaics found their way into foreign lands, including the semi-cultured West. The population numbered about a million. Unfortunately the despotism of its rulers left little to the initiative of the citizens. It thus gradually lessened the interest which private citizens should take in the general welfare of the state, and diminished their ability to realize and meet common dangers. Worse than this, the constant interference of the emperors in Church affairs, even in matters of doctrine, and the fact that the appointment of all the bishops had been usurped by the secular authority which was often prompted by merely

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
SCOTIA
IRELAND
Tara
Whitby
ANGLO-SAXONS
FRISIANS
DANES
London
Canterbury
SAXONY
Aachen
Cologne
AUSTRASIA
Mainz
Paris
NEUSTRIA
ALLEMANIA
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
Milan
Ravenna
Rome
TRIBUTA
BOHEMIA
ANTARRIA
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Cordova
MEDITERRA
CALIPHAT
For several centuries before A.D. 800
Ireland was called Scotia
SCALE OF MILES
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude


THE FOUR
GREAT POWERS
in A.D. 800
Papal States, independent but under Frankish Protection
Frankish Kingdom before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's conquests
Roman Empire of the East
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Tigris
Euphrates
Baghdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
L.L.POATES CO., N.Y.
Greenwich

political reasons tended to reduce the Church, the mightiest factor in civilization, into slavish subjection and unproductive stagnancy.

95. The West. — We have, however, chiefly to deal with the Christian West, now almost entirely united in the Empire of Charlemagne. The West harbored the promise of the future of Europe. *Three forces had contributed towards shaping it for its great mission: Christianity, the ancient Roman Empire, the Teutonic invaders.* These forces had also affected the Eastern Empire, but not all in the same degree and fashion. The student will be able, now or in the course of the next several chapters, to point out the differences.

Christianity (1) restored the worship of the One True God "Who made heaven and earth" and with it gave back to mankind the greatest guarantee of true welfare, civilization included.

(2) It consequently inculcated the true notion of human life and liberty, thus rescuing the rights of slaves and children and women.

(3) It secured the future of the human race by reinstating and elevating matrimony.

(4) It furnished the correct notion of the dignity of the lowly and their occupations.

(5) It placed before the eyes of the world a spotless ideal of Virtue, the God-Man Jesus Christ and his immaculate mother Mary.

(6) It established a religion which satisfies the human intellect as well as the human heart and will.

(7) It was itself a *world-wide organization, strong enough to foster in its bosom all the rising institutions.*

The Roman Empire: —

(1) *The Population.* The bulk of the population during and after the Teutonic invasions remained ethnically much the same as before. In the West, which concerns us much more

than the East, it was chiefly the Romanized Celts of Gaul and northern Italy, that come into consideration.

This population contributed: —

a. The intellectual and material civilization of ancient Greece, together with the Oriental inheritance, but all this modified by the Roman genius.

b. A universal language with its literary treasures, which even after losing its hold on the common people was to remain the vehicle of educated thought for the next thousand years.

(2) *The Political Organization* contributed: —

a. The idea and machinery of centralized government.

b. Municipal institutions.

c. Roman law.

d. The idea of a ONE lasting secular authority as the secular center and head of the civilized world.

The Teutons contributed: —

a. Themselves.

b. A new sense of the value of the *individual* as opposed to that of the state. This idea was extended, rectified, and hallowed by Christianity.

c. *Loyalty to a lord*, as contrasted with loyalty to the state.

d. A new chance for democracy (§ 67).

e. A new impetus to the development of law. Teutonic law was crude and adapted to simple conditions. Yet it exercised a wholesome influence on the later codification of the Roman law which formed the basis of legislation in after centuries.

This *mingling* of forces has been felt ever since in European history. Oriental civilization quickly became uniform; society crystallized; development ceased (§§ 12, 13). European civilization began with diversity and freedom. But after some centuries, the Roman Empire had begun to take an Oriental uniformity (§ 32); society there, too, had crystallized (§§ 34–36), and progress apparently had ceased.

The *mingling* of the new elements contributed by the Teutons with the older elements, and both controlled by Christianity, has prevented later European society from becoming stagnant.

It was in consequence of this manifold inheritance, which fell to it in greater richness, that the West, though saving less of the actual civilization of former times, contained more possibility for growth than the East. Personal liberty and local enterprise were never stifled. Conditions developed which were to safeguard the Church against becoming the slave of the secular power. The fact that the greatest of religious forces, the papacy, had its seat in the West, no doubt was also of immense moment.

96. The Christian West Outside of Charlemagne's Empire.— The brightest spot in the northwest was *Ireland*. She continued in her flourishing state, producing saintly and learned men and women, and sending monks and missionaries to foreign lands. The *Slavs*, east and north of the civilized and Christian territory, had not as yet risen much above a primitive state of civilization. They were still in a period of political formation, constantly changing their abodes as well as their relation to the Eastern and Western empires. More backward, perhaps, were the Teutonic inhabitants of *Scandinavia*, who in later years were to exert a powerful influence upon nearly all the countries of Europe (§ 101 ff.).

CHAPTER II

DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

97. Louis the Pious (814–840). — The great emperor died A.D. 814 and was succeeded by his son Louis. Louis had shown himself on many occasions an able general and administrator, so that Charles closed his eyes full of hope for the future of his vast empire. For years everything went on much the same way as under Charles, though the time of great conquests was past. Louis was a conscientious and pious man, kind, — too kind, — and too easily swayed by others. He soon divided his realm among his sons, trying no less than seven schemes, each followed by greater dissatisfaction. It came to wars between the sons and the father and between the sons themselves. The emperor was the victim of their jealousy. Once they forced him to abdicate and remain for some time in a monastery. He was allowed to resume his dignity, but death alone preserved him from a new humiliation.

His good will to act as protector of the Church nobody questioned. But he lacked the energy of his father. The empire suffered greatly from the domestic wars as well as from the inroads of the Northmen (§ 101 ff.) which did not meet with vigorous resistance and which increased in number and violence under the following reigns.

98. The Later Carolingians. — After Louis the Pious' death, his sons concluded *the Treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843*, which may be said to have begun the map of modern Europe. Lothair, the eldest, held the title of Emperor and was given Northern Italy with a strip of land from Italy to the North Sea. His two brothers received the parts east and west of Lothair's realm.

REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
NORTH SEA
Frisia
Saxony
Elbe R.
Tribe R.
Free Slavs
Oder R.
Sorabians (Sorbes)
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Pannonian Mark
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Croatia
Servia
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Aachen
Köln (Cologne)
Thuringia
Franconia
Frankfort
Mainz
(East Francia)
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Danube R.
Bavaria
Inn R.
Carinthia
Alamannia (Suabia)
Constance
Rhine R.
Lotharingia
KINGDOM OF LOUIS
Meuse R.
Rouen
Rheims
Seine R.
Paris
Marne R.
Verdun
Neustria
(West Francia)
Orleans
Britanny
Loire R.
Nantes
Aquitania
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Saone R.
Lyon
Burgundia
Rhone R.
Geneva
Alps
Lombard
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Po R.
Ravenna
Genoa
Apennines
Tiber R.
Tuscany
Rome
Beneventum
PAPAL STATES
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Gascony
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Marseilles
Provincia
Asturia
Navarre
Pyrenees
Spanish March
Ebro R.
Moors
Barcelona
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
0
5
10
20
45
50

The *eastern kingdom*, purely German, developed later into Germany. In the *western kingdom* the sparse Teutonic elements were being absorbed rapidly into the old Gallic (Celtic) popu-

CATHEDRAL OF AACHEN.

The Octagon in the center is the original Carolingian "Chapel." The other parts are of later date. (Compare picture in *Ancient World*, p. 648.)

lation, and its territory corresponded fairly well to the extent of the new French language then rising into use.[1] How this part came to be called France will be seen later (§ 188).

[1] A year before the Treaty of Verdun the two younger brothers were allied against Lothair. They mutually took the famous "Oath of Strass-

Lothair's unwieldy middle kingdom naturally proved the weakest of the three states. It lacked unity, racial as well as geographical. Lothair himself divided it among his three sons. Louis II followed him as emperor and ruler of (Northern) Italy; *Burgundy* became another kingdom; and the rest, north of Burgundy, went to Lothair II. This latter part retained Lothair's name, being called "*Lotharingia*" or *Lorraine*. It then embraced, as the map shows, much of the eastern part of present France, nearly all Belgium, all Holland, and much German territory west and northeast of the Rhine. This Lorraine soon became the bone of contention between its two neighbors, neither of whom had any more claim to it than the other. But by 925 it appears incorporated into the eastern kingdom.

The *imperial dignity* did not always pass from father to son. In some cases an emperor "crowned" his successor. But in the eyes of Christianity the solemn coronation by the pope was the true bestowal of the dignity. The later emperors were only too often lacking in real political and military power to achieve

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burg." This was worded in two languages: German for the people of the East; and "Roman," that is, the kind of Latin which was now becoming the language of the West. The "Roman" oath is the oldest written example of the French language. Charles, the king of the West Franks, swore in the language of his brother's German army, and Lewis, king of the East Franks swore in the West Franks' tongue, so that each army might know what was promised by the other party. The double oath begins: —

"*Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salva-*
"*In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehalt-*
(In God's love and for this Christian people and our common salva-

ment dist di in avant in quant Deus savir," *etc.*
nissi fon thesemo dage frammordes so fram so mir God gewizci," *etc.*
tion, from this day forward, so far as God gives me knowledge)

This is the earliest record in the French tongue. The French is half way between Latin(Roman) and modern French. This shows why the name *Romance Languages* is given to modern French, — and also to Spanish and Italian, which grew up in a similar way. (See § 55.) (The oldest records of the German language go farther back.)

much for the protection of the Church. The last Carolingian who wore the Roman crown, Berengar, King of (Northern) Italy, died in 924. After him the dignity remained in abeyance until 962.

While thus the actual influence of the official protector of the Church relaxed and ceased, *political factions* raised their heads *in Rome*. By conspiring with dissatisfied elements in the peninsula, they several times intruded unfit persons into the papal chair (§ 201). *The Papal States* came to be ruled more or less according to the methods of Feudalism, that is, the popes gave parts of them to vassals. The cities generally, like those in the rest of Italy, had preserved a good deal of home rule from the Roman times. Both vassals and cities were eager to acquire, and even to arrogate, greater rights, and often acted with utter disregard of their sovereign. Some of the later emperors — not the Carolingians — exercised unlawful jurisdiction within the papal domains and highhandedly granted its provinces to their own Italian or foreign retainers. Hence it is that occasionally the popes lost control of their states in part or, in a few cases, almost entirely, and that strong popes made successful efforts to recover, even reconquer, their territory.[1]

99. During the sixty years after the Treaty of Verdun the lands of Charlemagne's Empire saw a large number of scandalous family wars. Brothers and cousins fought against one another. The ferocious Northmen (§ 101 ff.) devastated not only the coasts but even the cities far inland, and this sometimes with the connivance of the rulers. Once more all the dominions of the great emperor were united under Charles the Fat. After

[1] In some historical atlases the Papal States are not marked off for the time of the Carolingians and several hundred years after them. This is incorrect. Never were the Papal States an imperial district like Bavaria or Aquitaine (§ 88). Nor did the Roman Pontiffs ever allow their claims to lapse, even when large sections refused to acknowledge their sovereignty. And in some way or other, these provinces or cities always returned to their allegiance.

three years, in 887, they fell apart again never to be reunited. In Germany Charlemagne's line died out with Louis the Child, 911, in France with Louis the Sluggard, 987.

But bright spots are not completely absent in this somber picture. Louis III of the western kingdom won the enthusiasm of his people by warding off attacks of the Northmen. Arnulph, called the Carinthian, restored and kept up order in Germany. Near Louvain he inflicted (891) a lasting defeat upon the Northmen. He was crowned emperor by the pope, though he did not fully succeed in suppressing the tumultuous Roman factions.

100. The weakness of the crown during these troublous times had two results which proved disastrous for the future kingdoms:

(1) In nearly all the provinces of the empire there again rose families, sometimes related to the Carolingians, which arrogated to themselves the power of *dukes*, a power which Charlemagne had taken so much pains to abolish. (§ 90.) This power even passed from father to son in the same family.

(2) The royal dignity again became *elective*, and of course, the dukes had a decisive influence in the election of the king.

It was principally the bishops that kept each kingdom together and prevented the rise of as many independent states as there were dukes. They did this partly by example, partly by efficient administration of the regions intrusted to them as feudal lords, and partly by vigorous support of the king. Under Louis the Child, Archbishop Hatto of Mayence as administrator of the whole East-Frankish realm kept down lawlessness to a great extent and was heartily hated by the evildoers.

Exercise. — Draw the Division of Verdun, preferably upon "outline maps," as in the map near § 98.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIONS OF THE NORTH AND THE EAST

We must now devote some attention to other nations which were destined to influence the future of Europe and themselves to come under the beneficial sway of Christian civilization. They rise into prominence in the times of Charlemagne's successors.

A. The Northmen

101. Character, Home, First Expeditions. — The Northmen or Norse were another branch of the Teutons and lived in what is now Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The people of the British Isles called all of them *Danes*. So far they had taken no part in the Teutonic invasions. Their manners more or less resembled those of the other Germanic tribes before these tribes had settled on Roman ground. But they possessed less political unity. They were a ferocious and hardy race. One Northman would consider it disgraceful to run from three foemen. They clung tenaciously to the old Germanic gods (§ 47).[1]

Remains of a Viking Ship.

Found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted; length over all, 79 feet 4 inches, from stem to stern.

Toward the close of the eighth century they took to the sea —

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 261–272.

"set out upon the pathway of the swans" — and started a dreadful career of piracy and depredation. For more than a hundred years they ravaged every shore of Europe including Italy. The fleets of these *Vikings* (creekmen, sons of the

NORSE SETTLEMENTS.

fjords) sometimes counted hundreds of boats, sometimes only two or three.

The Norse ships were long, open boats, seventy-five feet by twelve or fifteen, carrying a single square sail, but driven for the most part by thirty or forty long oars. A boat bore perhaps eighty warriors; and each man was perfectly clad in ring mail and steel helmet, and armed with lance, knife, bow, and the terrible Danish ax. Daring, indeed, were the long voyages of the Northmen in these frail craft. They laughed at the fierce storms of the northern seas. "The blast,"

they sang, " aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant and drives us whither we wish to go."

Charlemagne maintained fleets to prevent pirate attacks; but in the quarrels of his weak successors the Norsemen found their opportunity. They drove their light vessels far up a river, into the heart of the land, and then, seizing horses, harried at will. They not only plundered the open country, but they sacked cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne. Within one period of a few years, they ravaged *every town* in old Austrasia, and finally stabled their horses in the cathedral of Aachen, about the tomb of Charlemagne.

Ireland was invaded for the first time, in 795. For some decades the raids were confined to the small islands, many of which were inhabited by colonies of monks. But the " Danes " soon found their way inland. A defeat at Killarney merely deterred them for some years. As on the continent it was political disunion of the inhabitants that made these frightful devastations possible. The invasion of Britain will be treated at length in the next chapter.

Everywhere the chief object of their attacks was the churches and monasteries. There they found the most desirable booty — richly woven and splendidly decorated cloth, vessels of gold and silver, and sometimes treasures deposited for safe keeping. But these scornful worshipers of Thor and Wotan were also prompted by a blind hatred against " the white Christ." Priests and monks and nuns suffered the most cruel persecution. The marauders seem to have been instigated by the thousands of heathen Saxons who had sought refuge in the North from the sword of Charlemagne (§ 84).

102. Norse Settlements. — (1) So far the Northmen had been mere plunderers. But things changed in their Scandinavian homes. Three prominent chieftains consolidated the countless petty dominions into the kingdoms of *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.* Discontented spirits now began to leave in *search of permanent abodes,* although marauding expeditions still continued.

Christianization of Scandinavia had been begun by St. Ansgar, Bishop of Hamburg, with the support of the Emperor

Louis the Pious, but the national conversion belongs to a later date. The Northmen who settled in other lands, too, were converted, so that by A.D. 1000 this whole race had entered the family of Christian nations and was participating in the blessings of genuine civilization.

(2) The Norse established themselves on the *Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands.* On *Iceland* they founded a republic and, under the leadership of the Church, maintained a vigorous religious and literary life until the time of the Reformation. Another "Danish" republic arose on the western shore of Greenland. Thence the Norse seem to have made regular trips to the coast of America. In *Ireland*, too, they now meant to stay. Dublin became their principal seat. The opposition of the valiant but disunited Irish chiefs was unable to check them. It was only in 1014 that the Irish, now fairly well united under the brave Brian Boru, defeated them completely in the battle of Clontarf. The inroads stopped. The numerous "Danes" who remained in the island lived on peacefully among the natives. But the famous Irish schools (§ 62) never recovered their ancient renown.

The Northmen of Sweden had always turned toward the other shores of the Baltic, where they harassed the Slavic tribes. Called in by the latter, a powerful chieftain, *Ruric*, founded a principality at Novgorod, which was afterwards transferred to Kiew and thence to Moscow. Ruric's descendants ruled over the Slav population until 1598, when they were succeeded by the house of Romanow. This state came to be known as *Russia*, a name which is said to have been originally applied to the Scandinavians by the Turanian Finns. Rulers and people accepted Christianity from Constantinople and later on were drawn into the Greek Schism. (§§ 214, 235.)

There was besides, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a constant stream of Swedish Northmen, called the Varangians, to Constantinople, where they formed a redoubtable unit in the imperial army, the famous Varangian Guards.

(3) *But their most important settlement was Normandy.* In 911 Charles the Simple, king of West-Frankland, stopped the

Norse raids in his country by planting some of the invaders on the northern coast to defend it, under their leader Rolf the Dane. Rolf was known also as *the Walker*, because, it was said, he was too gigantic for any horse to bear. He and his followers accepted Christianity and agreed to acknowledge Charles as overlord for their district, which henceforward was known under the title of *Dukedom of Normandy*.

A century later the descendants of these fierce warriors had become the foremost champions of Western civilization. With peculiar adaptability the "Normans," as they were now called, took on French customs and the French language. A long line of able dukes sternly maintained order; and this security quickly drew immigrants from the neighboring provinces. The mixture of Norse blood gave to the population a robust vigor which was noticeable for centuries. The rulers were patrons of learning and architecture. They favored a zealous and well-educated clergy and supported all efforts of ecclesiastical reform, notably the movement proceeding from the Abbey of Cluny (§ 150). The little territory was destined to have an influence upon the history of Europe quite out of proportion to its size.

Exercise. — Mark on an outline map of Europe the several places where the Northmen established permanent settlements.

B. The Slavs

103. Homes and Character of the Slavs. — By this time the Slavs had occupied the countries evacuated by the Teutons in the Migration of Nations. They were the eastern neighbors of the Frankish kingdom. After the breaking up of the latter it was the German kingdom which had to deal with them. But a wedge of Germans and Avars — the latter afterwards being replaced by the Hungarians — divided the Slavs into a northern and a southern branch. The Northern Slavs were by far the most numerous.

The Southern Slavs were Christianized early, partly from the West, partly from Constantinople. But at the time of Charlemagne the northern branch was still given to the old national paganism. They adored a god of thunder, Perun (Peruna); a god of hospitality and war, Radegast; and on an island in the Baltic there stood a four-headed statue of the god Swantewit. Human sacrifices were an ordinary occurrence. But there was no strict religious unity among the many tribes. The priests ruled over the people with almost absolute authority and always acted as judges. Slavic poetry shows a propensity to the melancholic. But the people were brave, and proud of their national liberty. Those living farther in the East received Christianity from Constantinople (§ 102, 2). Along the eastern boundary of the Frankish realm there were, next to the Danube, the *Moravians*, northwest of them the *Bohemians*, and farther north a number of various tribes reaching as far as the Baltic. Moravians and Bohemians are comprised under the name *Czechs*. The tribes east of these three sections were spoken of as the *Poles* and their country as *Poland*.

104. (1) The Moravians. — By his expedition against the Avars (§ 85) Charlemagne had secured the existence of Moravia. In 830 A.D. the first Moravians were baptized at the court of Louis the Pious, and soon Christianity was legally established. But the work of the German and Italian missionaries was not very fruitful, because they did not master the language sufficiently. Moravia's greatest ruler was Swatopluk (870–894), who made even Bohemia a part of his realm. At first in alliance with King Arnulph (§ 99), then in opposition to him, he was prompted both by religious and political motives to ask the emperor of Constantinople for missionaries who would know the Slavic tongue. **Sts. Cyrillus and Methodius** were sent, — two highly educated brothers, who had already learned the language before they knew of this mission. These Saints are considered the Apostles of the Slavs. Though they never went

to Bohemia or Poland, their influence greatly aided in the conversion of these two countries. They translated the Bible into Slavic. After St. Cyrillus is named the Slavic alphabet, which is still in use in Russia. With the permission of the pope they even said Mass in Slavic, following, however, the Roman usages and ceremonies. (In 1893 Pope Leo XIII again sanctioned this privilege for a number of Slavic dioceses.)

The political friction between Swatopluk and Arnulph was unfortunate for both Moravia and Germany. Arnulph invited the heathen Magyars (Hungarians) to an attack on Moravia. The destruction of Swatopluk's empire left Germany open to the frightful inroads of the Magyars, who harassed Germany until 955 A.D. Later on Moravia always appears as a dependency of the kingdom of Bohemia.

105. (**2**) **The Bohemians.** — In 845 King Louis the German persuaded fourteen Bohemian chieftains who visited him to receive baptism. Later, owing to the influence of St. Methodius, the Duke of Bohemia himself became a Christian. His wife, Ludmilla, was the soul of the movement in favor of the new religion. But the complete victory was not so easily won. Ludmilla's grandson, St. Wenceslaus, was murdered by his brother. He is one of the principal patrons of Bohemia. A fierce persecution followed his death. The arms of Emperor Otto the Great, however, secured the final and permanent ascendency of the true religion. Politically the country became, together with Moravia, a vassal state of Germany, but always held a highly privileged position. Its ruler was given the title of King, and in later times he was one of the seven "Electors" who had the right and duty of choosing the King of Germany. German immigration was eagerly invited in the first centuries, because it brought a higher civilization and served to people deserted districts, notably along the boundaries. Of all the rich Slav countries Bohemia is the richest in natural treasures.

106. (3) **The Northwestern Slavs,** *i.e.* those living east of the Elbe between Bohemia and the Baltic, were the most restless neighbors of the Franks. As soon as Saxony was made part of the empire, war against these tribes became a necessity. Victories over them were always followed by attempts at conversion. At one time the whole country seemed to be Christian, only to relapse again, for a long period, into paganism. German settlements were the only effective means to secure safety from these inveterate foes. Hence, when the lands were really Christian, they had become practically German. The old inhabitants disappeared among the new. (More about this in §§ 150, 200.) Cistercian and Premonstratensian monasteries were the chief Christianizing and civilizing factor in these countries.

107. (4) **Poland.** — Missionaries from Moravia, sent by St. Methodius, penetrated into the land and brought about a number of conversions. But there was no national Christianization before Duke Miescislaw. This prince, in 965, married the Bohemian princess Dombrowka, who made it a condition of her consent that the duke and his people adopt her own religion. The duke became sincerely Christian and soon forbade the practice of paganism. But the real founder and organizer of Poland as a Christian state was Boleslaus I Chrobry (the Glorious). During a reign of more than thirty years (992–1025) he strictly enforced Christian laws. In union with Emperor Otto III he effected the establishment of seven bishoprics. The foundation of monasteries helped to secure the peaceful conquest. Politically, too, his reign was a great success, though not without some reverses. He annexed several neighboring countries to Poland and was the first to assume the title of king. Since 962 Poland owed allegiance to Germany. Emperor St. Henry II (§ 206) now forced Boleslaus to give up Bohemia, which was restored to its hereditary duke, and to acknowledge himself in some vague terms the vassal of Germany. This dependence, more nominal than real, disappeared in the course

of the next century. Not all of Boleslaus' successors inherited his ability and firmness. There came a time when Poland broke up into a number of independent dukedoms, until other strong hands succeeded in uniting them again.

C. The Hungarians

108. The Magyars and Their Conversion. — The terrible defeat inflicted by Charlemagne upon the Avars left the country on both sides of the middle Danube practically without inhabitants. The Magyars or Hungarians, who had so far been roaming north of the Black Sea and whom King Arnulph had called to his assistance against Swatopluk (§ 104), now occupied the depopulated districts. From here they carried on, for sixty years, their devastating raids into western Europe. Contemporary chroniclers compare them with the Huns. They were small, active nomads, moving swiftly on scraggy ponies. The chief sufferer was Germany. They extended their raids as far as the Rhine, repeatedly entered Italy, and advancing through both Italy and Germany even harassed France. The German kings Henry I and Otto the Great dealt them terrific blows (933 and 955) which definitely put a stop to their devastating excursions. Soon their Christianization began. Duke Geysa was married to Sarolta, the daughter of a chieftain who had become Christian in Constantinople. Geysa now, exteriorly at least, accepted Christianity and promoted its preaching among his people. His son, St. Stephen, who married the sister of Emperor Henry II. the Saint, was for the Hungarians what Boleslaus Chrobry had been for Poland. Under him the domestic strifes of the numerous chieftains came to an end. The pope gave him the title of "Apostolic King," which the kings of Hungary have borne until our own days. Bishoprics and monasteries were established. A later reaction of the strong pagan party, frightful though it was, proved a failure.

Hungary, too, was at first a vassal state of Germany. But the pope's influence effectively assisted the endeavors of the Magyar kings for complete independence.

EXERCISE.— On each or several of §§ 104–108 may be written a Series of Events, as suggested in Questions to *Ancient World* under Marius and Sulla.

CHAPTER IV

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

A. Britain and Its First Invaders

109. Roman Britain. — The whole island of Great Britain, that is, England and Scotland, was inhabited by Celts. In the North, there were the Picts; in the South, the Britons, after whom the Romans named the island. The southern part became a Roman province (§ 22), but the Picts in the North, though often conquered, were never subdued.[1] The province of Britain was probably not so thoroughly Romanized as were the continental provinces, Gaul, for instance. Yet it had its network of Roman roads, the most famous of which is Watling Street (see map, § 115). Roman villas rose in the open country, Roman palaces, amphitheaters, and temples in the cities. We have no certain information as to when Christianity was first introduced among the Romanized Britons. It is sure, however, that many died for their faith in the persecution under Diocletian (§ 24). St. Alban is venerated as the first martyr of the British Isles. Evidently the Church of Britain was fully organized, because as early as 314, bishops of the Britons are mentioned.

110. Britain's Teutonic Invaders. — The permanent enemies of the Britons were the Picts of the North, in the present Scotland. As long as the Roman Empire stood firm, they were checked, more or less, by the Roman legions. But when (in 408) the city of Rome itself was threatened by the West Goths (§ 51), the Britons were told to shift for themselves, and the legions left the island. Native chieftains for some time drove off the Picts, but were soon embroiled in domestic wars among themselves. Meanwhile the unrest which had seized most of the

[1] See Lingard-Birt, Ch. I, *Roman Britain*, Special Report: Manners and Religion of the *Britons*.

Germanic tribes between the Danube and the Baltic took hold of the dwellers on the North Sea also. There lived the **Jutes** in the country still named after them; south of them the **Angles** and still farther south beyond the Elbe and far inland, the **Saxons.** (§ 52.) These now began to ravage the opposite shores. Soon the Britons invited these sea rovers to assist them against the Picts and promised them lands if they did so. As tradition has it, two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, were the first to land, in 449 A.D., at the head of these auxiliaries. But soon from friends they became enemies. Other bands arrived from beyond the North Sea. District after district was wrested from the disappointed inhabitants. Little Teutonic principalities were established, which soon consolidated into seven kingdoms, the so-called *Heptarchy: Kent* was founded by the Jutes; *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (South Saxons, East Saxons, West Saxons) by the Saxons; *East Anglia*, *Mercia*, and *Northumbria* by the Angles.[1]

ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS ABOUT 802.

111. Character of the Conquest. (1) ***It was very slow.***— At home the invaders had known of no large political units; hence they set out in small bands. The nature of the wooded country enabled the natives to make repeated stands.[2] It

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 91–105.

[2] The legends of *King Arthur* and his *Knights of the Round Table* express the hopes and fears of the Celts in their resistance.

took the conquerors a century and a half to possess themselves of the larger eastern half of the ancient Roman dominions.

(2) ***It was very thorough.*** — The newcomers brought with them paganism and an unmitigated barbarity. Their advance meant absolute devastation. The Roman buildings, including the churches, sank in ashes. The inhabitants who did not escape were all or nearly all killed. Many of them fled across the Channel to the peninsula of Armorica, since then called Brittany or Little Britain. In Britain they receded farther and farther into the West and were at last confined to the peninsulas of Cornwall and Wales and the Northwest. The eastern part became a Teutonic land with a purely Teutonic language.

The worst effect of the invasions was the complete destruction of Christianity. — Woden and Thor (§ 47) were worshiped in the Britain of the Anglo-Saxons. The country needed a new conversion to the religion of Jesus Christ.

112. Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. — In A.D. 597 Pope St. Gregory the Great sent the Benedictine monk St. Augustine [1] with forty companions to England to undertake the Christianization of the new occupants. The king of *Kent* had married Bertha, a Frankish princess, who now willingly lent her support to the missionaries. The king received baptism and allowed and encouraged the preaching of the Gospel in his kingdom. St. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury and "Primate" of all England. With the assistance of the Kentish king, St. Paulinus began his activity as apostle of *Northumbria* and established the See of the Archbishops of York. East Anglia was also gained for the faith. But an invasion of Northumbria by the united forces of Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, and the Celtic king Cadwallon, "a Christian but worse than a pagan," destroyed much of Paulinus' work. The Celts of the southern peninsulas had refused to coöperate with the Roman missionaries. Now those of the North came to the

[1] Special Report: St. Augustine. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 193 ff.

rescue. St. Aidan arrived from Iona (§ 42) and, assisted by King St. Oswald, recovered the lost ground and perfected the conversion of the whole kingdom.[1]

The other kingdoms were won partly by the zeal and influence of the Roman missionaries from the South, partly by the activity of the "Scots" from the North. The Council of Whitby (664) put an end to some differences in matters of discipline.

St. Martin's Church near Canterbury.

From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old, and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church in Britain used by St. Augustine and his fellow missionaries. A tomb, said to be Queen Bertha's, is shown in the church.

St. Theodore, Papal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), completed the work of ecclesiastical organization. There was now, besides common customs and language, a new and strong bond of unity among the seven kingdoms, a common religion, and the beginnings of a common civilization. Warfare became less inhuman. The establishment of monasteries and

[1] Allies, *Monastic Life*, Ch. VI, "The Monks Make England," pp. 211 ff.

schools accompanied the coming of Christianity. There arose a more lively intercourse with the continent, and the country entered into the current of the intellectual and literary life of Europe.

113. Political Union. — In the course of Anglo-Saxon history several kings wielded an influence that extended beyond their own particular kingdom. They are called "Bretwaldas" (Broad-Wielders). But each Bretwalda's power rested on his own ability and success. Nor did any one of them ever extend his sway over *all* the other kingdoms. In the beginning of the ninth century King Egbert of Wessex rose to this position of Bretwalda. He first enlarged his own kingdom by adding the Celtic Cornwall. He then brought all the other Teutonic parts of the island to acknowledge his overlordship. England — for at that time this name came into use — was indeed still far from being one compact state. Still there existed about 830 A.D. at least some kind of political union of all the Teutonic countries. From Egbert on there has been a united England. Never were the several kingdoms to rise again as separate and independent political units. This progress of consolidation had been essentially facilitated by the invasions of the Northmen, which even from now on increased in violence.[1]

B. The Danish Invasions — Alfred the Great

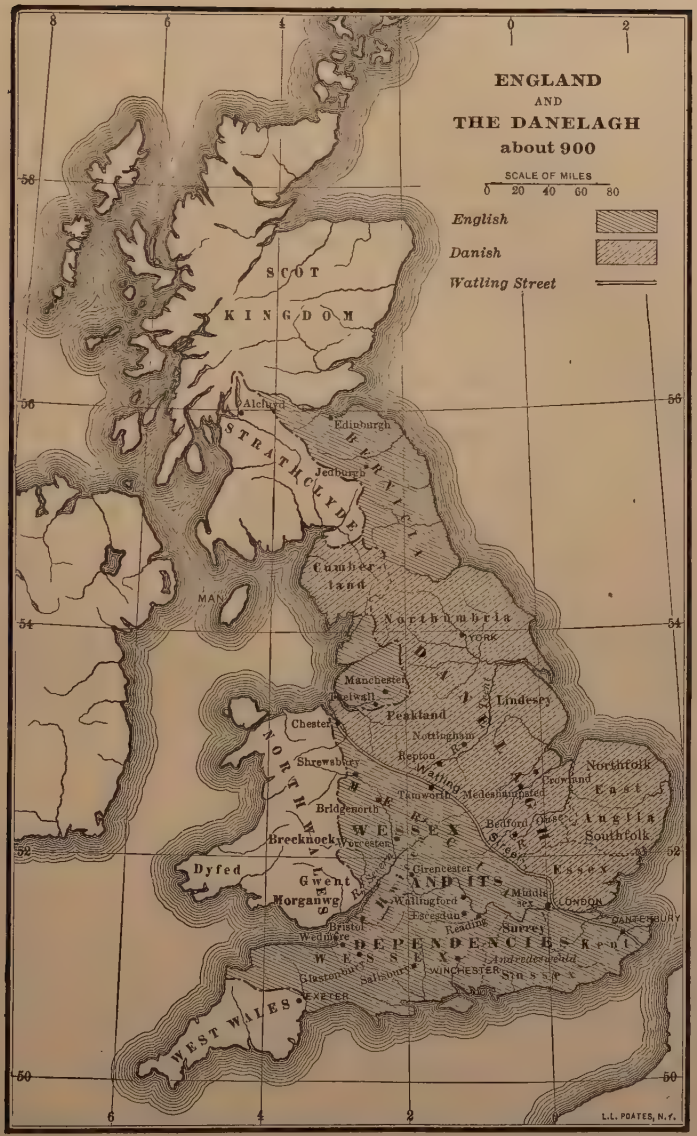
114. The Norsemen, called Danes in England, invaded England as they did the continent, first for plunder, then for settlement and conquest. Their sackings and devastations were of the same character (§ 101). In 850 they made their first permanent settlement. Soon district after district came under their power. By 871 the Danes were masters of all England, the last king of Wessex having fallen in battle. This marked the beginnings of one of the most glorious epochs of England's history, the time of Alfred the Great, 870–901.

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 273, 274.

115. Alfred the Great, "England's Darling." He was the youngest brother of the fallen king and King Egbert's grandson. At first he concealed himself in marshes and fens. But he soon contrived to make himself formidable to the invaders. The Danes were signally defeated. By the treaty of Wedmore, 878, Guthrum, their king, consented to rule one part of England as a vassal of Alfred. A line running from London northwest through Mercia, mostly along Watling Street, a famous Roman road, divided the territories. Guthrum himself adopted Christianity and ever remained faithful to the promises he had made to Alfred, now his godfather. However, Alfred's overlordship over the "Danelagh" (Dane-Law) — the land of Danish rule — existed more in name than in reality. The Danelagh was practically an independent state.

Alfred's Activity. — Alfred found the country in a terrible condition. The cities with their churches lay in ruins. The monasteries, the chief support of literary education, were destroyed. There was ignorance beyond description, not only among the laity but even among the clergy, — in those days, the most educated class. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book (from the Latin in which it was written) into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse.

To strengthen England against future danger, Alfred reorganized the army and reared many a strong fort at commanding positions. Eventually to meet the enemy on his own element he created a fleet and thereby became the "Founder of the English Navy." He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper textbooks in English for his new schools he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English,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AND
THE DANELAGH
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DANELAGH
Manchester
Tadwall
Peakland
Lindesey
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Watling
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
Crowland
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Bridgenorth
MERCIA
WESSEX
Bedford
Ouse
Brecknock
Worcester
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Wallingford
Middlesex
LONDON
Excesdun
Reading
Surrey
CANTERBURY
Bristol
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DEPENDENCIES
Kent
WESSEX
Andredesweald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

with much comment of his own, — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of the "Father of English Prose."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him, —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in goldwork, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakspere. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily': and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'"[1]

116. Alfred's successors, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, took the offensive against the Danes. Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds, contributed each his share to reconquer the Danelagh, without, however, altogether driving out the Danish inhabitants. Under Edgar the Peaceful the country rested undisturbed. He never had to unsheath his sword, though he was ever ready for war, often displayed his military strength, and every year sailed with a fleet of three hundred ships around the whole island to inspire his enemies with a wholesome fear. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far West and North came to his court to pay him homage. Under the strong and just government of Alfred's successors the old differences between the seven Anglo-Saxon realms and their separate aspirations disappeared entirely. *England was One Kingdom.*

[1] For a longer account of Alfred's work see Lingard-Birt, pp. 20–28; or Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 279–284.

117. Summary. — We can now survey the results of the immigrations of the Northmen, a belated phase of the Migration of Nations. Among the effects of their invasions the following points stand out clearly: (1) They settled some uninhabited countries; (2) they brought a new element of population into others; (3) they founded several states by becoming the rulers of the existing population; (4) on the continent they accelerated the disruption of Charlemagne's empire; (5) in England they helped along the political unification of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; (6) by increasing the number of destructive wars and the subsequent insecurity of life and property they hastened, in all the kingdoms of Teutonic origin, the formation of a new kind of government, called the FEUDAL SYSTEM, which was destined to dominate the history of these nations for the next centuries.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Ruric and the Norse kingdom in Russia. 2. The Varangians at Constantinople. 3. The Norse in Ireland. 4. Norse voyages to "Vinland the Good" in America. 5. Alfred the Great's life and work.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Guggenberger, or Lingard-Birt, as referred to in the notes. Also Wyatt-Davis. Material for *Special Reports* on religious topics will be found in Stone, *The Church in English History*, pp. 1–59. Let the students discuss in how far the coming of the Northmen was a blessing for Europe or the contrary.

SECTION II. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM (FEUDALISM) — THE CHURCH

CHAPTER V

FEUDALISM

A. The System Explained

118. Description.—The system of government in those days, Feudalism, was vastly different from ours. Instead of following up its gradual growth *we prefer to describe this remarkable system as it appeared when in its full and final shape.*

The administration and government of present-day states, republics as well as monarchies, is carried out by officials appointed or elected, who serve for a certain term of years and receive a fixed sum of money called salary for their services. They cannot consider their office or position their own, as they do their houses or gardens. Nor can they transmit their offices and the revenues connected with them to their sons as an inheritance.

In feudal times there was little money wherewith to pay salaries and other government expenses. The rulers drew their revenues not from taxes but from large landed estates (see § 89). Similarly the men, who in the king's name governed the various districts and provinces of the realm, did not receive salaries as our officials do, but enjoyed the revenues from certain estates. Their services, however, were not only administrative but military as well. When called upon they were obliged to gather their fighting men and serve in the king's army every year for a definite number of weeks. When the holder of such an office died, all his rights and duties, as if they were private property,

passed on to his eldest son. But the son must, as soon as possible, present himself before the king and "pay him homage," that is, profess himself the king's "man" (Latin, *homo*, hence the word homage) or *vassal*. The king, in a solemn ceremony, called *investiture*, surrendered to him the lands and rights which the deceased vassal had possessed, just as if they were now trans-

CARNARVON CASTLE, WALES. — A famous medieval fortress. The first Prince of Wales is said to have been born here.

ferred for the first time. The king could not refuse this except for very special reasons. Such land and possessions were called a *fief* (more rarely *feud*). The hereditary succession was regulated by law or contract and could not easily be changed. But if there was no son or other person that could legally inherit from a vassal, the fief "*escheated*" to the lord, who might or might not grant it to some one else.

A vassal could hand over part of his territory to a *subvassal*, who would then stand to him in the same relation as he himself stood to the king. Such *subinfeudation* was extremely common.

The subvassals again did the same. Thus a kingdom was broken up into an indefinite number of larger and smaller fiefs. Each prominent man, as a rule, was at the same time *lord* and vassal: lord toward his own vassals, and vassal toward his lord. To this it must be added that the rights and duties were in each case fixed by contract, although usage had induced a certain uniformity. The king or lord might give more of governmental rights to one vassal than to another.

A certain ceremonial attended the act of investiture. The vassal knelt before his lord, and placing his hands in or between his lord's pronounced the oath of fealty or homage. The lord then surrendered the fief to him, "*invested*" him with it, — by handing to him something that was representative of it, as a clod of earth or a bunch of ears of corn, or, especially in the case of the higher fiefs, a sword or a glove or a spear with a banner. Then followed the lord's promise of protection and the kiss of peace. The act of investiture was less solemn in the case of smaller fiefs.

119. Benefice; Commendation. — So far we have had in view the cases in which a vassal received a fief not yet in his or his father's possession. Such a fief was a *benefice*. It must be kept in mind, however, that originally there was very much land which did not in its possession depend on any lord, but was the owner's full property, — save for the rights of the king as sovereign head of the state. Such possessions, called *allods*, often were very extensive, and the owner naturally would divide them up among vassals. If an allod was small, the owner might find it more advantageous to be the vassal of some mighty lord than to be exposed to attacks of powerful enemies. He might then proceed to the act of *commendation*, that is, he surrendered his property to the lord and received it back from him as a fief, taking upon himself the usual obligations or such as were agreed upon. In the ages of insecurity commendation was constantly reducing the area of allodial land, so that the slogan, "no land

without a lord, no lord without land," pretty nearly expressed the actual condition.

120. Relation of Lord and Vassal. — The Lord's Position and Obligations. — The vassal was far from considering his position degrading. Those only were vassals who were not obliged to work with their hands. The lowest vassal had his estate worked by serfs and villeins. (See below, § 122.) Both lord and vassal belonged to *the nobility*. In fact they lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. Was the king himself, after all, more than a vassal of God? The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society.

A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation. Joinville was a great French noble of the thirteenth century, about to set out on a crusade with the king (§ 254). At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting and dancing in honor of his approaching departure. "And on the Friday I said to them: 'Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me.' And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands;* and, *that I might not influence them*, I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided."

How sacred the lord considered his duty of assisting his vassals, is graphically pictured in the *Nibelungenlied*, the greatest German epic of the Middle Ages. King Gunther undergoes the utmost hardships and risks rather than deliver up one of his vassals to the vengeance of a personal enemy.

It goes without saying that all lords did not come up to this ideal. Many no doubt seriously abused their power. By doing so, however, they brought upon themselves a general contempt and hatred.

On the other hand, the vassal took pride in fighting with and for his lord and assisting at all the great functions, such as weddings, banquets, court proceedings, in the lord's residence.

121. The vassal's obligations, after the system had become more or less fixed, may be summed up chiefly under three heads:

(1) *The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord,*[1] *to serve in war,* — perhaps alone, or perhaps followed by an army of knights and men-at-arms, according to the size of his fief. He could be compelled to serve only a fixed time each year, commonly forty days, but for that time he was to maintain himself and his men.

A Baron's Court.
From a sixteenth century woodcut.

The short term of service made the feudal army of little use for distant expeditions; and indeed vassals were sometimes not under obligation to follow their lord out of the realm. The jealousies between the vassals, and the absence of discipline except that of a lord over his immediate followers, made the feudal array an unwieldy instrument for offensive warfare.

(2) *The vassal was bound to serve also in the lord's "court,"* usually at three periods each year. The court had two distinct functions. (1) As a judicial body, it gave judgment in legal disputes between vassals; and (2) as a council, it advised the lord in all important matters.

A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (Latin *pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the judge. The second office of the court was even more important: the lord could not count upon support in any serious undertaking unless he first secured

[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3, gives forms of summons.

the approval of his council. In feudal language, the council "advised and consented." This expression, through English practice, has come down into our Constitution: our President is empowered to do certain things "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

(3) *The vassal* did not pay the lord "taxes," in the usual sense of that word, but on certain special occasions he *did have to make four kinds of financial contributions.* (1) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum of money.[1] It was called a *relief*, and commonly it amounted to a year's revenue. (2) If the vassal wished to sell his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (3) Upon other occasions he made payments known as *aids*. The three most common purposes were *to ransom the lord*, if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter.* (4) Similar to such payments, but more oppressive, was the obligation *to entertain the lord and all his following* upon a visit. Frequently, however, it was set forth in the contract how often the lord might call and how he was to be treated.

The lord had other claims upon the fief, which under certain circumstances might produce revenue. (1) He assumed the *guardianship of a minor heir*, and took to himself the revenues of the fief at such times, on the ground that there was no holder to render the service for which it had been granted. (2) He claimed the right *to dispose of a female ward in marriage*, — so as to secure for her a husband who should be a satisfactory vassal, — and then commonly he sold to the woman the right to marry without interference. To extort huge sums heartless lords would present hateful suitors. Thus the accounts of the kings of England contain various entries similar to the following one: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, renders [to the king] 130 marks and 4 palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not

[1] The payment of this sum by the son of a deceased vassal was a recognition of the fact that in theory the fief had been granted only for the life of the previous holder and that it had reverted to the lord. Cf. § 118.

be compelled to marry." (3) In the absence of heirs, the fief returned (*escheated*) to the lord (§118); and (4) if the vassal's duties were not performed, it might come back to him by *forfeiture*, through a decision of his court.

122. Nobility and Workers. — Those men only who were not obliged to work with their hands made up the feudal world in the strict sense of the term. They alone were able to equip themselves with everything necessary to serve on horseback (§ 128). At first it was the possession of a fief or of property sufficient for this purpose, and other reasons, which sharply distinguished them from the rest of the people. They and *their descendants* formed the *nobility or knighthood*, for which the property qualification alone was no longer sufficient or necessary. Not all those of noble lineage actually possessed fiefs or allodial property. Many were simply attached to some great lord. But they alone might be invested with fiefs or enjoy certain other privileged positions at the courts of the mighty.

The fields were tilled by *serfs and villeins* (the latter word from the Latin *villa*, rural possession, see § 34 (1)). They stood, however, in a relation to their lord somewhat similar to that of the noble vassal. They received modest farms, the proceeds of which were their own. Instead of rendering military service they were obliged to serve a specified number of days in the lord's fields and had to deliver to him a certain share of their own crops. There existed of course no social equality between them and their masters, from whom they and their children remained socially separated by a hard and fast line. Still a beautiful, not to say cordial, relation often existed between the lord and his peasantry. The *serfs*, as in the later Roman Empire, were bound to the soil and were bought and sold with it. Their condition was often very miserable, because they depended greatly on the good will or the whims of their master. The *villeins* might leave the lord's service if they pleased, just as a tenant is at liberty to give up the farm he

has rented. But it was risky for him to remain without any other master. The lordless and landless man could count on little protection.[1]

Serfdom and villeinage ran into each other in the most confusing manner, so that they are often referred to under either name. This dependent class had partly arisen out of the old

An Act of Homage. — From a twelfth-century manuscript.

slavery, which existed among the Teutons also. But slavery, chiefly owing to Christian influence, had greatly diminished. Nor was there any slave trade deserving of the name. Villeinage in particular often originated by something similar to "commendation" (§ 119). In the troublous times the free peasant might prefer the safety of the dependent worker to the insecurity of his own freedom. He preferably sought the protection of the ecclesiastical institutions, monasteries, for instance,

[1] The way in which the higher classes thought of the villein is shown by the fact that his name became a term of reproach ("villain").

by surrendering himself to their service. Written contracts specified the burdens he was going to take upon himself.

In some regions, the Swiss mountains for instance, a large number if not all the farmers remained free. In the course of time, too, the lot of the dependent worker improved greatly, so that preachers inveighed no less against the extravagance of the peasants than that of other classes.

123. Origin. — It must not be imagined that Feudalism sprung into existence suddenly and in its full final shape, as when a city or state introduces a new system of education. It took centuries to grow. *Its beginnings go far back into the time before Charlemagne.* The great landholders found it easier to divide their immense estates among tenants who paid their rent by services. This practice existed in the later Roman Empire and may have been taken over by the Germans. The kings frequently were not in a position to grant the necessary military protection. But the little army of tenants, later on called vassals, was often strong enough to repel attacks from rapacious neighbors or foreign enemies. The old custom of companionship among the Teutons (§ 48), by which a daring leader would attach to himself a band of loyal followers who were ready to devote their warlike energies to his honor and protection, had its influence on the new relation. The military force was ever ready or could be collected almost at a moment's notice.

124. Originally, in the Germanic kingdoms, every freeholder, large or small, was bound to military service. As a matter of fact, this national army was rarely summoned. As has been mentioned, freeholders often "commended" themselves to some powerful lord. The latter, then, as a rule tried to have them exempted from the general duty, which meant an increase of his own military force. The king's army more and more came to consist of feudal levies, even at the time of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne abolished the tribal dukedoms (§ 90), and had

his realm administered by counts who were changed from time to time. Later on many of these counts succeeded, under weak kings, in making themselves feudal lords of their districts,[1] partly by the voluntary submission of freeholders, partly by violence and usurpation. In several parts, even ducal families rose again and made their position hereditary. The king's army, if he succeeded in gathering one at all, was now essentially feudal, consisting of vassals and sub-vassals.

Moreover, the infantry, once the main part of the national army, lost its importance when the Arabian or Hungarian raiders appeared on their fleet horses or the Danes in their light boats. The swift, mail-clad horseman now became the main reliance. As every warrior had to come up for his own equipment, only the wealthier could afford serving on horseback. This circumstance partly caused, and at any rate tended to perpetuate, the difference between the poor peasant and the nobleman, whose sole occupation consisted in fighting or being ready for fighting. (See § 126.)

The nobleman's castle at the same time afforded protection to his serfs and villeins. In its fortifications they found a refuge when an inroad threatened, and though their modest dwellings might be burned down, at least their life was safe, and they could return to their fields after the storm had swept by.

Thus Feudalism arose out of a great variety of causes. And though it always supposed the existence of a supreme head of the state, it owed much of its predominance to the fact that the kings were not always powerful enough to meet the ever-repeated attacks of foreign foes.

125. Peculiarities. — To understand the system more fully and to see to what complications it was able to lead, the student must keep in mind several peculiarities:

[1] In feudal times the word *county* meant a territory, large or small, ruled over by a count.

A German Knight of the Twelfth Century.

From a contemporary manuscript.

(1) *The vassal was bound to his lord, but not to his lord's lord.* Hence the maxim, "*My vassal's vassal is not my vassal.*" Hence too, there was no appeal from the lord's verdict to the overlord. The king only, as the supreme champion of right and justice, might interfere, but he was far away and it was rarely possible to lay the matter before him. Nor was a subvassal guilty of treason if his lord offended against the higher lord and summoned the subvassals to a war against the latter. The vassals were like so many little kings, each in his own small or large fief. The system tended to a complete decentralization of power. France at one time was divided among some 70,000 fiefholders.

(2) *A man could hold fiefs from different lords.* He then became the vassal of two or more lords. When taking his oath of fealty he would, in such a case, expressly reserve the rights of his first lord, and he could not be forced to war against him. He might take land from one who otherwise was his inferior on the social ladder, even from his own vassal. The obligations were always laid down in carefully worded contracts. It is evident what a complication of relations — we are strongly inclined to call it confusion — could thus be brought about.

Knight in Plate Armor, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire.*

Thus the Count of Champagne in the thirteenth century was lord of twenty-six castles, scattered over north-central France, each the center of a separate fief. Most of these he held from the King of France, but others of them he held from seven other suzerains, — among them the emperor and the Duke of Burgundy. Some of these lords of the count were now and then at war with one another. The count had sublet his land among 2000 vassals, but many of these held lands also from other suzerains, — sometimes from suzerains of the count.

(3) *Not only individuals but corporations as well could enter into the relation of either lord or vassal.* This is particularly true of *ecclesiastical institutions*, as bishoprics and monasteries. From rulers and other pious persons they obtained property of both kinds, allodial as well as feudal. By the latter the bishop or abbot or abbess became a vassal, obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers to the lord, who might or might not be the king himself. According to the laws of Church and State, however, clerics were not allowed to fight in person.[1] Their possessions, allodial and feudal, they would hand over to vassals. It was the ecclesiastical institutions, too, that received proportionately many possessions by way of "commendation." The burdens they imposed were as a rule lighter than those exacted by lay lords. Besides, the lands thus surrendered became ecclesiastical possessions and enjoyed the special protection granted by stringent laws of the Church against violators of sacred property.

Later on when the *cities* rose to importance, they also might accept or grant fiefs.

(4) As already stated, the terms of "fief," "vassal," "lord," or "suzerain," *in the full sense of the word implied the obligation of military service and enjoyment of certain governmental powers.* Yet after the system was more developed, *there were fiefs without the one or the other, even without either.* All depended on the conditions of the agreement. Such fiefs may be said to hold a middle place between the fiefs proper and the lands allotted to serfs and villeins. It also happened that no land at all was conferred but some other privilege, for instance the right of collecting certain tolls or revenues.

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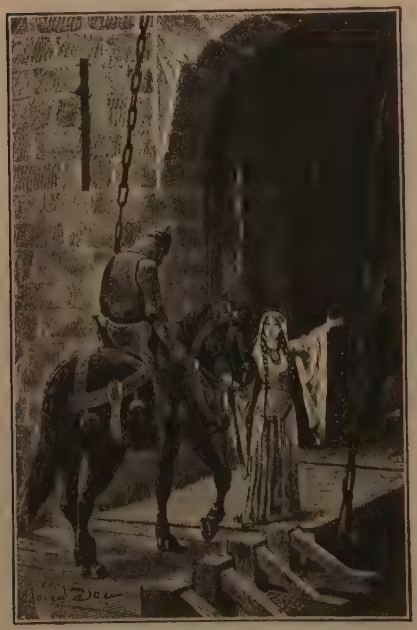
[1] This prohibition was unfortunately not always observed. In the times of disorder, abbots and even bishops are met with who appeared in armor and on horseback at the head of their contingents.

B. Military Features of Feudalism

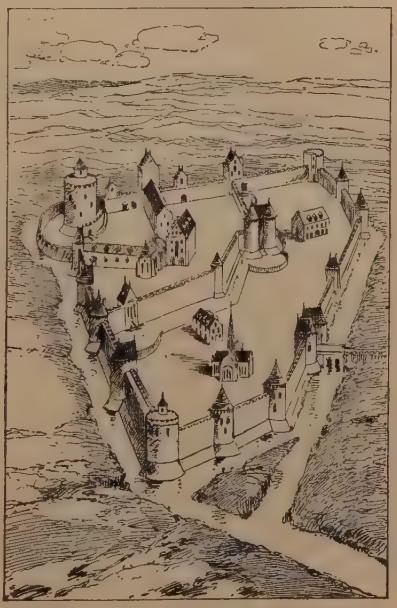
126. (1) Castles. — The nobleman's residence and the heart and center of the fief was the castle (from the Latin *castellum*, fort). In the beginning the castles were merely wooden blockhouses surrounded by palisades and ditches. But they were soon followed by massive stone structures. The main part of the medieval castle was the keep, a very strong tower, in which originally the lord's family would reside. In case of assault it served as the last refuge. Its walls were often enormously thick, so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three times his length. The secret stairway leading up to these floors was sometimes concealed within these walls. Connected with the keep were other buildings for the servants and the provisions harvested from the lord's fields. Very frequently the castle crowned the top of some steep hill, where it was often surrounded on one or more sides by precipices. If erected in the plain the castle was protected by a moat, a ditch filled with water, over which usually a drawbridge gave access to the strongly defended gate. (Note the portcullis, a



Drawbridge and Portcullis.
From Gautier's *La Chevalerie*.

heavy iron grating which could be dropped from above, in the picture on opposite page.) The gate was often flanked by towers, from whose slitlike windows bowmen could harass the assailants with their arrows. As the art of building progressed the great feudatory lords erected more elaborate castles, which often included several acres within their walls. The lord's family no longer dwelt in the narrow and gloomy keep but in a more elegantly constructed section or in an extra "hall." Our two illustrations show types of such sumptuously built castles.

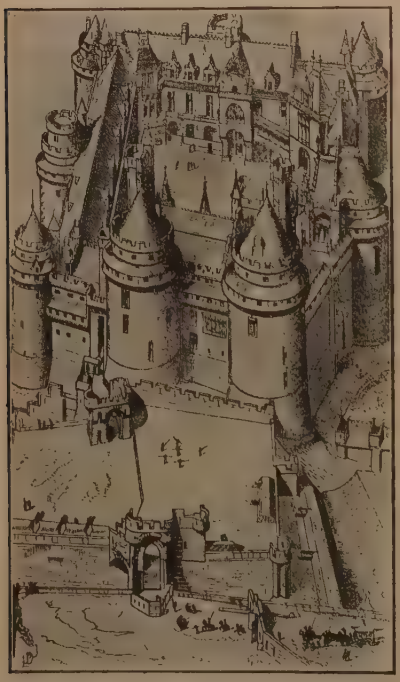
Until the days of gunpowder, feudal castles were virtually impregnable to ordinary attack. They could be captured only by surprise, by treachery, or by famine. Secure of such retreat, a petty lord could sometimes defy even his own sovereign with impunity. Too often the castles became themselves the seats of robber-barons who oppressed the country around them. To-day their gray ruins all over Europe give a peculiar picturesqueness to the landscape, mocking, even in decay, the slighter structures of modern times.



MEDIEVAL CASTLE of the larger sort, with moat and drawbridge. — A "restoration," from Gautier's *La Chevalerie*.

(2) "**Men-at-Arms.**"— The castles afforded a *refuge* for man and treasure. But during the invasions, the problem in *the field* had been to bring to bay the swiftly moving assailants, — the light horsemen of the Hungarians, or the Danes with their swift boats for refuge. The Frankish infantry had proved too

slow. Feudalism met this need also. Each castle was always ready to pour forth its band of trained and faithful men-at-arms (*horsemen in mail, knights*), under the command of the lord, either to gather quickly with other bands into an army under a higher lord, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords and passes. The raider's day was over; but meantime the old Teutonic foot militia, in which every freeman had held a place, had given way to an iron-clad cavalry, — the resistless weapon of the new feudal aristocracy.



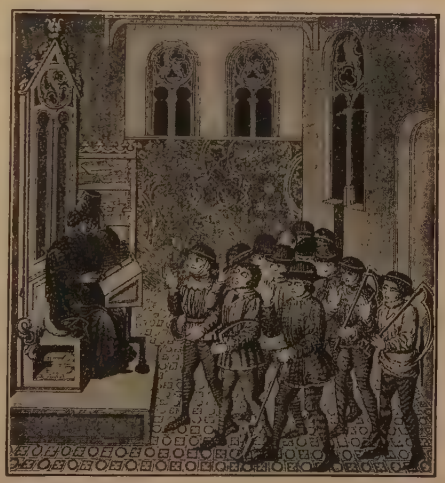
THE CASTLE OF PIERREFONDS in the fourteenth century. — A "restoration" by Viollet le Duc.

(3) **Armor.** — In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales. Then came in coats of "chain-mail,"[1] reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. Still later appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, which we usually associate with feudal warfare. A suit of this armor weighed fifty pounds or more; and in battle the warrior bore also a weighty shield, besides his long sword and his lance. Necessarily the warhorse that carried a

[1] The warrior in the first illustration on page 136 wears this armor.

heavy man so equipped was a powerful animal; and he too had parts of his body protected by iron plates.

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the Middle Ages (before the invention of gunpowder) **lay mainly in this equipment.** He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen at will. The peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wore no armor and wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks. Naturally they came to be called *infantry;* that is, *boys* (from the Latin *infantes*, children).

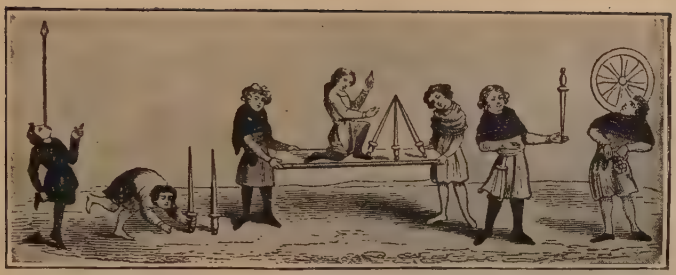


Villeins Receiving Directions for Work. From a miniature in a fifteenth-century manuscript.

127. Private Wars and the "Truce of God." — The nobility was an ever ready militia, consisting of professional fighters, who thought of war as a most honorable occupation. It is not surprising that they would often refuse to submit to whatever courts there were, and would prefer to settle their own disputes by an appeal to the sword instead of to the law. The lords of the castles claimed the right of private warfare. They resorted to it to redress the wrongs, real or imaginary, which they or their vassals had suffered. The result was in many parts of Europe a new general state of insecurity which hindered the growth of industry and severely damaged agriculture. Neutral parties had to endure more than the belligerents.

Plunderings and the destruction of whole villages accompanied every such strife. There was a crying need of some antidote, but who would be able to give it? In France, particularly, where in the beginning the royal power was very weak, something had to be done.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the bishops of France introduced the *Truce of God*. There was to be no private warfare during the holy seasons of Advent and Lent. During the rest of the year it remained forbidden from the Wednesday night of each week until the morning of the following Monday. Thus the Truce of God established about 240 days of peace every year. Transgressors were threatened with the severest penalties. Soon this law found its way into other states. It was probably never completely observed in any region, but even its partial observance greatly tended to diminish the devastations and other evils of private wars. For France it was of the greatest importance. It was, says an historian, "the first step in the making of France," because it curbed "by religious discipline the powerful but turbulent elements of that gifted race." (See Guggenberger, I, § 345.)



JUGGLERS. — From a thirteenth-century manuscript.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

A. THE MANOR AND ITS POPULATION

There were few towns in Western Europe until the twelfth century, and the new town life of that period will be discussed in its place (§§ 254 ff.). Society was mainly rural. It is the work and the home life of this rural society with which this chapter deals. The essential features of medieval life were more or less the same all over feudal Europe. But we have here in view chiefly the conditions and customs of England.

128. The Manor. — The possessions which the knight cultivated through his own villeins (or serfs) formed a manor, the center of which was his castle, grand or modest, according to his means. Rich landowners, however, divided their estates into several manors often widely separated. In each manor they erected *a manor house*, in which the chief steward lived and the crops and provisions were stored. Some manor houses were only a little better and more spacious than the dwellings of the villeins, others were imposing and more similar to the castle proper. The villeins of the manor commonly lived together in a village near the manor house. Each village had its church, usually at a little distance, with grounds about it, part of which was used as a graveyard, "God's Acre." At one end of the village street was the lord's smithy, and on some convenient

ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, MELICHOPE, ENGLAND; in its present condition. The stairway leading to the upper story is cut into the thick wall. — From Wright's *Homes of Other Days*.

HALL OF STOKE CASTLE. — Stoke Castle is but a modest manor house of the thirteenth century.

stream the lord's mill. The smith and the miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

Peasant Homes.[1] — The other dwellings were low and narrow, plainly built of wood and clay, and thatched with straw. They had usually no chimney or floor, and often no opening (no window) except the door. They straggled along either side of an irregular lane. Behind each house was its garden patch and its low stable and barn.

129. Farming. — The plow land was divided into three great "fields" or three groups of fields. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The

[1] For a description of the French peasant's home of the fourteenth century see Gasquet, *The Black Death*, p. 63 f.

next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long," [1] and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A

A Reaper's Cart Going Uphill.

After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life:* from a fourteenth-century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the road. The steepness of the hill is of course, exaggerated so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest, and was managed by his steward.

Of course this kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Agriculture was crude. Even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. They expected only six or eight bushels of wheat or rye from an acre. Walter of Henley, a thirteenth-century

[1] This expression is the origin of our "furlong."

writer on agriculture, says that threefold the seed was an average harvest, and that often a man was lucky to get back his seed grain and as much again.

The plow, made almost entirely of wood, required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. (See picture on p. 171.) Carts were few and cumbrous. The distance to the outlying parts of the fields added to the labor of the villagers. There was little or no cultivation of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes turnips and cabbages and carrots were grown in garden plots behind the houses. The wheat and rye in the "fields" were raised for breadstuffs, and the barley for brewing beer.

The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was twice as valuable as plow land. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine.

It was difficult enough to carry animals through the winter for the necessary farm work. So those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food often caused diseases among the people. The chief luxury among the poor was honey, which took the place of sugar.

130. Each village was a world in itself. — Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. Each produced everything it needed. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market such products as could not be supplied at home, *e.g.* salt, millstones, and iron. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. This shut-in life was monotonous. Yet pictures found in the manuscript books of the time show that it was by no means without its pastimes and amusements. We shall see how great and wholesome an influence was exercised on it by the Church (§ 144).

131. The Court of the Manor. — The manor was self-sufficient to a large extent even in the line of government. At its head was the court of the manor, composed of all the men. This court mĕt every three or four weeks. As all the holdings in the manor were hereditary, customs had grown up, which it was beyond the steward's and even the lord's power to change. The court decided cases according to this unwritten law. The lord's steward presided and exercised very great power; but all took part, and the older men had an important voice in declaring "the custom of the manor," a thing which differed in every two manors, and which held the place of town legislation among us. The assembly settled disputes between villagers, imposed penalties upon any who had broken "the customs of the manor," and, from time to time, redistributed the strips of plow land among the village families. In England such gatherings sent their presiding officer and their "four best men" to the larger local assemblies (§ 155).

PEASANTS' MAY DANCE. — From a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

B. LIFE OF THE NOBILITY

132. Life in the Castle. — When not actually engaged in war or in some private feud, the nobleman lived in his castle and

enjoyed the company of his family. He trained his sons or pages in the military arts and showed interest in their progress. He looked after the administration of his estates. The "Courts" (§ 121, 2) also took up much of his time.

The lady was the queen of the castle and herself supervised all the details of the household. The bunch of keys which hung from her belt was the exterior sign of her dominion. But she was well acquainted with the finer arts of embroidery as well, and took pride in displaying the work of her nimble hands. The famous Bayeux Tapestry (see pictures to § 153) is said to have been made by Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; this is rather doubtful, but the fact that it is attributed to her shows what occupations and accomplishments were considered both honorable and desirable in ladies of rank.

A VICTOR IN A TOURNAMENT. — After a drawing by Dürer.

133. The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. — Kings and great lords gave such entertainments, to win popular applause, on all joyous occasions, — the marriage of a daughter, the knighting of a son, the celebration of a victory.

Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists of Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and any mere description is tame in comparison. As there portrayed, the news of the coming event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place,

perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found ready welcome for meals and lodging at any castle or manor house.

The contests took place in a space (the "lists") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group of knights "held the lists" against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot. Again, two mimic armies met in the mêlée. Perhaps even the yeomen were allowed to show their skill with the bow and in wrestling.

134. Chase and Falconry. — The population was thinly scattered, and large districts everywhere were waste or forest. This gave admirable opportunity for hunting to the inhabitants of every castle. Hunting was the second most important sport of the nobles, and it was a monopoly possessed by that class, protected by cruel and bloody custom. For a common man to be found with a haunch of venison, or even with a hare, meant the loss of eyes or hands.

Indeed, hunting was more than sport. The table of every castle depended in large measure upon a steady supply of game. The larger wild animals, — bear, deer, wild boars, — were brought to bay with dogs, and slain by the hunter with

spear or short sword. (This was the "chase.") Smaller game — herons, wild ducks, rabbits — were hunted with trained hawks. (This was "falconry.") Each castle counted among its most trusted servants a falconer, who saw to the capture of young hawks (falcons) and trained them to fly at game and to bring it back to the master. *Falconry* was the peculiar medieval form of hunting, and lords and ladies were madly devoted to the sport. Many a noble lady, even on a long journey of many days, rode, falcon on wrist, ready at any moment to "cast off" if a game bird rose beside the road, — somewhat as the backwoodsman carries his rifle on a journey, always ready for a stray deer.

135. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependents gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for precedence in rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, and the lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boar heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models in many a medieval pasty which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbed up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually diluted with water. A prudent steward of King Louis IX of France (Joinville, § 137) tells us how he "caused the wine of the varlets (at the bottom of the tables) to be well watered, but less water to be put in the wine of the squires, and before each knight [he] caused to be placed a huge goblet of wine and a goblet of water," — a judicious hint which it is to be hoped some knights accepted.

During the midday and evening meals, there was much opportunity for conversation, especially with strange guests, who repaid the hospitality by the news of the districts from which they came. Intervals between courses, too, were sometimes filled with story-telling and song, and with rude jokes by the lord's "jester" or "fool."

136. Chivalry. — This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood." Chivalry grew up slowly between 1000 and 1200 A.D. *We will look at it in its fully developed form.*

A Court Fool. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

a. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.

b. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty

or twenty-one, the squire's education was completed. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, made his confession to a priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn services

THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. — The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

in the church and a sermon upon the duties of a knight. Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the "vow" to be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans.

Then the lord of the castle or some other prominent knight struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." This was the "accolade." Next the ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then the newly made knight vaulted upon his horse and gave some exhibition of his skill in arms and in horsemanship; and the festival closed with games and feasting and the exchange of gifts.[1]

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, as the reward for distinguished bravery. In such case, there was no ceremony except the accolade.

137. The Christian Character of Knighthood is clearly shown in the ceremonies of the solemn knighting and the oath taken by the young nobleman. There were never wanting men who carried out their obligations most conscientiously. Thus chivalry exercised a salutary effect upon the views of the higher classes chiefly by putting a high ideal, which at the same time did not lack solid foundation in reason and Faith, before the eye of the knight. Gallantry as long as it was based upon the veneration of the Lady of Ladies, the Virgin Mother of God, could not fail to produce at once nobleness of sentiment, purity of morals, and elegance of manner. We have already referred to similar effects of vassalage (§§ 120, 121). The man who stands forth most prominently as the ideal knight was St. Louis, King of France (1226–1270).

Joinville, already quoted in § 120, gives us a vivid picture of this true nobleman. He had followed the king on a crusade and served for a time in his household on terms of mutual friendship. When ninety years old he dictated his recollections of the Saint. The personal re-

[1] The knighting of a squire must not be confounded with investiture (§ 118). The accolade transferred no fief or any kind of property. It made the young man a full-fledged noble, who was in no wise bound to him who had dubbed him knight. Investiture with a fief *supposed* knighthood.

lation of the two men lends a peculiar charm to these memoirs. Here follow some extracts from them. The book is dedicated to the king's great-grandson, then the heir to the throne.

"And because I see no one who ought to have (the book) so rightly as you who are his heir, I send it to you, that you and your brothers and others *who may hear it read*, may take good example from it and put these examples in practice, that God may be pleased with you. . . . The King loved truth to such a degree that even with the Saracens he would not draw back from what he had promised. As to his palate he was so indifferent that never did I hear him ask for any particular dish, as many men do, but he ate contentedly of whatever was served up to him. He was measured in his speech. Never in my life did I hear him speak ill of any one; nor did I ever hear him name the Devil, — a name widely spread in this realm (and it is a great disgrace to the kingdom of France, and to the king when he suffers it, that one can hardly speak without saying 'the Devil take it,' and it is a great sin to devote to the Devil a man given to God from the moment that he is baptized. In the Joinville household, whoso utters such a word receives a box on the ears or a slap on the mouth, and bad language is almost wholly suppressed). . . . He asked me once whether I wished to be honored and to enter Paradise through death? Keep yourself then from doing or saying aught which, if all the world knew, you could not avow and say, 'I did this,' 'I said that.' He told me to refrain from contradicting anything said in my presence, providing there was no sin in remaining silent, because hard words engender strife. . . . He used to say that a man should so equip his person that the grey-beards of the day should not be able to say that it was over done; nor the young men that there was anything wanting. After the king's return from over the sea, he lived so devoutly that he never wore furs of different colors, or scarlet cloth, or gilt stirrups or spurs. I was reminded of this by the father of the king who now reigns [Philip the Hardy] alluding once to the embroidered coats of arms fashionable now-a-days. I made answer to him that never in the voyage over the sea did I see embroidered coats . . . and that he would have done better to have given the money to the poor and to have worn plain clothes as his father used to do."

When looking a little more closely at these knightly sentiments we find that, after all, they are the obligations of every Christian, enjoined either by the Ten Commandments or by the law of Charity, and emphasized by the example of Jesus Christ and his

Saints. It was of great importance that they were solemnly proclaimed as the knight's duties, — with that peculiar coloring which his station in life seemed to call for. His example was certainly wholesome for the lower classes. And when, in later times, wealth and with it the level of life rose among all classes, the more cultured manners of chivalry were eagerly copied, to the great benefit of society.

138. Drawbacks. — Not every knight's breast harbored sentiments so lofty as those of St. Louis. Hideous crimes disfigured the record of many a "noble" warrior who had performed great deeds of valor. The lawless "robber-knight" who made his living by preying upon the fortune of defenseless wayfarers was, however, chiefly the product of later centuries with completely altered social and economic conditions. The respect for women often degenerated into knight-errantry, an exaggerated and ridiculous cult of the female sex, of which the Spaniard Cervantes, in his famous *Don Quixote*, gives an amusing caricature. The whole system, too, by putting great privileges in the hands of the nobility was apt to lead to a contempt of the lower classes. Yet all this should not lead us to a wholesale condemnation of a system which was, at any rate, the best those times could devise, and which in itself was calculated to emphasize the practice of eminently Christian virtues.

For Further Reading. — Excellent "source" material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3; in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 170–196; and in Ogg's *Source Book*. The student should know Froissart (fourteenth century), — at least in Lanier's charming volume, *The Boys' Froissart*, — and Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* (thirteenth century).

Historical fiction upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, particularly *Ivanhoe*, which treats of feudal England in the time of Richard I, although they give a false glamour to the age. Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow*. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*

EXERCISE. — Explain the terms, — vassal, fief, commendation, homage, fealty, allod, etc. Let the class prepare lists of such terms for rapid and brief explanation, and select some thirty, from this volume so far, for future reviews. Let the student determine which of the conditions leading to the establishment of Feudalism (§ 123) are *economic* in character, *i.e.* referring to property; which are *political*, *i.e.* referring to government; and which are *military*. Let the same be determined as to the mutual obligations induced by Feudalism.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH

139. The Church a Bond of Unity. — We call this great period the age of religious unity. This is not to be taken in a merely temporal sense, as if the fact of such unity had nothing to do with the character of the time. The contrary is the case. The Church represented the unity of the world. Men felt that they were, first and foremost, Christians, and that each and every one, from the highest to the lowest, was a full-fledged member of a world-wide and organized community. They all professed themselves subject to one and the same authority, that of the pope and the hierarchy of the archbishops and bishops. All believed the same articles of faith. All had the right and duty to receive the same sacraments. The fact of this unity was emphasized in the sermons to which they listened. It was brought home to them by the visits of the bishop, — *e.g.* for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation, — and by the reading from the pulpit of his pastoral letters and ordinances.[1]

What little news found its way from other nations into the town served to confirm implicitly the living knowledge of this fact of universal unity. Even the enemy in war had to be treated as a fellow-Christian, or general reprobation would result. The *same language*, too, was used in all the Church services in all the various nations, with insignificant exceptions (§ 104). It was this employment of Latin by the Church that secured to the Roman tongue its place as the language of science and thus

[1] See Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, Ch. 10.

helped bring about a further unity, namely that of literary and educational endeavor (§ 267).

140. The Church and the Nations. — Nationalism, that is, the strong feeling of unity and independence among the members of one and the same nation, did not exist in the degree which it has attained in recent times. The kingdoms, on the one hand, were not sufficiently centralized on account of the prevalence of Feudalism (§ 125) which bound a man more expressly to his immediate lord than to the country at large. This, to some extent, checked, but did not prevent entirely, the growth of a sound national feeling, which was, moreover, favored by the development of national languages. Just during this period the national languages took on a more definite shape under the guiding influence of the Latin literature (§§ 66, 98). But on the other hand people thought more of their character as citizens of the great Christian commonwealth than of the bond of nationality. Let the student remember, too, what an immense debt of gratitude the individual nations owe to the Church for their very existence (§§ 57, 69, 76 note, 77, 100, 102, 107, 108, 112). The bishops ever remained the best advisers of the rulers. The Church inculcated obedience to rightful authority and stood forth, at times, as the only power capable of enforcing law and order (§§ 57, 127).

141. The Ecclesiastical Authorities. — **(1) The Pope** was held in great veneration. It was not until the fourteenth century that dissatisfied and revolutionary writers began to deny the infallibility of the Head of the Church concerning matters of faith and morals. The pope was assisted from very early times by the *Cardinals*, that is, those priests who were in charge of certain prominent Roman churches. The six bishops of the immediate surrounding of Rome were also called cardinals. For centuries the pope was elected by the clergy of Rome, the cardinals playing an important part in this momentous affair, while the people of Rome signified their adhesion to the choice by acclamation. We shall see how the papal election was reduced to a more definite form.

Apart from large voluntary donations sent to Rome, or brought by the numberless pilgrims, the popes drew little revenue

from foreign countries. England, however, had promised to pay a certain sum annually, the "Peter's Pence," which name is in our days given to any voluntary contribution toward the support of the Vicar of Christ. After the thirteenth century the popes on account of peculiar circumstances were forced to make a more extensive use of their right to tax the *Church property* of other countries.

Written papal utterances are called either *Bulls* or *Briefs*. The word *bull* comes from the Latin *bulla*, which signifies the piece of sealing wax or lead or gold in which the seal was impressed. This by means of a thread was so attached to the document that it could not be removed without violating the seal. This was the approved mode of indorsing by seal any document, secular or sacred. The designation of Bull was soon transferred from the seal to the document. Common use later restricted it to papal documents of great importance. Documents of a less important nature are called *Briefs*, from the Latin *breve*, short, though in size they are not necessarily shorter than the bulls. In our days, when some particular point of doctrine seems to call for an authoritative and detailed statement, the popes often issue documents called *Encyclicals*. All the papal documents are known and quoted by the first several words, with which they happen to begin, as the bull "Gloriosae Dominae" concerning the sodalities of the B. V. Mary, or the Encyclical "Rerum Novarum" in which Pope Leo XIII unfolds the Catholic program of social activity.

142. The Ecclesiastical Authorities. (2) The Bishops and Clergy; Church Property. — Bishops and clergy were not supported by collections as is the case in our country. The establishment of a bishopric or parish required, in the mind of the people, the donation by the king or other rich landowner of as much property as would afford a revenue upon which the incumbent could live conformably with his social rank. In many cases this endowment was very liberal. The same was the case concerning monasteries (§ 61). Much of this property was allodial; but the bishops, and the abbots of the great monasteries, commonly held many feudal possessions (§ 125, 3). This made them the temporal rulers of certain districts and

placed them in a new relation to the sovereign. In Germany in particular the possessions of the Church were very large.

The lawful way of appointing the bishops was by election. All the priests of the diocese who could be present at the occasion

DURHAM CATHEDRAL. — Norman style (§ 277). Begun in 1093.

were permitted to participate. Naturally those of the episcopal city, and in particular those attached to the bishop's cathedral[1] enjoyed a greater prestige. Prominent seculars, above all royal officers, were also allowed some influence, and they some-

[1] *I.e.* the church in which the bishop is wont to officiate and in which stands his pontifical *cathedra* or throne.

times usurped rights which had been by no means granted. Soon the right of electing the bishop was restricted to the chief ecclesiastics of the cathedral, the "Canons of the Cathedral Chapter." [1] We shall see how the lay element was completely eliminated.

The Clergy below the Bishops. — If we were transported back to a medieval town, the large number of clerics would certainly attract our attention. They appear on the streets in their long black cassocks. The monks, too, wear their habits in public wherever they go.

Then, as now, the first step toward the priesthood was the tonsure, a ceremony in which the bishop cuts off some of the hair of the young levite, to signify that he must renounce the vanities of worldly life. Next he receives the four minor Orders, as ostiarius (doorkeeper), lector (reader), exorcist and acolyte (Mass server). Those only in minor Orders can at any time recede from the clergy and take up secular pursuits. The higher or major Orders are subdeaconship, deaconship, and priesthood. The number of persons who had received the minor Orders was much greater than now. Many of them did not intend to go any further. All the young men who wished to devote themselves to a life of study, and many who strove for posts like that of advisers of lords or other great men, would at least take minor Orders.[2] Many of the positions in the administrative offices of the bishops were given to such men, or such as had been ordained deacons. In fact the number of deacons in a bishop's service was often very great.[3]

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[1] The word *canon* means something permanent, unchangeable. In the Mass it denotes the part which does not vary with the feasts and holy seasons. In olden times all the *priests* permanently attached to any of the greater churches were called *canons*, and together they formed the *Chapter*.

[2] Hence the word *clerk*, and *clerical labor*, derived its present meaning, while the word *cleric* still denotes a member of the clergy.

[3] It must be observed that a young man does not become a member of the clergy by merely joining a religious Order, as the Benedictines or Cister-

143. Clerical Privileges. — The clergy and the religious of both sexes enjoyed exemption from the ordinary courts. If they had transgressed, their cases came before special ecclesiastical tribunals. This privilege was based on the consideration that those who in the highest sense take the place of the King of Kings, should not be subject to the verdict of others, and that they would be freer in guiding and even rebuking laymen if they had not to fear that they might some day perhaps face the same men as their judges. Thus, too, the most educated and cultured class of society was brought before judges more intelligent than those of the secular courts, which had not yet divested themselves completely of the methods of barbarism. "The clerical judges were men of talent and education: the uniformity and equity of their decisions were preferred to the caprice and violence which seemed to sway the royal and baronial justiciaries."

The ecclesiastical court could inflict all kinds of punishments, death alone excepted. As a matter of fact, the punishment of clerical offenders was often rather drastic. The severest was degradation. A degraded priest can, of course, not lose the very character of priesthood which remains indelibly imprinted in his soul. But he may no longer officiate in any capacity, nor draw the revenues of any ecclesiastical property nor enjoy any privilege granted to the clerical state. Degradation is the death penalty for the priest as priest. In its strictest form it is carried out with stern and doleful ceremonies.

The large possessions and privileges connected with ecclesiastical offices sometimes led light-minded men to embrace the clerical state not for the good that could be done in it but to obtain the means for an easy and carefree life. Influential

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cians. It is the reception of the minor or major Orders, by the hands of a bishop, that makes him a cleric. However, all the religious share in many of the privileges of the clergy. Note the different meanings of the word *Order*.

nobles and princes, too, often contrived to provide for their sons by forcing them into well-endowed prelacies. Such men never were a blessing but often a curse for Church and State. On the other hand the clerical state offered for a long time the only chance for talented boys of the lower classes to rise above their condition. Many a bishop and abbot and pope was not ashamed to own his lowly extraction.

144. Religious Life of the People.—The people lived with the Church. They knew the importance of the sacraments. Private prayer was extensively practiced both by the individual and in the families. The ecclesiastical year with its round of Sundays, Holydays and Sacred Seasons kept elevating ideas ever fresh in the minds of all. People loved to assist at the divine services, and the daily hearing of Mass was a very common practice.

The greatest natural blessing Christ bestowed on mankind is the elevation of matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament and the restoration of the indissolubility of marriage. This, together with the fundamental doctrine of the immortality of every human soul, elevated both the woman and the child and at the same time reëstablished the rights and duties of parents.[1] Christian home life flourished in the Ages of Faith. Parents were respected and loved, and the children were the treasures of the family.

The rest from servile work on Sundays and the numerous holydays was of immense importance for the worker. These days were his days of recreation. And he was wise and Christian enough not to consider the religious duties of his Sunday piety an impediment to his relaxation. They took his mind away from the drudgery of his monotonous occupation during the week and filled him with elevating and consoling thoughts.[2]

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[1] Read the beautiful essay on "The Book of a Medieval Mother" in Rt. Rev. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*, pp. 240 ff.

[2] Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* gives an admirable description of the way in which the Church affected the life of the common people.

145. Liberality. — Charity was very widely practiced, not only by the monasteries (§ 60) but by the entire clergy and laity, high and low. Almsgiving was a daily exercise of piety with many. Pope Innocent III inaugurated the establishment of regular hospitals on a large scale. A similar open-handedness showed itself in the contributions for the building of churches. The rich gave their treasures, the poor their labor. Thus many

SPEYER CATHEDRAL. — Romanesque style. Built 1030–1061. (See § 277.)

small towns were able to erect large and expensive temples, which are still the objects of our admiration. The jewels of the ladies were often sold for the benefit of the poor or were changed into sacred vessels, while the holy vestments of old churches still testify to the medieval lady's admirable skill in every kind of needlework. (See § 132.)

146. Penance. — Sins were indeed committed, — grievous, sometimes enormous sins. But deep in the heart of the sinner there remained the Christian Faith in all its strength. Sooner or later, at least before his death, the sinner returned seriously

and honestly to the God whom he had never denied, and if still possible made all the reparation imposed on him by the priest or bishop. The people much more than now realized the guilt of sin and were more ready to do penance for their trespasses. The confessors in the Sacrament of Penance and ecclesiastical authorities outside of it enjoined greater works of atonement than is now customary. The transition of knights and other persons of high rank from a worldly or less edifying life to one of constant penance was of rather frequent occurrence. St. Gerlach — see his life mentioned in the book list — thus became a hermit living in a primitive hut on his own large possessions.

147. Ecclesiastical Penalties. — Very different from the penance imposed in the Sacrament of Confession upon a contrite and willing penitent are the ecclesiastical penalties inflicted upon the obstinate offender for certain great crimes. The greatest of these penalties is the *excommunication*, which cuts a man off entirely from the Communion of Saints. The excommunicate has no share in the good works performed in the Christian world and cannot receive the sacraments. Excommunication may be pronounced by the bishop or the pope. If it is inflicted publicly with the name of the guilty party mentioned, the latter may no longer hear Mass, nor is a priest allowed to say Mass while such a person is in the church. All the faithful are enjoined to avoid intercourse with him, unless they are excused by very grave reasons. In the Ages of Faith it was generally considered evident that an excommunicated man was unfit to rule over a Christian country.

Seeing the great care with which the Church proceeds before the infliction of penalties, it is unlikely that innocent persons are to suffer by excommunication. Should this happen, however, and the Church is not infallible in this matter, the excommunication would be invalid before God. But even so it must be conscientiously observed to avoid scandal and grave disorder. The question whether or not an excommunicated person is in the state of mortal sin is finally to be answered by the confessor in the Sacrament of Penance.

The interdict, as far as this notion concerns us here, does not affect the people directly. It does not exclude any one from the Communion of Saints. But it prohibits the administration of sacraments and blessings within a specified territory. It has been inflicted to punish a nation or city for its notorious disobedience or other crimes, and also to force some headstrong ruler to yield at least to the entreaties of his people.[1]

When pronouncing the interdict on France, in 1200, for the immorality of King Philip Augustus, *Innocent III* said in part: "Let all the churches be closed; let no one be admitted except to baptize infants, or when the priest shall come for the Eucharist and Holy Water for the use of the sick. We permit Mass to be said once a week, on Friday, to consecrate Hosts for the Viaticum, but one server only is to be admitted. Let the clergy preach on Sundays in the vestibules of the churches. Let them not permit the dead to be interred (*i.e.* with the ceremonies of the Church), nor their bodies to be placed unburied in the cemeteries. Let them not bless the wallets of the pilgrims except outside the churches."[2] This interdict, though imperfectly observed, produced the desired effect. The voice of the people became so loud that the king had to give up his wicked life.

148. The veneration for the Saints and their relics was a characteristic of the times. It came very natural to the medieval mind that he who loves God must needs love those who love Him. Each region and town had its special patron. The places where the remains of Saints reposed were the goal of pilgrimages, which the faithful undertook, to atone for sins, to obtain favors, to return thanks for benefits received. The Christian countries were dotted with such shrines. The pilgrims went singly or in groups or in organized processions. Before setting out they received "the pilgrims' blessing" in the church. In many places they found hospices ready to shelter and care for them. Kings and other prominent persons often established such houses for the pilgrims of their nationality. Thus Irish hospices were spread over the whole continent.

[1] See Guggenberger, I, § 539. [2] Ogg, *Source Book*, p. 382.

The Middle Ages, though great in some branches of knowledge (§ 266 ff.), had not much of a critical spirit. With childlike simplicity they accepted what was told them, especially when it seemed to redound to the honor of some Saint. In many cases these stories showed more what the people thought of the Saint than what had really happened. "Fake" relics also found veneration, though never against the better knowledge of the heads of the Church. Nor is the number of false relics nearly so great as some writers would have us believe. The

York Cathedral. — Gothic style (§ 278). Built in its present shape, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Considered the finest ecclesiastical building in England.

Church takes every possible care to make such pious frauds impossible. No relic may be publicly venerated without the approval of the bishop. Finally, the veneration is, as Pope Pius X points out in his Encyclical against Modernism, by its very nature conditional, that is, it is rendered on the understood supposition that the relic is genuine.

149. The monasteries and their inmates are an essential feature of medieval life. It was an age of religious enthusiasm. Many were not satisfied with the fulfilling of the common duties of Christians. They desired to show more generosity to their God and to serve Him more exclusively, or to do more penance

for their sins and the sins of the world (§ 60). Hence the monasteries never lacked recruits ("novices"). Men and women of all ranks, royal personages included, entered the convents and bound themselves by the three vows to another kind of spiritual freedom. The monasteries rose on hilltops, in secluded valleys, or in and near towns. Their midnight bells roused their thousands of inmates from slumber to sing, in the stillness of the night, the praises of their Creator. Their daily work was again interrupted by the hours of prayer, while the very life, as regulated by the Rule, meant a constant victory over the cravings of nature. A peculiar dress distinguished the monks from the rest of the people. Commonly it was the attire worn by the poorer classes at the time when the Order was founded.

The convents were constantly increasing in number. Rich persons would endow such houses of prayer in thanksgiving for divine favors, or as a memorial for their deceased relatives, or with the intention that their own souls after death be remembered by the inmates. Abbey churches were the resting places of the dead of many a princely family.

The monks and nuns continued to be educators. It was a very common custom that the daughters of the higher classes should receive their schooling in the retirement of a convent. By educating these girls, says a Protestant historian, the nuns did more for the development of genuine womanhood than all the rules of etiquette and the chivalry of the knights and all the effusions of the troubadours and minnesingers could have achieved.

150. New Religious Orders. — (*a*) In the course of time certain features of religious life were emphasized more explicitly in the foundation of new Orders. A Burgundian nobleman founded the Order of the *Cistercians*, which devoted itself to the practice of a rigorous penance. It became famous chiefly through St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the preacher of the second Crusade and one of the greatest men of the twelfth century. The *Carthusians*, founded by St. Bruno of Cologne,

combined the life in a community with the eremitical or hermit life. The members dwell in separate cells clustered around a court, observe the strictest silence and assemble only for meals and for services in the church. Once a week the silence is relaxed for a few hours of recreation. St. Norbert wrote the Rule of the *Premonstratensians* in whom he aimed to unite monastic sanctity with the work of the secular clergy. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians were the chief instrument of the Church for the Christianization and civilization of the now German countries east of the Elbe. All these Orders had adopted the principle of centralization, that is, their several houses were under one general superior.

This principle had been tried in an earlier period. In the course of time the possessions of the monasteries had increased very much, partly through the incessant labor of the monks, partly by the general appreciation of all property in value, partly through the donations of benefactors (§ 119). This occasionally led to a loss of the primitive spirit. Interference of the secular power with the right of the monks to elect their own abbot often had the same sad effect. One of the successful efforts to restore the first fervor was the *Congregation of Cluny* established in A.D. 910. It consisted of a number of Benedictine monasteries united under the " mother-abbey " of Cluny, a convent in Northern Burgundy. The monks took their vow of obedience not to the head of their own house but to the Abbot of Cluny. The latter had full power to examine into the conditions of each abbey and to set things right if necessary. This Congregation, which is much older than the above-mentioned new Orders, exercised a widespread influence on the monastic houses and on the reform of the Church at large. At one time it counted about two thousand abbeys in all the countries of Christendom. *Similar Congregations* were formed by other Benedictine institutions, though they did not give up their identity in the same degree. In the eleventh century there began a new influx of Irish monks into Germany. They were hospitably received and endowed with large properties. This is the origin of the Congregation of the so-called *Scotch Convents* (§§ 45, 62) which for some time recruited themselves from Ireland.

(*b*) **Who Establishes Religious Orders?** — Divine Providence commonly inspires some private person with the desire of originating a new monastic organization for a certain purpose, showing him more or less definitely what kind of life its members should lead. The person will then gather others around him who are filled with the same spirit, and in a private way they will begin to live like religious and

practice the principles they lay down for themselves. So far there is no real religious Order. They will have to apply to the ecclesiastical authorities, ultimately to the pope. What is commonly called the approbation of an Order is in reality its foundation. The pope is the supreme superior of all existing religious Orders, and the one to whom the vow of obedience is made in the last instance. *Religious Orders are not private pious cliques but an integral part of the organization of the Church.* The pope's ruling power is the source from which all their rules and constitutions draw their binding force. In the case of the oldest Orders the approbation was often given by way of fact, that is by not opposing but praising it, rather than by express words in the shape of official documents.

SECTION III. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

A. The Last Saxon Kings

151. Part of a Danish Empire. — In § 116 we left England united under Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). In the long fight against the Norse invader, under the great Alfred and his sons and grandsons, Angle, Saxon, Northumbrian, and Mercian had learned to look upon themselves as Englishmen, — citizens of one country. The many Teutonic states in Britain had at last been fused into a true "England," — though bitter feuds did sometimes still break forth between Englishmen of the north and Englishmen of the south.

Anglo-Saxon Plowing. — From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum, London.

During the first years of the next century the ruler was a weak man, Ethelred the Redeless;[1] and the island was conquered by Swegn, king of Denmark, and his son *Knut.* This Danish attack was wholly unlike the invasions in the time of

[1] *Ethelred* means "noble counsel." This nickname meant "the man without counsel."

Alfred. Denmark had now become a Christian kingdom; and Knut, who was master also of much of Norway, made England part of a great Scandinavian empire (1016–1035).

At the same time he showed himself an English king in feeling. He lived mainly in England, and dismissing his Danish army, he rested his power upon the good government

he gave to the realm. While in Rome on a pilgrimage, he wrote a noble letter to his English subjects: "I have vowed . . . to rule justly and piously. If I heretofore have done anything unjustly, through the headiness or carelessness of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly."

152. Edward the Confessor. First Norman Influence. — Knut the Great was succeeded by his sons, who proved very

unlike him in morals and ability. After seven years the northern empire was broken up entirely. The Witan[1] of England restored the Saxon line by electing Edward,[2] son of Ethelred and a Norman princess. Much of his life had been spent in Normandy. Save a war with Scotland his reign was free from foreign complications. He strove to promote the welfare of his people by a strict administration of justice, the abolition of heavy taxes, and an open-handed generosity to the poor. He encouraged the spread in England of the reformatory ideas of Cluny (§ 150). For this purpose he promoted Norman clerics to important English bishoprics and abbeys (§ 102 (3)). Normans were employed, too, in minor administrative positions. Thus an immigration of Normans began under his reign. This, as well as the fact that not all his appointees justified the confidence placed in them, was a pretext of much trouble and of open rebellion. Edward lacked the necessary firmness to suppress these disturbances. Still in spite of his weakness the people long after clamored for the "laws and customs of good king Edward."

153. The Norman Conquest, 1066. — Edward the Confessor left no son. The English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful of the Saxon noblemen, though not of royal descent, for their king. He was said to have been recommended by Edward. But *William, Duke of Normandy*, claimed the throne on the ground of distant relationship and of a promise from Edward, and because Harold on some former occasion had taken an oath

[1] The "Folk-moot," that is, the meeting of all the free men, survived in local government only. (See §§ 155–157.) The *Witan* or *Witenagemot* was an assembly of the "wise men" of the kingdom, namely, the great lords and ecclesiastics. The later "Great Council" practically consisted of the same men (§ 183).

[2] This St. Edward is called "The Confessor" to distinguish him from his uncle, St. Edward the Martyr. Those saints who have not shed their blood for Christ are given the title "Confessor," which in this case has nothing to do with the sacrament of confession. (See also *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Confessor.")

of fealty to him. He had moreover convinced the pope that he would be a better champion of ecclesiastical discipline than Harold, whose past did not seem to guarantee much zeal for the true welfare of the Church. William now prepared to make his claim good by arms.

"Harold, the Last of the Saxons," is however a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of forty weeks and one day adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon kingship. He was threatened from two sides. His own brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold refused to restore him. So Tostig stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the west, while William of Normandy prepared to invade from the south.

A Norman Ship. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 29 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. (See § 132.) The banner is supposed to be the one blessed by the pope.

The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Harold was in the South, to meet the even more formidable force from across the Channel. Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold, in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*.

But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops. The jealous nobles of the old Danelaw held aloof. Only the knights and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner. By a

stratagem he forced William to an attack, which brought on the battle of *Hastings* or *Senlac*, one of the world's decisive struggles. It gave a complete victory to William the Conqueror.

All day long the battle raged between two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mailclad family guards of the King. They wielded huge battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the King among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a*

Battle of Hastings. — From the Bayeux Tapestry.

splendid force to resist attack. The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.*

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, —" The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — " I live; and by God's help I shall conquer! " And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard, the " Golden Dragon of Wessex."

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew

part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's orders, and then turning upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the King, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the Dragon standard. But the Duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed English array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed, in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse. William was left master of the kingdom.

The Norman conquest was one of the chief turning points in English (and American) history. Never since has a conquering people established itself in England. Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, had held the island in turn. Each had brought his peculiar contribution to its development. Now the Normans had conquered, because they were better equipped for warfare than the old English, and better disciplined. This same superiority they were to show in government.

B. The Norman Influence

154. The Normans found some institutions in Saxon England which had lasting influence on English and American life. — (1) *Anglo-Saxon local divisions.* — These local divisions were of three orders, — shires, hundreds, and townships.

As Wessex had extended her sway over the island (§ 105), the smaller tribal kingdoms (Kent, Essex, and so on) had sunk into *shires*, and in the end all England came to be divided into about forty such units. Each had its shire-reeve (sheriff). In the Saxon period this officer, appointed by the king, had little power; but under the Norman kings he became much more important.

Before the tribal kingdoms sank into shires, they had possessed their own local subdivisions. These, or others formed in imitation of them, remained as subdivisions of the shires, and were known as *hundreds* (a name that survives for local divisions in Maryland and Delaware).

Each hundred was made up of *townships*, or *villages*. The chief village of each shire had usually grown into a fortified

"borough," a trading town, with some special privileges granted by the kings. Trade had raised some other villages into boroughs.

155. (2) *Anglo-Saxon Local Government.* — *The ordinary township had come to have little self-government.* Such powers as it had once possessed had passed mainly into the hands of some neighboring noble, to whom the village was coming to stand much like a "manor" on the continent. Boroughs had greater privileges. They were practically compressed hundreds so far as government was concerned.

Statue of William the Conqueror at Falaise, his birthplace.

The hundred was the busiest unit for carrying on government. It did its work in a "court" which met once a month. The *hundred court* was made up of the landlords, or their stewards, and the "reeve" (headman), priest, and "four best men," of each village. The sheriff of the shire, or more commonly one of his subordinates, and some representative of the bishop, presided. The court dealt with a great variety of matters. In particular, it settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

There was also a *shire court*, which met twice a year. This body was composed much as the courts of the various hundreds were. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many

matters of local government.[1] *It was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived.*

156. (3) *Anglo-Saxon Feudalism.* — Neither feudalism nor serfdom had developed in Saxon England in any such degree as on the continent. Still, even the larger units (shire and hundred), as well as the little townships, were coming under the influence of local nobles. Sometimes a lord secured from the king the right to hold a private court alongside the people's court of the hundred. Moreover, the freemen of the villages had been sinking in condition. After Alfred's time, it became necessary for each free villager to attach himself to some lord. At first, the purpose was merely to hold the lord responsible for the villager's obedience to the laws; but, in return for his responsibility, the lord began to exact small payments of various sorts from the villagers, and that class had begun to pass into the condition of villeins on the continent. This last change was greatly hastened by the Norman conquest.

157. The Norman Innovations. — (1) *Centralization.* — The Normans did not meddle much with the local institutions they found. Their genius for organization did build up a more effective *central* government, as we shall see shortly, and they checked certain weaknesses of the old *local* organization. There had been no good machinery to secure *uniformity* of government and custom in the different shires, or to compel obedience to the national laws. The Normans increased the authority of the sheriff, the king's especial representative, so as to meet these needs.

158. (2) *English Feudalism after the Conquest.* — Feudalism was already fully developed in Normandy. William introduced it into England as a complete system, but with certain changes which freed it from the worst evils.

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[1] Students should note that in medieval times "courts" were concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business. See §§ 121 (2), 131.

He first confiscated all the land of the kingdom, with legal formalities, on the ground that the landowners had forfeited their holdings as traitors, — since they had not willingly recognized him as king. Much of this land, especially that of Englishmen who had fallen in battle against him, went as royal fiefs to his followers. But most of it he granted back to the old holders who now became his own vassals. But he restricted greatly the power of all lords over their vassals and took care to render difficult any opposition of great feudatories against the crown.

Following are the principal checks put on English feudalism:

(*a*) The properties held by the great lords were scattered in different counties (shires). Thus each piece really became a surety for the lord's fidelity; and a great vassal could not easily gather his forces for any treasonable attack.[1]

(*b*) The chief authority in a shire was now exercised, not by an hereditary nobleman but by the sheriff appointed by the king (§ 156).

(*c*) William preserved the old national militia of shire and hundred, putting it under the command of the royal sheriffs. Thus the king was not wholly dependent upon the feudal levies. He even had a force to confront disloyal nobles.

(*d*) All the landowners of England, though most of them were some other lord's vassals, were now required to take an oath of fealty directly to the king, so that henceforth no Englishman could participate in any struggle against the crown without becoming guilty of treason (§ 125, 1).[2]

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[1] This fortunate arrangement came about probably not so much from design as from the fact that William really became master of the country only by degrees, and so had to reward his followers a little at a time.

[2] These changes in the feudal system made the king the sole real owner of English soil. There was now no more allodial property in England (§ 119). Even at present, in theory, all the English landowners are tenants of the crown; and their number is relatively very small, entire villages being owned by one individual.

159. (3) *The Church in Norman England.* In spite of the zeal of Edward the Confessor the Church was still suffering from the anarchy of prior reigns, and a number of ecclesiastics were unworthy of their positions. William put able Normans into their places. The See of Canterbury, the first of the country, which for nineteen years had been held by the illiterate and immoral Stigand, obtained one of its greatest archbishops in the person of the Norman monk Lanfranc. Thus the religious and literary life of the island came into a more lively contact with that of the continent. The Reform of Cluny (§§ 150; 102, 3) began to spread vigorously. To comply fully with the demands of the Canon Law (§ 143) *separate ecclesiastical courts* were established. William retained, however, the decisive influence upon the appointment of all prelates, and placed some restrictions on the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. And though the active connection with Rome received great encouragement from him, he refused to give up the practice of investing bishops in the manner prohibited by Pope Gregory VII (§ 225). Taken all in all, the action of the Normans on the life of the Church of England redounded greatly to its advantage. "The Normans," says even a partisan of Harold, "revived the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless. You might see churches rise in every village and monasteries in the towns and cities built after a style unknown before."

160. (4) *General results.* Until 1066 England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its political relations were chiefly with the Scandinavian countries in the North. At home, since the days of Alfred the Great (§ 114) the two chief dangers had been the growth of feudal anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

Now not only was there a lively religious and literary intercourse with the continent; but England's union, for several

generations (see § 163), with Normandy turned its policy towards the great European nations.[1]

Within the island, North and South were so strongly united that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and a strong central government arose. The kings were now strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. Dread of royal power was one of the causes which drew Saxons and Norman immigrants together.[2] They became fused into an English nation, which in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, won constitutional liberty. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. England was the first country in the world to work out for a large territory *the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.*

161. The conquest also brought in new *blood*, a higher culture, and new elements in *language*. Norman lords and clergy, and likewise Norman merchants and artisans, flocked into England. All these people spoke their own Norman-French tongue, and for a time only the lowest classes spoke English. Gradually, the English gained its place as the language of the whole people; but meantime it lost its more complicated grammatical forms and was enriched by a multitude of Norman words.

C. The Four Norman Kings

162. William I, the Conqueror (1066–1087), was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by

[1] For some generations the rulers of England remained dukes of Normandy, and so great *vassals* of the French crown.

[2] The sharp distinction between the Norman and the Saxon had disappeared before the close of the Norman reigns (§ 165). Scott's *Ivanhoe* pictures a state of affairs in this respect which had passed away at least two generations before the time dealt with in the story.

an English Witan, and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Some of his chief work has been described. Among his other wise deeds was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, which gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. One tenth of these are called "burgesses" (inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of them dwelt in what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights (not 60,000, as some old English historians understood and taught).

William I, the Conqueror, stamped himself on the world's history, making it a far different thing from what it would have been without him. In his makeup there mingled strangely the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the cool caution and shrewdness of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the period, "[he was] so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same conquered English writer fails not to praise the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold."

163. William II and Henry I. — William, by will, left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son *William Rufus* (the Red). This prince (1087–1100), too, to strengthen his claim, procured an election from the English Assembly. (See § 152, note.) "In his days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose." He was finally killed mysteriously and interred without the ceremonies of the Church.

Henry I (1100–1135), the youngest son of the Conqueror, also obtained an election. He issued a Charter of Liberties, which

a hundred years later was to become the model for a much more important document. By force and intrigues he wrested Normandy from his good-natured brother, Duke Robert, and acquired the County of Maine in France. From his (if not from earlier) times dates the "*King's Court*," composed of a few able men, to supervise the finances, and also to serve as a supreme court of justice. From time to time Henry I sent members of this Royal Court into distant parts of the realm to look after his interests and administer justice in his name. The people gave to Henry I the honorable title of "Lion of Justice," though he ruled much like an absolute monarch.[1]

Under William II and Henry I the "Contest about Lay-Investiture" was fought out in England (§ 230).

164. Stephen. — After Henry I's death his nephew Stephen secured the election. He was weak by nature, and his reign was distracted by civil wars with the supporters of Henry's daughter Matilda. Feudal anarchy seemed to have at last seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers bewail the misery of the age with bitter phrases:

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept."

165. The four Norman reigns may be summed up briefly thus: William I, conquest, consolidation, provision against feudal disintegration; William II, tyranny; Henry I, a charter, and beginnings of judicial organization; Stephen, anarchy and civil war.

Observe that the three successors of William I all had rivals for the throne, and so were kept in some measure in dependence upon the nation.

Special Reports. — The Domesday Book; a fuller story of the Norman Conquest, with the harrying of the North; the making of the New Forest.

[1] On the Conquest and the Conqueror see Guggenberger, I, §§ 357–372, 400–410.

D. The Plantagenet Kings

166. Henry II, 1154–1189. — Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname, *Plantagenet*.

At twenty, Henry, the son of this marriage, had landed in England, to make good his claim to the throne against Stephen. But Theobald, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the rivals to terms. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should keep the crown during his life, but that he should recognize Henry as his heir. This bargain was kept. Stephen died the same year, and Henry II quietly succeeded.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his task while servants and attendants dropped with fatigue. He delighted in the conversation of the learned. Yet he was grossly immoral, liable to descend to the basest artifices if they furthered his ends, and exceedingly jealous of every kind of authority which did not come from himself and was not subservient to his will. When roused by opposition he would rave like a madman.

167. Henry II was one of the most powerful rulers in Europe. — England was only a part of his territories. Through his mother he was Duke of Normandy and Count of Maine; through his father, Count of Anjou and Touraine. ' A shadowy claim upon Brittany he converted into real overlordship. By marriage he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included

Poitou and Gascony. Thus *he ruled more than half of what is now France — and six times as much French territory as was then held directly by the French king.*

True, Henry II held these French provinces, in name, as a vassal of the king of France. In fact, he thought of himself chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. So, too, others thought of him in that day. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. None the less, he proved one of the greatest, and, in spite of his egregious blunders, one of the most beneficent of all the English kings.

Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. (See § 171.) For a time, he held Scotland in imperfect subjection, her king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily, as in every strong English reign.

168. Henry II and Feudal Disorder. — The first task of the new king was to restore order. During the long civil wars, both sides had brought swarms of foreign mercenaries into England. These bands paid themselves by plundering the country, and they were still ravaging at will. Henry drove them out or hunted them down. Then the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time, and which had so often become strongholds for the oppression of the people, were demolished. Henry called the "Great Council" more frequently in order to interest the nobility in the government and welfare of the country.

Henry II took two measures to decrease *permanently the military importance of the feudal lords.* (1) A law known as the *Assize of Arms* again revived the old militia (§ 158, *c*). Those who held land of their own were to be arrayed in coat of mail and helmet, and armed with lance and shield; poorer men must have at

least helmet and lance. All had to hold themselves always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriffs.

(2) The subvassals (knights) of the great lords were excused from military service, on condition of a money payment to the king. With this fund, called *scutage* (shield money), the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies (§ 122, 1). Thus the king became more independent of the great nobles, and these in turn were no longer obliged to furnish their feudal levies. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became interested in farming their lands and especially in the business of the shire courts, — so that they were soon spoken of as "knights of the shire."

169. Henry II and the Church. (I.) **The Constitutions of Clarendon.** — Henry II could brook no power that did not emanate from himself. The independence and privileges of the clergy were a thorn in his side. He intended to secure once for all the so-called "rights" which his predecessors, contrary to Canon Law and in spite of the protest of Church authorities, had at various times usurped and which were styled "the royal customs." He made his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and thereby Primate of England. Thomas had been the king's trusted friend and adviser, and a gay companion at the banquet table and in the hunt. But with his episcopal consecration he became a changed man — he became *St. Thomas*. He rigidly removed all luxury, wore a hairshirt next his body at all times, and observed most conscientiously the rules which regulate a bishop's life. The king, to his utter surprise, found in him a fearless champion of the rights of the Church.

A cleric had committed an offense against the king, and Henry II thought that no condign punishment had been given in the ecclesiastical court. In his wrath he now resolved to put the relation between Church and State upon an entirely new basis.

A Great Council was called and the king laid before it the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, in which were embodied what purported to be the "royal customs." The Council was to declare them the law of the land.

The chief points were these: (*a*) The revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, etc., were to go to the king from the death of the incumbent until the election of his successor. (*b*) The election was to take place in the king's chapel, with the advisers appointed by the king, and not before the king himself had summoned the electors. (*c*) The royal courts were to define whether a criminal case belonged to the secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and if found guilty in the Church court, the criminal was to be tried over in the secular court.[1] (*d*) No direct vassal of the king or any of his household officers should be excommunicated without the king's permission. (*e*) No bishop or archbishop should go beyond the sea without the king's permission (to prevent complaints being made about the king in Rome). (*f*) Appeals from English courts to the pope, too, required the royal permission. (This point the king later explained to have reference to civil causes only.)

It is evident that with the enactment of such laws the Church in England would be completely at the king's mercy, though the possibility that he might give the desired permissions still kept it from an accomplished schism. The "royal customs" certainly made the sovereign the chief regent of the Church instead of those whom the Holy Ghost appointed to rule it.

170. (II.) The Opposition of St. Thomas.—In the Assembly the bishops naturally shrank from consenting to such enslavement. Henry in great rage had the door of the next apartment thrown open. There they beheld a body of knights with drawn swords, waiting for the signal to massacre the prelates. To avert

[1] This was greatly to the interest of the judges themselves, because the principal share of the fees, fines, etc., went to them. See also § 143 on "clerical privileges" and § 159.

bloodshed the primate now yielded to the entreaties of bishops and lords and put his name to the fatal document. But he repented directly, wrote to Rome for absolution, and at another session of the Great Council retracted publicly and solemnly. He was the only bishop that did so. The king's anger was terrible. Thomas fled to France, while Henry seized his ecclesiastical and private property. Even his innocent relatives and friends with their whole families, about four hundred persons, were robbed of all their possessions, driven out of the country, and forced to swear that they would go to the primate and implore him to satisfy the king.[1] It must be said to Henry's credit that he does not seem to have sided with the anti-pope against Alexander III (§ 208).

The urgings of Alexander III and the fear of spiritual punishments finally prevailed on him to come to some understanding with St. Thomas and to allow him to return to Canterbury. But his former sentiments soon awoke again. Four of his knights took his angry words as a desire to see the troublesome prelate done away with. They hastened to Canterbury and killed Thomas in his cathedral, A.D. 1170. Henry disclaimed having given any such order, and of his own accord did public penance at the tomb of the martyr and canceled the obnoxious Constitutions of Clarendon. The martyr's death was the victory of his cause.

The people of England felt that St. Thomas had fought for their own liberty while upholding the rights of the Church. He became one of the most popular Saints and his tomb the goal of countless pilgrimages in England and from abroad.

171. Henry II's Expedition to Ireland. — This enterprise falls between the death of St. Thomas Becket and the public penance performed by Henry at the Saint's tomb.

[1] Another instance of Henry's cruel vindictiveness is related by Lingard. In one of his wars against Wales he had received a number of the children of Welsh princes as hostages. When the Welshmen, provoked as they said

After the battle of Clontarf in 1014 (§ 102) the Danes made no more inroads into Ireland. But the victory brought no political unity. There was strife and conflict between the tribes and parts of tribes almost incessantly.

Shortly before A.D. 1170, Dermot McMurrough, king of the Province of Leinster, " who combined zeal for founding churches and encouraging learning with a ferocious cruelty and licentiousness," was forced to flee the country. With the permission of Henry II he obtained the assistance of some Anglo-Norman knights, chief of whom was Richard Strongbow. By their aid Dermot repossessed himself of his kingdom and allowed his friends to occupy Dublin and its surrounding. Both the rapacity of these adventurers and jealousy of their success impelled Henry to cross over himself, 1171. He fought no battle but redressed some grievances of the natives and tried to win them by the display of his army, by condescension, and by the splendor of his court. An assembly of Irish chieftains at Waterford recognized him in some vague terms as their lord. He left the following spring and almost his first act was the reconciliation with the pope and the penance at St. Thomas' tomb.

172. Again the Irish failed to effect a strong union of their forces, though the Anglo-Normans from now on made little or no progress. The latter retained their hold, however, on a district in the Southeast of Ireland with the city of Dublin. This was subsequently called *the Pale.* Its boundaries shifted as the power of the invaders increased or relaxed. But the English king continued wearing the title of *Lord of Ireland.*[1]

173. The most important of Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice.—*The King's Court* established by Henry I (§ 163) still existed, but as the supreme court of justice it had lost much of its importance. It was hardly

by outrages, renewed the war, he had the eyes of the boy hostages put out and the noses and ears of the girls cut off. (Vol. II, p. 145.)

[1] Guggenberger, I, §§ 499–503.

more than the feudal court for the king and his immediate vassals. Henry II again made it accessible to all free Englishmen, in particular to those in danger of being dispossessed by their lords. He divided England into six districts, into each of which three judges from the King's Court were sent at stated times. These were the *Circuit Judges*. It was indeed their primary duty to secure the king's revenues, which were collected with the utmost rigor. But they were also empowered to represent the monarch by doing justice whenever any man appealed to them. This again helped to enrich the royal coffers by the fees demanded or offered for taking up a case or proceeding with it.

The system had three important effects. It served greatly to unify English law and to prevent the growing up of as many codes of law as there were local courts (§§ 154–156). The royal judges, moreover, were likely to administer justice more independently than were those of the shire or hundred or the feudal authorities. Finally the institution brought the king's judicial assistance to the very door of every Englishman. No other country in Europe could boast of such a system. Purged of abuses the circuit courts still exist as part of the English judiciary, and have been adopted by the framers of the American Constitution.

From the decisions of these various courts developed a system of law, unwritten but none the less uniform, the *Common Law*, which is the basis of most of our American justice.

174. The Method of Trial in the Courts. — In most civilized countries the court trials are generally carried on with the assistance of a **Jury**, that is, there are besides the judges twelve other men selected from among the citizens. They listen to the witnesses and thereupon answer the question whether, from the evidence presented in the court, the accused person is guilty or not. By doing so they really act as judges, though they are not so called. If they declare the man guilty, the

judge imposes the penalty. These men are styled *Jurors* or Jurymen, which means persons that have sworn, namely to pronounce a just verdict. They are, however, the *Petty Jury*. Preceding the trial there has been the action of the *Grand Jury*, whose province it is to see whether it is advisable to have the man tried at all.

This system, under one form or other, is very old. Traces of it are found even in the ancient Teutonic customs. But the beginnings of its present form date from Henry II. His Norman predecessors already had appointed similar boards to decide cases in which the king's property interests were involved. Henry II extended it to the *civil cases* (questions of property) of all the freemen. He also ordered that in *criminal cases* such juries should present suspected offenders to the court for trial. This is what our Grand Juries do now. Thus persons too mighty to be accused by individuals could be haled into court. The trial was still carried on by ordeal (§ 66). But when the ordeals were more and more abandoned and even condemned by the Church, a smaller jury was summoned for the trial. This trial jury at first acted both as witnesses and as judges. But since they were allowed to call in other witnesses, it became the rule for them to act as judges only. — In spite of many undeniable shortcomings this system is rightly considered as a guarantee of popular liberty and a means of inspiring the people with confidence in the verdicts of the courts.

175. The Closing Years of Henry II were darkened by domestic troubles. The feudal lords tried to cast off royal control. A powerful coalition was formed between this English feudal force, the king of Scotland, and the king of France. Henry's splendid generalship crushed his foes in detail; *and England had seen its last great uprising of feudalism against the national government.*

But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard

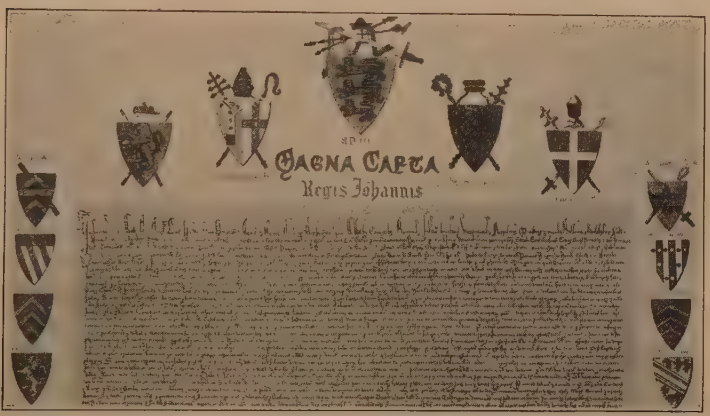
and John. The dying king was driven to yield to their demands. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators whom he was required to pardon was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed his partiality for John had driven Richard into arms against him. Thus John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. The king sank into a deep melancholy. "Now," he said, "I care no more for myself or the world." Seven days later, when he felt that his end was near, he had himself carried into church, received the last sacraments and died at the foot of the altar.

176. Richard I, 1189–1199. — The great officers who had been trained under Henry II carried on his system of government with little change through the reigns of his two tyrannical sons. Richard "the Lion Hearted" cared mainly for military glory. He was a valiant, impetuous knight, but a weak statesman and ruler. Of the eleven years of his reign, he spent only seven months in England, and these solely to get money for foreign wars. Happily he was as careless as he was tyrannical; and, in his need of money, *he sold many charters of liberties to the rising towns.* He is remembered as one of the leaders of the Third Crusade (§ 243).

177. John Lackland, 1199–1216, was an abler man than his brother, but a more despicable character. Three events mark his reign, — defeats by France, by the pope, and by his subjects. (1) Abroad, he lost Normandy and all northern France to the French king. (2) After a long quarrel with Pope Innocent III, John promised to redress the grievances of his subjects. And though not compelled by the pope, he even surrendered England to the pope to receive it back in a kind of semi-vassalage. (3) England wrested from his hands a charter of liberties, known as *Magna Carta* (the Great Charter). This third event demands fuller notice.

178. Magna Carta. — Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression and harsh exactions brought all classes of English-

men to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France, two mass meetings of barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered, to discuss redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, whom the pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before one of these gatherings the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis, Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting.



Opening Lines of Magna Carta. (Reduced facsimile). — The characters in the margin are supposed to be the coats of arms of barons who signed as witnesses, but they are a later embellishment to the document.

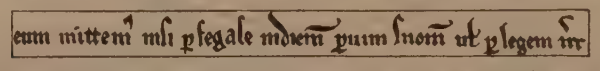
John at first refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London arrayed in their "train bands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June* 15, 1215, at a meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede,* he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."

The Charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, not to establish new ones. But it *set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries, during

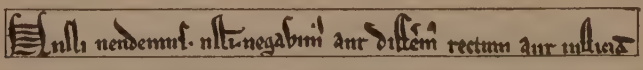
the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents

Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,

aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins.

The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; and the greater part of the document is concerned with the privileges of feudal vassals.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (§ 168) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council of England. All vassals of the king had a right to attend this Council; and so this provision established the principle, — no taxation without the consent of the taxed. It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "habeas corpus." It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose

his oxen or plow, his means of livelihood, and so foreshadowed our very modern laws providing that legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools.[1]

The Charter became at once the standard of freedom for the whole nation. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

As time passed, and as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age.

179. Henry III, 1217–1272. — John had no intention of keeping his word; and in a few months, as soon as he could make preparations, he began war to overthrow the Charter. His sudden death, however, left the crown to his nine-year-old son, Henry III. In the name of the boy-king, the great officers of the kingdom gave the Charter the first of its many solemn confirmations.

Henry III, gentle and credulous, warm in his attachments, forgiving in his enmities, pious, without vices, but also without energy, was a good man but not a good monarch. His lack of independent judgment made him the victim of favoritism. His incapacity, however, was productive rather of adversities to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific rule the nation grew more rapidly than under any of his warlike progenitors. A relatively small part of his long reign was marked by the calamities of war. The nobles, unable to enrich themselves by the plunder of enemies or the ransom of captives, turned their attention to the improvement of their estates. Salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce with other countries.

[1] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, pp. 231 ff., gives the principal provisions of the Great Charter, with a report, from an ancient chronicle, how it was won. See also Guggenberger, I, 537–545.

Henry III's favoritism, which benefited chiefly foreign courtiers, was one cause of strong opposition. His financial demands for purposes which indeed must have seemed questionable was another. It united the disaffected elements and led to a formidable uprising under *Simon of Montfort*, who for about a year actually ruled in the name of the captive king. To secure himself in his position, Simon called the famous parliament of 1265, which will be spoken of later on (§ 183). But the king's son Edward, the later Edward I, rallied the royal party, and slew Simon in the battle at Evesham (1265); the promise to rule according to the system of Simon pacified the country.

180. Edward I, 1272–1307. — For the two centuries since the Conquest, every king had been a foreigner, — Norman or Angevin (from *Anjou*) in tastes and training. *Edward was English to the core.* He had even the golden hair of the old Saxon kings, and a favorite Saxon name, as well as a thoroughly English character. In his campaigns in France, Wales, and Scotland, he proved himself a great general; but, tall, deep-chested, long-limbed, skilled in arms, he was prouder of his fame as a knight, earned by desperate fighting in person on many a field against heavy odds. In his younger days, his passionate temper hurried him sometimes into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

Edward wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain into one kingdom. In this he won only a partial success. The conquest of *Wales* he did complete; and, to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his oldest son the title Prince of Wales, which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, *Scotland* seemed to submit

to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace*, and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce*, roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence; and *the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.* (§ 182 end.)

The true fame of Edward rests upon his work as a lawgiver and as an organizer of the courts of justice. In both respects, he extended and rounded out the work of Henry II.

The following section deals with a topic "hard" to recite upon but too important to omit wholly. It may be well for a class merely to *read* it with the teacher.

181. Further Development of the Judicial System. — It was chiefly the King's Court that became the object of Edward I's reform (§§ 163, 173). The functions of this "Court" were manifold, and it was designated by different names according to the work it was performing, though it always consisted of the same men. When it met to look after the king's revenue, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money which were laid upon it by the sheriffs). In such meetings, the court was called "the Exchequer." When hearing appeals from the circuit courts (§ 173), it was styled the "Court of Common Pleas" because the cases thus laid before it dealt mainly with questions of property between man and man (*civil* cases). To decide important *criminal* cases, a body of the members of the King's Court would take its place upon a particular "bench" in the hall where the whole court used to gather. This was known as the "Court of the King's Bench."

Edward I now broke up the King's Court entirely and established three wholly separate and independent Courts — the Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of the King's

Bench — each one sitting in its own fixed place and devoted exclusively to its particular kind of business.[1]

Already Henry II had begun to assign the judicial work of the King's Court preferably to certain members. As the country advanced in civilization, matters of law made special legal knowledge more and more desirable. The number of trained jurists increased. The time had passed, too, when the knowledge of the laws was regarded as the almost exclusive privilege of ecclesiastics. Lay lawyers became numerous. Thanks to their greater efficiency the professional jurists were given preference in the appointment of judges, and from Edward I on they monopolized the supreme courts.

182. Like Henry II, Edward struck vigorously at feudalism — in four distinct ways.

He *widened the jurisdiction of his courts* at the expense of the feudal courts. A famous writ of *Quo Warranto* called upon every great noble to show "by what warrant" he held his estates and exercised judicial authority. In some cases such authority had been seized in times of disorder and had become established by custom merely. Even when a definite grant of jurisdiction had been made, along with the grant of lands, it was often hard to produce a record of it. But Edward and his courts held that unless an *express* grant of such power from some king could be proven, the authority must revert to the king's courts. This was the heaviest blow that feudalism had ever received. It went far to overthrow it, *so far as government was concerned*, in favor of a national government.

One of Edward's greatest laws was called *Quia Emptores*, from the two Latin words with which it opened. It provided that if thereafter a lord sold any of his land (or let it out in any way), then the new holder should not be his vassal, as formerly, but a vassal only of the next higher lord. In effect, this soon made the great mass of landowners into

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[1] This has remained the English judicial system down to modern times. Appeals could still be made to the king; and so grew up the later supreme jurisdiction of "the King in Council." Under Edward I, too, the Chancellor was authorized to hold a court for the purpose of doing justice in cases where it would not be done if the usual forms of law were followed strictly. Thus began the "equity jurisdiction" of the "Court of Chancery."

vassals only of the highest landlord, — tenants-in-chief of the king. *The landlord side of feudalism had lost its chief importance.*

Another great statute compelled all gentlemen who had an income of £ 20 a year from land to become "knights." This multiplied immensely the number of people in this proud order. Or rather, the feudal class lost itself in a much larger class. *Its social exclusiveness had gone.*

Edward's laws also revived Henry II's "assize of arms," and extended it, ordering that all men who could not provide themselves with armor for the national army should at least be ready to come with bow and arrows. The English long-bow had been becoming famous in the hands of forest outlaws (whose story is told in popular ballads, like the ones about Robin Hood); but Edward was the first English king to see the value of that weapon in regular war. Soon afterward, his archers won for him the pitched battle of Falkirk over the most gallant of Scottish chivalry. Unarmored infantry repelled armored horsemen. *The military supremacy of the feudal noble had received a fatal blow* — though even then few people really understood the fact until the victory of English archers was repeated on a larger scale in France somewhat later (§ 283).

We have been speaking of Edward's "laws." As Henry II carried his reforms through, extending the influence of the Great Council, so Edward carried his reforms in a long series of "statutes," enacted by a new national legislature which we call *Parliament*.

183. The Beginning of Parliament. — Some sort of an "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the Witan (or meeting of Wisemen, §§ 152 note, 163) at times exercised great power, sanctioning codes of laws, and even deposing and electing kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some infusion of more democratic elements.

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering, — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the Witan, but somewhat more aristocratic. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body

was merely the king's mouthpiece in ordinary times, until Henry II raised it to real importance.

Magna Carta gave it additional weight by providing that no military "tax" [1] should be imposed without the Council's consent. At the same time, the Charter prescribed just how the Council should be called together. As has been said (§ 182), all who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or "barons") were entitled to be present, but only the "great barons" ever came. According to the Charter, thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county.

Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the National Assembly.*

The principle of representative government was by no means new. It had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire (§ 155) spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II spoke for the whole shire. The same principle was now applied in a larger, central gathering, for all England.

Simon of Montfort had seized upon this system of representation for wider usefulness (§ 179). The writs for the famous Parliament [2] of 1265, issued by Simon's direction while the king was in his power, called for the attendance of two

[1] The charter did not say "tax." Taxation proper had hardly begun. It did say that no "scutage," a sort of war tax (§ 168, 2), should be imposed without the Council's consent. Then, when a system of real taxation grew up, the principle was extended to all taxes.

[2] This name for the National Assembly had come into use shortly earlier. We use it now to distinguish the Assembly after the introduction of representation from the earlier "Councils."

knights from each shire *and also of two burgesses from each borough*, to sit with the lords and clergy. Thus was taken a great step toward changing the *Great Council of royal vassals* into a "*Parliament*" *representing the people.*

184. The Model Parliament, 1295. — In the years that immediately followed this deed of Simon, several national assemblies met, wherein towns and counties had some representation; but the exact form varied from time to time, and the powers of the representatives were slight and indefinite. It was found, however, that in granting contributions to the crown the representatives of counties and towns were remarkably liberal. Hence in the "*Model Parliament*" of 1295, *Edward I*, who for ten years had not summoned the Great Council, adopted Simon's plan of thirty years before. Each shire and each borough was called upon to send its two representatives, — since, as Edward's writ read, "**that which touches all should be approved by all.**" From that time the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English national assembly. The assembly was, however, only in part representative. The great feudatories, both lay and clerical, came in their own name.

After half a century or so, Parliament began to sit in two "Houses." — At first all sat together in one hall. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been little better if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. England followed a course of its own.

Edward summoned to his Model Parliament the "three estates" [1] — the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses. The inferior clergy, that is, chiefly, the parish priests, very soon refused to attend. The great spiritual lords (bishops and abbots) were not numerous enough by them-

[1] "Estate," used in this way, means a "class" of people with distinct privileges and duties of their own.

selves to make an "estate," and so they took their place with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit in different halls, the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

Thus the three estates faded into two; and even these two were not completely distinct. For in England, unlike the case upon the continent, only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility, and to the right to a personal summons to the House of Lords. The younger sons —and even the oldest son during his father's life—belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, oftentimes, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shopkeeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.* This preserved good understanding between the two Houses, so that upon occasion they could act in unison in behalf of English liberty. The House of Commons, from the first, was much more than an "estate," and it was to widen, in time, into the representative of the nation.

185. "No Taxation without Representation." — His wars induced Edward I to demand high money contributions from his nobles, lay and ecclesiastical. The clergy protested vigorously because according to the existing laws of the Church they should not pay any taxes. But most of them were intimidated and later on really paid the amount. Pope Boniface VIII, urged at the same time by bitter complaints of the French clergy (§ 327), restated in the famous bull "Clericis Laicos" the old regulations in strong language. At the same time the lay lords of England, too, complained of the extortionate taxing by the king. Archbishop Winchelsey of Canterbury, who had never paid the tax, took his stand with the lay lords in their opposition. Armed with the papal document he was able to give greater force to their resistance. Edward I yielded. He again solemnly confirmed the Magna Carta with the additional promise, *never to impose* ***any kind of tax*** *without the consent of Parliament.* Thus was established in England's political life

the principle of "No taxation without representation," which was to play such an important part in the history of America.[1]

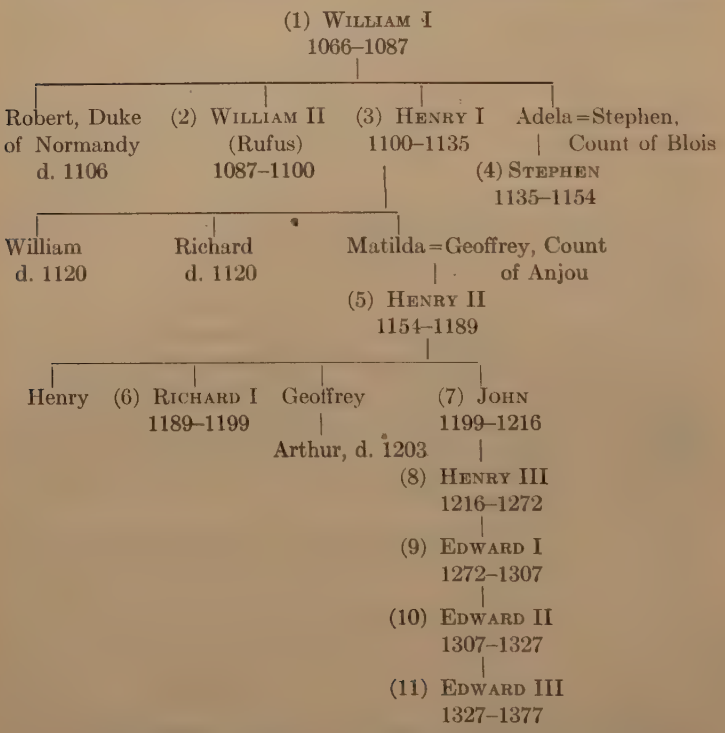
186. Parliament Deposes a King. — Even before this two-House form was established, Parliament gave one striking demonstration of its power. Edward II (1307–1327), son of the great Edward, was a weak and unworthy successor. Selfish and greedy favorites ruled through him, to the discontent and injury of the people. Finally, the nation rose against him, and Parliament deposed him with much legal formality. With the long reign of his son, Edward III, England emerges from the Middle Ages.

The authority of Parliament for ordinary times was yet to grow; but by 1340 (in the time of Edward III) the division into two Houses was effected. The framework of the national legislature was complete, like the framework of the judicial system a little earlier. In studying this growth, we have been studying more than *English* history merely. England has been the "Mother of Parliaments" for all countries which to-day have free governments.

Exercises similar to those suggested after § 218, but limited to England.

[1] See Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 372–374.

187. TABLE OF NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS[1]



[1] The kings are numbered. The symbol = means "married."

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

We now turn to the countries which once made up the empire of Charlemagne. The western part of the continent with its Roman and Carolingian traditions was the scene of those events, both secular and ecclesiastical, which most affected the history of the world for the next centuries. But it was no longer united. There were several realms in place of the empire of the great Charles. We shall take up first the kingdom of West-Frankland. (Review §§ 97–100.)

188. Accession of the Capetians. — During the inroads of the Northmen (before the foundation of Normandy; see § 102), *Robert the Strong* had defended the city of Paris, then a small town on a marshy island in the Seine River. His origin was obscure. According to some he was a Saxon by extraction. Robert's son, Odo, in turn heroically held the city throughout a siege of eleven months, carried on by the same terrible foe. Odo obtained the position of Duke of *Francia*, a district extending across the rivers Seine and Loire, and including the cities of Paris and Orleans. Francia was the principal section of Clovis' first conquest (§ 69). Like other parts of Charlemagne's realm, the western kingdom had broken up into a number of dukedoms and similar vassal states, such as Aquitaine, Burgundy, Toulouse, Brittany, Flanders, Champagne, some of them reviving the names of sections of the old Merovingian kingdom.

In 887 an assembly of the nobles of West-Frankland elected Odo, the Duke of Francia, king. For the next hundred years the crown passed back and forth between Odo's family and the last of the Carolingians. But in 987, after the death of the

Carolingian Louis the Sluggard (§ 99), Odo's grand-nephew, **Hugh Capet**, was elected. With him begins the line of the *Capetians*, which replaced the Carolingians. The name of Hugh's dukedom, Francia, was gradually extended to the whole kingdom (§ 98). This is the origin of the name of **France**.

It was the custom for a king to name a successor during his own lifetime, and then to have the nomination approved by the nobles. For three hundred years, however, each Capetian king was blessed with a son old enough to be capable of receiving the scepter directly from his hands, and, indeed, to be associated with him in the government during his lifetime. So, in the absence of conflicting claims, even the *form* of election vanished. *French kingship became strictly hereditary*, and the Capetian family ruled France until very recent days, when France ceased to have kings at all.

189. Reference Table: Capetian Kings to 1314, with Accession Dates.

Hugh Capet	987	Philip II (Augustus)	1180
Robert II	996	Louis VIII	1223
Henry I	1031	Louis IX (the Saint)	1226
Philip I	1060	Philip III	1270
Louis VI	1108	Philip IV (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VII	1137		

190. A "Feudal Kingship." — In 987 there was as yet no "kingdom of France." Hugh Capet was crowned "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons." This title shows something of the composite nature of "France" at that date.

The election of Hugh did not increase his actual power. It did increase his duties, but his resources rested on his possessions as Duke of Francia. Several of the great vassals ruling over the rest of France were each almost as powerful as the king, and so far as they obeyed him at all, they obeyed him as their feudal suzerain rather than as a national king. He had no hold upon the subvassals (§ 125, 1) nor did he have a

EUROPE and the
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
about 1000
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
15 10 5 0 5 10
60
55
50
45
40
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
English Channel
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
Tunsberg
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Shannon R.
Limerick
Kildare
Dublin
Wicklow Mts.
Dublin
Chester
York
Durham
Carlisle
Cardiff
Norwich
Oxford
London
Canterbury
Hastings
Boulogne
Flanders
Ghent
Bruges
Brussels
LOWER LORRAINE
Amiens
Arras
Thouaises
NORMANDY
Caen
Rouen
Reims
Laon
Paris
MAINE
Orleans
ANJOU
Tours
Loire R.
Poitiers
Bourges
BURGUNDY (Duchy)
Autun
Besançon
Basel
Constance
Lyons
Limoges
AQUITAINE
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Oviedo
Leon
KINGDOM OF LEON
Zamora
Bayonne
Burgos
Pamplona
NAVARRE
Ebro R.
Duero R.
Salamanca
Tagus R.
Toledo
Lisbon
Cuenca
Saragossa
Lerida
Barcelona
C. OF BARCELONA
C. OF TOULOUSE
Toulouse
Narbonne
Nimes
Arles
Marseilles
Aigues-mortes
Nice
CORSICA
SARACENIC POSSESSIONS
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Guadalquivir R.
Cordova
Seville
Murcia
Cartagena
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar
Strait of Tangier
BALEARIC IS.
Valencia
SARDINIA
MEDITERR
Algiers
Tunis
Biserta
Palermo
SICILY
Rhine R.
Mayence
Treves
Metz
Verdun
LORRAINE
UPPER BURGUNDY
Strassburg
Wurtzburg
Bamberg
Frankfort
Fulda
Cologne
Erfurt
Paderborn
Munster
Utrecht
Arnheim
Nimeguen
Bremen
Verden
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Oldenburg
Schleswig
Ribe
Roeskild
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
SAXONY
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
SUEBIA
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Passau
Ulm
Brixen
Villach
CARINTHIA
Trent
Legnano
Milan
Pavia
Piacenza
Genoa
Bologna
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Ancona
Rome
Gaeta
Naples
LOMBARDY
Savona
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Sutri
Ravenna
Venice
Long. West 5 of Greenwich
0
Long. East 5 of Greenwich
10

DUCHY OF BURGUNDY to France
C. OF BURGUNDY
Dijon
Citeaux
Cluny
Besancon
Basel
Lausanne
Geneva
Sion
Lyons
SAVOY
Chartreuse
Grenoble
Valence
DAUPHINY
LOMBARDY
C. OF PROVENCE
Avignon
Aix
Marseille
Nizza
Toulon
SUBDIVISIONS of BURGUNDY
PAPAL STATES
NOTE: After 1282 the kingdom was at times divided into the Kingdoms of Sicily and of Naples
Rome
Tagliacozzo
Lucera
Monte Cassino
Naples
Benevento (Papal)
Bari
Salerno
Taranto
Brindisi
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
CALABRIA
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
Syracuse
SOUTHERN ITALY About 1100
Fymswall
Esthonians
Livonians
Lithuanians
Dantzic
Colberg
Prussians
MAZOVIA
Gnesen
Plock
Vistula R.
POLAND
Breslau
SILESIA
CHROBATIA
Cracow
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Tchernigov
RUSSIA
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Beltz
Halicz
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Olmütz
M. OF MORAVIA
Brunn
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Pressburg
Erlau
Gran
Fünfkirchen
Maros R.
TRANSYLVANIA
Pruth R.
Petchenegs
Patzinaks
Cherson
(conquered by the Varangians 988)
BLACK SEA
Zagreb (Agram)
Sirmium
Save R.
Belgrade
Danube R.
Vidin
Nicopolis
Peristhlava
Varna
Sinope
Trapezus
Zara
Spalato
SERVIA
Nissa
Tirnova
Ragusa
Trjaditza (Sofia)
Philippopolis
Amastra
Amasia
Colonea
Diocleo
Scroda
Adrianople
Constantinople
Claudiopolis
Gangra
Sebastea
Dyrrhachium (Durazzo)
Skopia
Achrida
BULGARIA
Salonica
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusa
Abcyra
Dorylaeum
Caesarea
Bari
Brindisi
Castoria
Larissa
Adramyttium
EMPIRE
Amorum
Euphrates R.
Edessa
BYZANTINE
Smyrna
Sardis
Iconium
Podandus
Aleppo
Lepanto
Athens
Ephesus
Antioch
Reggio
Corinth
Argos
Attalea
Side
Seleucia
Myra
Constantia
Homs
Tripoli
Paphos
CYPRUS
Chandax
CRETE
Damascus
SYRIA
Acre
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
ANEAN SEA

national militia. When he needed an army, his forces came (1) from his own immediate feudal followers in his hereditary duchy, and (2) from such of his great vassals as felt inclined to perform their duties of vassalage.

191. The Work of the Capetians. — Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. From these unpromising fragments, the Capetian kings in the next three centuries made a new French nation, with a common language, common customs, and a common patriotism.

Two outside forces helped the Capetians in this great work, the Church and the lawyers. (1) The Church felt the need of a strong king to protect society against the violence of greedy nobles. And in that day when bishops and abbots were themselves mighty feudal lords, the Church could give not only moral support but important material aid. (2) In the eleventh century the lawyer class rose into importance, especially as the advisers and clerical assistants of the nobles and kings (§ 181). They were trained in the Roman law with its imperial traditions (§ 63, note), and they built up a theory of absolute kingship which gave the kings moral support in every new claim for authority.

In the main, however, France was made through the shrewd, tireless, persistent policy of a long line of able kings who never lost sight of their goal.

"There is no other modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as the French. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else." — G. B. Adams.

192. "France" Wins the Northwest. — The first great advances were achieved by Philip II, whom admirers styled *Philip Augustus*, because, like the Roman Augustus, he had "enlarged the boundaries of the state." His reign covered the last ten years of Henry II of England, all of Richard's and John's reigns, and the early years of Henry III. When Philip came to

the throne, Henry II was still working vigorously and wisely to strengthen the national unity of England against feudal "decentralization." *But in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity,* — not because he was king of England, but because, as a great vassal, he held directly six times as much of France (§ 167) as Philip held directly. On all occasions, in France, Henry upheld the feudal privileges of the vassals against the crown.

It was natural that a French king should strive to stir up enemies, even from within his own household, against this too powerful vassal. Philip II set Richard on to make war against his father (§ 175); and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals (§ 121, 2) summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip II enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. *The northwest quarter* of "France" was so added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea, with ports both on the Atlantic and the Channel. The King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, still ranked among the most powerful French vassals, — along with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Flanders, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Champagne.

193. "France" Gains the Southwest. — There had been another of the group, the great Count of Toulouse, most formidable of them all. But the time was near when this land also, from a practically independent vassal state, became an immediate possession of the crown of France.

In this case the success of the French kings came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there

NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
English Channel
Mediterranean Sea
CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
I
At the time of Henry II, 1154
II
After the death of John, 1216
III
On the eve of the Hundred Years' War
1340
IV
At the close of the Hundred Years' War
1453
ENGLAND AND FRANCE,
1154-1453.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
Limit of the French Kingdom
Possessions of Plantagenet Kings
Lands of the French Kings
Independent Fiefs in France
Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy

had been a period of decline in the Church (§ 219). This resulted in the rise of various sects of heretics. Without doubt the worst and most dangerous of them were the *Albigenses,* so called from the city of Albi in Southern France.

Their doctrines were indeed most pernicious. They denied the sacraments and the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the power of the state to punish crimes. There were two classes of them, the *perfect* and the *believers*. The perfect were forbidden to marry or to eat meat or any animal products, and were obliged to observe rigorous fasts. The believers had only two duties; namely, the firm will of joining the perfect sometime before death, and the performance of certain acts of reverence when meeting one of the perfect. Whatever vices they indulged in would be forgiven upon their entering the ranks of the perfect. This transition was brought about by a ceremony called consolamentum, which they imagined gave them absolute certainty as to their eternal salvation, provided they fulfilled the duties of the perfect. Should they commit a grievous fault, they were irretrievably lost, because the consolamentum could not be repeated. To prevent a relapse their friends might resort to the simple means of killing them. Such cases were not at all rare. Often, too, they would starve themselves to death. It is easy to see to what relaxation of morals, to what excesses such a doctrine was bound to lead. The judgment of Innocent III, who declared the Albigenses worse than Mohammedans (§ 71), is none too severe.

The mighty Counts of Toulouse were the most ardent protectors of this detestable heresy. After all the means of kindness had been tried against the Albigenses for thirty years, Pope Innocent III (§ 231) called upon the Christian princes, including the King of France as the sovereign of the Count of Toulouse, to use force against them.[1] A war of twenty years followed, carried on with much perfidy on the part of the heretics and with cruelty on both parts. Antagonism against a closer union with the royal power in France had much to do with the

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 546–550. The complete suppression of the Albigensian heresy in France and of similar dangerous errors in Italy was one of the purposes of the "Inquisition" (§§ 323–326).

fierce resistance offered by the Southerners. But during the reign of St. Louis IX the wars came to a happy termination. In 1229 the Count of Toulouse promised to give up every attempt at further protecting the heretics. Part of his county he ceded at once to the crown of France. And by the marriage of his daughter to a brother of King Louis IX the rest also entered into a more direct connection with Capetian France. At the opening of his reign Philip II had ruled directly a twelfth of modern France. King Louis IX's direct sway extended over more than two thirds of it. "France" had won its way to the Mediterranean.

194. Growth of the Absolute Monarchy. — As the kings acquired the soil of France, piece by piece, their realm outgrew the crude feudal system, and they had to create new machinery of government. And as they added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority. Here, too, Philip II, Augustus, made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin so that they could not aspire to independent power.

A Gold Florin of St. Louis IX.

His grandson, St. Louis IX, continued the work of organization. He, like the English kings, struck hard at feudalism, not because he hated the ancient institutions, but because he perceived their shortcomings and out of a sense of justice endeavored to remedy them. He entirely abolished the right of private feuds (§ 127), and greatly improved criminal justice by doing away with the judicial combat. He opened the king's supreme court to appeals from all the lower feudal courts. (See §§ 173, 182.) Thus he gradually concentrated the administration of justice in the crown. Similarly all the other branches of the government were reorganized by him. Philip IV, the

Fair, Louis IX's grandson, was of a different stamp. His unbounded selfishness did not shrink from any acts of the most crying injustice, rapacity, and violence (§§ 246, 327). But he, too, contributed his share towards the building up of the system of absolute government in France.

In each district the royal officer was given vast authority as a representative of the king. He appointed inferior officers, collected royal revenues, — including new taxes of a modern sort which Philip IV introduced, — and oversaw every detail of local administration. The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins. These classes found no gain in the changes in France, except in the greater quiet and freedom from war. But the small vassals and the townsmen did find escape from the rapacity and capriciousness of their old feudal lords.

In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; as Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the power intrusted to their officers by the kings.

195. The Estates General. — France, too, had its Great Council like England (§§ 185 ff.). Philip IV, the Fair, added representatives of the cities to those of the nobility and the clergy. In 1302, only a few years after the Model Parliament in England, these new "Estates General" had their first meeting. But the assembly was never more than a convenient taxing machine. Nor did the French people know how to value and utilize it as the English people did. The kings summoned the Estates General when they chose, and they easily controlled its actions. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer and finally ceased entirely.[1]

[1] The kingdom had twelve "Parliaments." But in France this name denoted a peculiar kind of courts of justice, though at times these parliaments

196. St. Louis IX has been spoken of several times in preceding sections. He is one of the noblest figures in medieval history. St. Louis possessed the piety of a child. Though a brave and brilliant knight (§ 137) and intrepid warrior, he was an ardent lover of peace, and never drew his sword except in a good cause and after all other means had been exhausted. In the beginning of his reign he was forced to struggle against unruly vassals. But it was almost always by negotiations ably conducted and agreements faithfully executed that he succeeded. We shall meet him again as a crusader (§ 245). His principles as man and as ruler are well expressed in his deathbed testament to his son Philip III, the Bold, of which the following is an extract.

"Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mould thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently, and render thanks, and know that thou hast deserved it. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride. Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Wage no war with any Christian prince, except it be necessary after grave deliberation. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants as to how they conduct themselves. Dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son. And may the blessed Trinity preserve and defend thee from all evil, and give thee grace to do the will of God."

Exercises like those following § 218 but on a smaller scale.

For Further Reading.—*Introduction to the History of France*, pp. 84–142; Guggenberger, I, §§ 342–347, 460, 537, 542, 546–553, 575–581.

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too, exerted a great influence upon the internal affairs of the realm. The mightiest was the Parliament of Paris.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY AND ITALY TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

A. The First Rulers after the Carolingians

197. The German Dukedoms. — At the death of Louis the Child, the last of the Carolingian rulers in East-Frankland (§ 99), the actual power resided chiefly in the hands of the great dukes (§ 100). The names of *Saxony* (with *Thuringia*), of *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine* have occurred frequently. The name of Alemannia had changed to *Suabia*, to which belonged Alsace on the left bank of the Rhine. *Franconia*, a district in the center, was inhabited by Franks. All the dukes, like those in the western kingdom (§ 191), professed themselves vassals to the crown, but acted much as they pleased. Some even showed an inclination to break away entirely.

Most of these duchies represented each a separate tribe with its peculiar habits and customs. With the exception of the westernmost part of Lorraine the language of all of them was German, though not without strongly marked differences.

198. King Conrad I. — The dukes, together with the bishops and other prominent nobles, chose Duke Conrad of Franconia king. Though personally very energetic, pious, and able, he did not succeed, during his short reign of seven years, in curbing the power of his vassals and in defending the country from its two aggressive pagan foes, the Slavs and the fierce Hungarians (§§ 106, 108). On his deathbed he recommended Henry, Duke of Saxony, his personal antagonist, as his successor, passing over his own brother Everard. The latter with equal unselfishness announced this fact to Henry, whom it is said he found at his

favorite sport of hunting — hence Henry's surname, "the Fowler."

GERMAN DUKEDOMS ABOUT 900.
For the Kingdom of Burgundy see § 206 and map following page 204.

199. Henry I, the Fowler. — As Duke of Saxony he wielded considerable power. His private possessions, too, were very extensive. But it was a rare combination of vigor

and bravery with prudence and kindness which enabled him to unite the dukes and the great nobility with himself in close but friendly dependence. To the Hungarians he first paid a yearly tribute for a truce of nine years. During this time he hastened the wider adoption of armored horsemen, because this feature of feudalism had made little progress in Germany. To some extent he revived the old militia and established the so-called Merseburg Troops, a kind of standing army which was ever ready for the country's defense. A constant warfare against the Slavs furnished opportunities to gain military experience.

A lasting merit is the encouragement he gave to the development of cities. The few cities Germany then possessed were practically confined to those parts that had once belonged to the Roman Empire. They were situated south of the Danube or west of the Rhine, *e.g.* Cologne, Augsburg, Mainz. Henry now erected large walled forts and inclosed the more important places by walls. One out of every nine farmers was obliged to do guard duty in these fortifications, and provide shelter for the other nine, while these tilled his fields. The markets[1] and popular assemblies were to be held within the walls. All this helped to increase the population of these strongholds. Many of them grew into large and important cities. Soon the granting of municipal privileges still further strengthened the movement. For this reason later times gave Henry the noble title of "Builder of Cities."

When Henry refused any longer to pay the tribute, the terrible Hungarians poured over the border. But the well-organized army inflicted such a blow upon them that for years they preferred to leave Germany alone.

[1] In earlier times, the Teutonic peoples held their "markets" — meetings for exchanging goods — in open spaces on the borders between the two tribes that were trading. These border spaces were called "marks" ("marches"). Hence comes our word *market*, and also the word *march* (*mark state*) for a border state.

200. Otto I, the Great, took up his father's work. He still further reduced the power of the great dukes, chiefly by augmenting that of the bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics. Otto aspired to the position of a real king. This caused several uprisings, in some of which even his own sons were implicated. But he knew not only how to carry out his will but also how to forgive those who were willing to submit. Germany under his rule became a rather strongly consolidated kingdom, much more so than France, where the Capetians had not yet come to the throne, and more so even than England, where the House of Alfred was still busied in reducing the Danelaw to submission.

Most of his wars were directed against the pagan *Slavs*. He made their princes and tribes tributary. But their conversion he had much more at heart. The new Archbishopric of Magdeburg was to be the starting point and base of the missionary work. German colonists in large crowds followed the missionaries and in consequence of their superior methods of agriculture and government not only assimilated the old inhabitants but also secured the country for Christianity. Here, too, the activity of the monks (§ 150) was of the utmost importance. When under the later reigns the zeal of the kings relaxed, the neighboring German princes and bishops carried on the work of Christianization and colonization. Repeatedly, however, paganism, and, to some extent, national feeling roused by harshness on the part of the Germans, broke out in fierce opposition. It took several centuries before all the land as far as the Oder and beyond had become Christian and German.[1] Several new vassal states, " Marks " or " Marches," were founded. One of them, the North March, afterwards called *Brandenburg*, was destined centuries later to play a prominent part in German history.

After several minor incursions the *Hungarians* returned with

[1] Can the class see an important distinction between this eastward expansion and that under Charlemagne into Saxon lands?

GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Riga
Kurland
Memel
Konigsberg
Fischhausen
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.
Heilsberg
Elbing
Prussians
Marienwerder
Thorn
Danzig
Oliva 1186
Kolberg
Bergen 1193
Eldena 1199
Wismar
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Hamburg
Brode 1177
Stettin
Pommerania
Stargard
Marienburg
Bremen
Elbe
Weser
Kolbatz
Neumark
Stendal
Berlin
Landsberg
Vistula
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Frankfort
Gnesen
Posen
Neuzelle
Oder
Glogau
Poles
Leipzig
Meissen
Bautzen
Leubus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Altzella
Görlitz
Breslau
Altenburg
Dresden
Freiberg
Zittau
Neumarkt
Brüx
Leitmeritz
Neisse
Prague 1235
Ratibor
Krakow
Bamberg
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Ratisbon
Budweis
Brünn
Danube
Znaim
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Kremnitz
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Admont
Seckau
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Innichen
Friesach
Graz
Gurk
Lavant
Brixen
Villach
Hungarians
Bistritz
Klausenburg
Hermannstadt
Burzenland
Kronstadt
Italians
Agram
Slavs
Drave
Danube
Roumanians
Baltic Sea
Dniester
Theiss
Maine
Main
Weser
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Niemen
Düna
Pskow
Peipus
Ilmen
Wolchow
Ladoga
Narowa
Reval
Riga
Memel
Dorpat
Pernau
Arensburg
Gotland
Bornholm
Rügen
Stralsund
Rostock
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Wismar
Hamburg
Bremen
Stendal
Magdeburg
Leipzig
Altzella
Altenburg
Freiberg
Dresden
Meissen
Bautzen
Görlitz
Zittau
Leitmeritz
Brüx
Prague
Bamberg
Ratisbon
Passau
Salzburg
Innichen
Brixen
Villach
Admont
Seckau
Friesach
Gurk
Lambach
St. Pölten
Melk
Vienna
Bruck
Graz
Lavant
Raab
Ofen
Kremnitz
Olmütz
Iglau
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
Neumarkt
Breslau
Trebnitz
Leubus
Glogau
Neuzelle
Posen
Frankfort
Brandenburg
Berlin
Landsberg
Kolbatz
Stargard
Marienwerder
Thorn
Danzig
Elbing
Heilsberg
Königsberg
Fischhausen
Memel
Riga
Reval

an immense horde — the chroniclers speak of a hundred thousand horsemen. They devastated Southern Germany. But the city of Augsburg held out under its heroic bishop, St. Ulric, until Otto approached with the army. The barbarians were decisively defeated, almost annihilated. Their inroads into Christian countries were now at an end (§ 108). This *Battle on the Lechfeld*, A.D. 955, although not quite so significant as those of Châlons and Tours (§§ 53, 73), holds a similar position among the great military events of history. The *East Mark*, established against the Hungarians, eventually became the nucleus of the Austrian Monarchy. Thus was prepared and partially achieved the most important extension of the area of Christianity and civilization between the Roman times and the discovery of America.

THE TEMPORAL AND THE SPIRITUAL POWER. — A mosaic of the tenth century in the Church of St. John, Rome, representing Christ giving the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine the Great.

B. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

201. For more than half a century no emperor had been crowned. — Otto's father, the poised and practical Henry, pondered grandiosely on a restoration; and Otto's own ardent soul had long been fired with the vision of the imperial diadem. He was no doubt the mightiest king in Christendom. Like Charlemagne he had victoriously fought for the protection of

religion and had worked successfully for its extension. The masses of the German people, too, dreamed of the elevation of their king. When he stood amidst the carnage of the Lechfeld, his host with common impulse hailed him "Emperor of the Romans."

Intervention in the affairs of Italy brought him nearer his goal. That country, even more than others, had been shattered into fragments. The royal power in the North (§ 98) was a mere name. Colonies of Saracens from Africa had established themselves in the South and threatened both the Greek provinces and the Papal States. But several years before the battle on the Lech an imprisoned royal princess called for help to Otto and offered her hand and kingdom to the hero of the North. Otto crossed the Alps, and liberated and married the beautiful young queen Adelheid. Berengar, the defeated pretender, was allowed to rule Northern Italy as a German vassal. More Otto could not do for the present.

Ten years later Berengar sided with a party of turbulent Roman nobles against the lawful pope, John XII. Appealed to by the pope, Otto again crossed the Alps, forced Berengar to enter a monastery, restored order in Rome and **was crowned Emperor in 962.** There was now once more a Roman Emperor, a defender of the Church and protector of the papacy. The dignity founded by Leo III and Charlemagne was renewed. It was now styled:

202. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. — Concerning the emperor's relation to the pope and other rulers, see § 88. From now on the imperial crown remained by an unwritten law united with the position of the Kings of Germany. This means, that the German nation had the exclusive right to present their king for coronation to the pope, who unless there was some cogent reason would not crown any one not so presented. But in the choice of their king they were not restricted to their own nation. They might elect a Frenchman or Span-

iard. Nor could the pope crown any candidate who, even though elected by the Germans, lacked the necessary qualifications.

Circumstances had induced the popes to grant this privilege, which made the Germans an object of envy to other nations. After centuries, when the dignity had declined in importance, it was still coveted by foreign potentates. For Germany the golden circle of that sacred crown was a strong bond of unity deeply and proudly cherished, and it no doubt retarded the process of disintegration with which later on the country was threatened. It soon became customary for the German kings to style themselves *Kings of the Romans* or *Roman Kings* before their imperial coronation in Rome.

203. The Union of Germany and Italy. — The domination over Italy was not in itself a necessary adjunct of the imperial dignity, but was connected with it by way of fact. Germany derived great advantage from close contact with a country which was so much more highly civilized. Italy, too, which "with its nine hundred ever fighting counts resembled a huge ant hill" before the arrival of the Germans, saw a period of order and peace. By favoring the bishops and their cities the foreign rule indirectly promoted city life and city liberties, and thus laid the foundation of the flourishing state of the later city republics in northern and central Italy.[1] At all times brilliant minds south of the Alps expected the greatest benefit for Italy and the world from the Teutonic emperors. Still there were other parties which objected strongly to the German régime. It was often narrow party politics thwarted in some selfish petty designs, but at other times genuine patriotism cruelly wounded by tyranny, which prompted the opposition. The Roman emperor was never safe in the Roman country except with an army at his back. For centuries, however, Italy's history is closely bound up with that of Germany.

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, § 461.

It is claimed, chiefly by Protestant authors (German and non-German), that for Germany the disadvantages outweighed the advantages. The imperial crown, it is said, entangled the German kings in the affairs of Italy, so that they failed to give their attention to their native land. Nor can it be denied that in the course of the following centuries German unity gave way to a state of gradual disorganization, and from being the mightiest European kingdom Germany became more and more powerless. Yet as Catholics we must not allow that the possession of a dignity which participates in the sacred character of an ecclesiastical institution should of itself have brought ruin to those who held it. Italy in its chaotic condition would have invited any strong neighbor to attempt a conquest. In fact later on it attracted the French and the Spaniards just as much as it had attracted the Germans before them. The imperial crown, even much later, when stripped of most of its prestige, was still coveted by other kings and nations. The Germans, who, in after centuries, were very loath to grant anything to their ruler, put beyond dispute the amount of men and money to be contributed to the king's "coronation expedition," because, being the best judges, they fully appreciated the advantages accruing to them from the possession of the Roman crown.

204. The Importance of the Imperial Dignity Was Largely in the Nature of an Ideal. — Rev. Horace K. Mann, in his *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, speaks thus of the coronation of Otto:

"Once more the affairs of Christendom were regarded as in proper hands. In theory at least, all acknowledged the supremacy of the pope in matters spiritual, and that of the emperor in matters temporal. And though in practice turbulent bishops or nobles did not hesitate, as before, to oppose the authority of either or both; and though, indeed, the "two swords" themselves, *i.e.* the spiritual weapons of the pope and the civil might of the emperors, were often crossed, still there can be no doubt that the grand idea of Pope and Emperor — a supreme spiritual and a supreme temporal head of the Christian commonwealth — had an immense effect in the uplifting of Europe. With such ideals, narrow views could not but broaden; and it was difficult for such as put themselves in opposition to them to avoid not merely being regarded as in the wrong, but in secret at least thinking themselves in the wrong. It was the common possession of one grand ideal in religion and in politics that knit Europe together, and not only made possible such

enterprises as the Crusades, but deepened such important fundamental conceptions as the brotherhood of nations and of man." Vol. IV, pp. 249, 250.

205. Otto I after His Coronation. — John XII was the true pope, but unfortunately he was not a good pope. Even though the charges against him are greatly exaggerated, his character was far from defensible. Otto soon found out that the pope had changed front and was intriguing against him with the Berengarian party and even with the Hungarians. The emperor returned to Rome. A council was called, which at the imperial suggestion declared John XII deposed and elected another pope, Leo VIII. It was a violent and tyrannical step. No power could depose the lawfully elected John XII. Hence Leo VIII was an anti-pope, though his private life was without blame. Otto now induced the Romans to swear not to choose a pope without his consent. After the emperor had left Rome, John succeeded in regaining the city, but died soon. The saintly and learned Benedict V was elected as his successor. He was no doubt the lawful pope. But the emperor thought differently. Maintaining the claim of his creature Leo VIII he took Rome by force and kept Benedict V a prisoner until death. Happily both pope and anti-pope died within a short time of each other, and a canonical election with the emperor's consent raised John XIII to the Apostolic Chair.

Apart from this blunder, which can in some way be extenuated by the extreme provocation he had suffered and by the character of John XII, Otto's rule was beneficial to State and Church alike. His merit in promoting the missions among the Slavs cannot easily be overestimated. He was deeply impressed with the sacredness of his office, and it is related that he never wore the crown without having fasted the day before.

206. The Other Emperors of the Saxon House. — *Otto II and Otto III,* son and grandson of Otto the Great, continued favoring the Church and supporting, though less vigorously,

the missions in the East and North. Otto III, young, highly educated, fervently pious, and greatly beloved by the Germans, dreamed of restoring the old Roman empire in its full extent, with Rome as his residence — an absolutely impossible project.

St. Henry II (1002–1024), a distant relative of the childless Otto III, a man of thoroughly practical character, was the very opposite of his idealistic predecessor. He never strove for the impossible. On the whole he maintained the position that Germany had attained, towards the Slavic countries as well as Italy (§ 107). His chief care was Germany itself. He did perhaps more than anyone else to increase the power of the bishops, upon whose fidelity and support he mainly relied. By a compact with the King of Burgundy (§ 98) he prepared the way for the annexation of that country to Germany, which was effected under his successor.

With St. Henry died out the family of the Saxon emperors.[1] Their rule had considerably strengthened national unity. It was fruitful,

[1] Reference Table of German Kings

Those marked with a star were crowned emperors

(1) Conrad I (Franconian), 911–918
(2) Henry I (Saxon), 919–936
* (3) Otto I, 936–973 (Emperor, 962–973)
* (4) Otto II, 973–983
* (5) Otto III, 983–1002
* (6) Henry II, 1002–1024
* (7) Conrad II (Franconian), 1024–1039
* (8) Henry III, 1039–1056
(9) Henry IV, 1056–1106
* (10) Henry V, 1106–1125
* (11) Lothair (of another Saxon line), 1125–1137
(12) Conrad III (Hohenstaufen), 1138–1152
* (13) Frederick I, 1152–1190
* (14) Henry VI, 1190–1197
(15) Philip, 1198–1203
* (16) Otto IV (Guelph), 1198–1214 (*deposed*)
* (17) Frederick II, 1214–1250
(18) Conrad IV, 1250–1254

The Interregnum

in Germany, of great progress in religious, literary, and artistic life. The Reform of Cluny (§ 150) found an ardent promoter in St. Henry, under whom it began to enter Germany. (The ecclesiastical policy of the Saxon kings will be dealt with later, in § 223.)

207. The Salian Emperors (1024–1125). — Conrad II, the first of the Salians or Franconians, ruled much in the same way as St. Henry II, though his Church policy was very different. — Henry III, his son, was beyond doubt one of the greatest of all the emperors. He still further reduced the power of the mighty dukes by diminishing their territories and declaring hereditary the fiefs of their subvassals. A confusion concerning the lawfulness of three claimants to the papacy he settled to the benefit of the Church, though not without incurring some of the blame attaching to the methods of Otto I. But he was ever the strong friend and the ardent promoter of the Reform of Cluny and of general ecclesiastical discipline. Under him the cities, too, began to rise into prominence. Many of them were partly or entirely exempted from the power of the lower vassals, and as "free and imperial cities" placed directly under the emperor. He gave his hearty support to the enforcement of the "Truce of God" (§ 127).

His son and grandson, Henry IV and Henry V, were of a different stamp. Henry IV, who came to the throne as a child, developed into a willful despot. Henry V, who had revolted against his father, surpassed him in craftiness. Both these rulers are notorious in history for what is called the Contest of Lay-Investiture, which filled half a century. It must be treated in an extra chapter.[1]

[1] This postponement is due to the division chosen for this book. It is preferred to bring down the political history of the principal states of Europe as far as the end of the Crusades. A *topical chapter* (XI) will group together all the reform movements inaugurated by the Church during these several centuries. The "Contest of Lay-Investiture" is one of these movements. This arrangement enables the student to view that important struggle in its true setting and its universal character, and not to see in it the isolated affair of some individual country.

C. The Hohenstaufen Emperors

208. Frederick I, Barbarossa, 1152–1190. — After the twelve years' reign of Lothair II, who governed entirely in the spirit of St. Henry but with more success, Conrad III, Duke of Suabia, of the family of Hohenstaufen, was elected. Passing over his young son, he recommended on his deathbed his nephew Frederick as successor. Frederick I, called Barbarossa (Red-beard) by the Italians, was first and foremost a German king and gave to Germany a long period of peace and prosperity. The Germans had every reason to see in him a father of their country. Unfortunately his ecclesiastical and Italian policy was to a large extent a failure. He had drawn his ideas of the imperial dignity from the Justinian Code of Laws, according to which the emperor is the sole source of right (§ 63). Evil advisers did the rest.

Castle of Barbarossa on the Rhine

The Italian cities in Lombardy had grown into regular republics warring upon one another and trying to defy royal control. After reducing them to due obedience, Frederick called a great assembly on the "Roncalian Fields," to settle their relation to the emperor. His chief advisers were four professors of Roman Law of Bologna. The development of the last two hundred years was completely ignored. It was ordained that the cities were liable to all the burdens which they had borne in the time of Otto the Great. This serious mistake led to long wars, in which at first the emperor was triumphantly victorious. Several of the flourishing cities, among them mighty Milan, were captured and destroyed without mercy.

Early in his reign Frederick had freed the city of Rome from the machinations of a certain Arnold of Brescia, a heretic and political demagogue, and *had been crowned emperor.* But difficulties with the pope soon loomed up. Once in a solemn assembly a papal letter to the emperor was read and mistranslated in such a way as to mean that the empire was a benefice of the Holy See, which would have made the emperor a secular vassal of the pope. The Holy Father Adrian (Hadrian) IV [1] explained its true meaning. The emperor appeared satisfied; but the indignation roused among his blind admirers had already done much harm. Later the emperor on the flimsiest pretexts took the side of an antipope and marched against Rome to install him. A few days after his arrival in the Eternal City a terrible pestilence broke out. A large number of his trusted friends and more than 20,000 of his best troops perished. This was generally considered a judgment of God. But a second one was needed. The pope, *Alexander III,* (§ 170) combined with the Lombard cities in their fight for their lawful liberties. At *Legnano,* 1176, the cause of the Church and of freedom triumphed over despotism. The *Peace of Venice,* truly fair to each party, was concluded in 1177.[2]

The battle of Legnano, just a hundred years after the self-humilation of Henry IV at Canossa, marks a triumph of ecclesiastical liberty over an encroaching secular ruler, and of civil freedom over tyranny. Although won by an overwhelming majority, it was nevertheless a victory of a citizen infantry over feudal cavalry, and thus presaged the coming of a new phase in the history of warfare.

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[1] Adrian IV is the only English pope. He was a credit to his country and to the Church. His original name was Nicholas Breakspeare. See "The English Pope" in Casartelli's *Sketches in History.*

[2] A lozenge of red and white marble in the vestibule of St. Mark's Church indicates the place where the mighty emperor, overcome by the sight of the pope, flung away his imperial purple and threw himself at the feet of Alexander. With tears in his eyes the Holy Father raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace.

This Peace recognized the Lombard cities practically as independent republics, though it secured ample rights to the emperor. Italy remained a rich source of revenue for him. A German army forced the antipope to submit to Alexander III.

209. Frederick's Place in History. — Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. In Germany itself, his long reign was a period of remarkable prosperity. Forests were cleared to make farming villages, and villages grew into trading towns. Agriculture improved its methods, and land rose in value. The rougher side of feudal life in the castles began to give way to more refined manners, and a charming German literature appeared in the lays of the Minnesingers (§ 264).

When an old man, Frederick, no doubt in order to atone for the misdeeds of his life, set out upon the Third Crusade (§ 243), and was drowned while trying, after a hot day's march, to swim across a little stream in Asia Minor. His death in so holy a cause made men forget his shortcomings and surrounded his name with radiancy. Of all the German kings, Barbarossa, even more than Charlemagne, is the popular hero with the German people; and legends long told how he was not dead, but sleeping a magic sleep, sitting upon an ivory throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain. At the appointed time, in his country's need, the ravens would cease circling about the mountain top; and, at this signal, Barbarossa would awake, to bring again the reign of peace and justice.

210. Guelf and Ghibelline. — The contest in Italy at this period gave rise to new party names. The Hohenstaufen family took their name from their ancestral castle perched on a crag in the Alps. But near this first seat of the family was their

village of *Waiblingen*, by which name also they were sometimes known. The chief rival of the first Hohenstaufen emperor had been Henry the Lion, of Saxony, who was surnamed *Welf*. In German struggles these names became war cries, — *Hi Welf! Hi Waibling!*

In Italy the German words were softened into *Guelf* and *Ghibelline*, and in this form they became real party names. A Ghibelline was of the imperial party: a Guelf was an adherent of the papacy. Long after this original significance had passed away, the names were still used by contending factions in Italian towns. In general, the democratic factions were Guelfs; but often the terms had no meaning beyond that of family interest, — so that " as meaningless as the squabbles of Guelfs and Ghibellines " has become a byword.

211. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. — Long after the establishment of the Papal States there remained in Southern Italy a few districts subject to the Byzantine emperors. There were besides some Italian principalities dating from Lombard times, and a small province acquired by the popes under Henry III. Sicily, however, and some localities in the peninsula had fallen into the power of the Saracens. Little success crowned the struggle of the Ottos against these foes. But under Henry the Saint a party of Normans on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem did good service against the Mohammedans. A larger force arrived from Normandy and made conquests for which their leader swore fealty to the emperor. But they soon attacked Italian, Greek, and Arab alike and treated the subjected population with insolence and cruelty. An army sent against them by Pope St. Leo IX was defeated. Their energetic leader, Robert Guiscard, however, took the papal province he had conquered and whatever land he could wrest from either the Greeks or the Saracens as a fief of the Holy See. This fierce warrior then, always fighting against overwhelmingly superior numbers, destroyed both the Greek and the Saracen power in Italy and Sicily. The war was considered a holy war — a prelude of the Crusades. The Arabs he allowed to remain, provided they complied with the laws. Thus *Robert became the founder of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* within less than thirty years after the Norman William had made himself master of England. (§ 153 ff.) *Normans now controlled*

the largest island in the North and the largest in the Mediterranean Sea. But their influence upon the population in the South was not so thorough as it had been in the North. Sicily in particular developed a civilization which though Christian and Italian was greatly affected by the presence of the Oriental elements in the island. (See Guggenberger, I, §§ 348–356.)

212. Barbarossa's Next Successors. — The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had existed a hundred years, when Frederick Barbarossa brought about a marriage between his son and successor, Henry VI, and the heiress of the southern realm. The pope, who had been kept in ignorance (see § 121), strongly disapproved of this union. But after being crowned emperor, *Henry VI* took possession of his wife's inheritance. He took up the scheme of Otto III (§ 206) of founding a world empire. Much more powerful, able, and energetic, and aided by the crusading spirit of the age, he might have succeeded to a large degree. But he died when at the height of his power. At the request of his wife, *Innocent III* became guardian of his infant son Frederick, who had already been elected emperor and was of course heir to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. With fatherly love the great pope took care of the child, gave him an excellent education, protected all his interests, and had the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies administered in the infant king's name.

213. *The Double Election.* — In view of the infancy of "the Sicilian Child" the German princes disregarded their first act and proceeded to a new election. The Ghibellines chose *Philip of Suabia*, the brother of Henry VI, and the Guelfs *Otto of Nordheim.* Innocent III repeatedly admonished electors and elected to come to an understanding. Finally he recognized Otto on account of his fidelity to the Church as a candidate for the imperial crown. A civil war ensued. When the pope was willing to reconsider his decision, Philip was assassinated by a private enemy, and Otto now obtained general recognition. He went to Rome, but hardly had he been crowned when he

threw all his sworn promises to the winds, occupied the Papal States, and launched an attack upon the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in order to dislodge the young Frederick. After exhausting all means of threats and persuasion to bring him to his senses, Innocent, deeply grieved, pronounced the excommunication against the ungrateful emperor. The greater part of Germany fell away from him directly. Among other reverses, he suffered, in 1214, with his ally, John Lackland (§ 177), the terrible defeat of Bouvines at the hands of the French. The Germans turned again to *Frederick* of Sicily, who was now about twenty years old. Frederick, supplied with the necessary funds by his guardian Innocent III, came to Germany, was crowned king, and, in Rome, received the imperial crown. He had pledged himself never to unite the kingdoms of Germany and the Two Sicilies. Otto, abandoned by all, sincerely repented on his deathbed and ordered the crown jewels to be handed over to Frederick.

214. Frederick II was crowned by Honorius III in 1220. He was one of the most brilliant rulers that ever sat upon a throne. His contemporaries called him the wonder of the world. He spoke German, Latin, Italian, Greek, and Arabic. All his life long he remained a protector of art and literature. But this was all he saved from the careful education given him under his tutor Innocent III.

Contrary to his promises he at once united the *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* with his German realm. He commonly resided in the sunny South. With complete disregard of historical right he reorganized the kingdom upon an entirely new plan, doing away with feudal relations and governing through officials whom he appointed and dismissed according to his pleasure. This southern kingdom was much more modern than medieval. His despotic administration, however, was efficient. The provinces rose to a flourishing state. Arts and sciences were cultivated. Commerce grew, and the cities, though not politically free, became rich and prosperous under Frederick's government.

But religiously and morally his mind had been poisoned by Ghibelline lawyers and by the loose Arabian society of Sicily. Again and again he interfered with the most evident rights of the Church and played with promises and oaths. He solemnly took the cross for a *crusade*, but postponed his departure from year to year, during which time tens of thousands of crusaders, who had gathered in Italy from various lands, either returned home in disgust or fell victims to want and diseases. In the Orient great advantages were lost, because the Christians, rightly expecting to obtain much better results, waited for the arrival of the emperor; but the emperor never came. Finally he was excommunicated by the pope.

Unabsolved Frederick now set out with a handful of knights. The Mohammedan ruler, himself a usurper, and at enmity with a rival, was on good terms with Frederick. *Without drawing the sword Frederick by a truce received for ten years the Holy City* with Bethlehem and Nazareth. In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher he put the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem on his head with his own hands, without any prayer or ceremony, because no priest or bishop was willing to crown an excommunicated man. As peace had now been brought about, he ordered all the crusaders to leave the Holy Land. All Christendom was indignant at such a crusade. For the sake of Christian unity Pope Gregory IX patched up a treaty with Frederick and absolved him from the excommunication.

In Germany, where he resided rarely, Frederick was for a long time very popular. Here he showed respect for existing conditions, and honored and increased the privileges of the vassals and the liberties of the cities. In 1234 he assisted in a very edifying manner at the solemn deposition of the remains of St. Elizabeth,[1] Countess of Thuringia, who had just been canonized.

[1] The life of this amiable Saint, one of the greatest models of charity, will prove attractive reading. She was the daughter of the king of Hungary.

But in Italy and Sicily he again began his encroachments upon the rights and possessions of the Church. He kept imprisoned a Mohammedan prince who was on his way to Rome to be baptized. He prevented the appointment of bishops to twenty dioceses, and desecrated and destroyed churches through his Saracen soldiery. In good Moslem fashion he kept his wife, the Empress Isabella, an English princess, in close confinement, and was openly accused of polygamy. He appealed to a General Council, and the pope summoned one to meet in Rome. But then the emperor captured a party consisting of several cardinals and about a hundred bishops on their way to the Council, and threw them into dungeons.

In the thirteenth century there was another *invasion of Mongols or Tartars into Europe*, as terrible as that of their kinsmen the Huns (§§ 49, 53). Under their leader Genghis Khan (Lord of Lords) the Mongols had already subjected and cruelly devastated Russia and Poland, and approached the boundaries of Germany. Urgent appeals were sent to the absent emperor. But Frederick preferred to pursue the conquest of papal territory. In 1240 the Mongols fought a drawn battle with an army hastily gathered by some German princes, and did not attempt to advance any further. Their empire embraced eastern Europe and nearly all Asia. Its capital was Peking. Later it broke up into parts. But Russia remained, until about 1500 (§ 487), under the yoke of a Tartar power called the Golden Horde.

215. *A General Council* was now called at Lyons. In 1245 *it declared Frederick II deposed.* The Germans elected another king, while Frederick's interests were represented by his son. Both parties endeavored to gain and keep adherents by giving away the royal rights and possessions. In Italy, the papacy allied itself again with the Lombard cities, which Frederick meant to treat as if there had never been a Peace of Venice (§ 208). The cities, as was natural, fought chiefly for political ends. For five years the struggle went on with acts of repulsive cruelty on both sides, though Frederick by far surpassed his opponents. *Frederick II died in 1250.* On his deathbed he received the

sacraments, and ordered restitution to be made to the Church and to all whom he had injured. "What the people of Italy thought of him," says a German historian, "they showed by their boundless joy at the return (from France) of the pope, whose journey was one series of triumphs — because the tyrant was no more, and there was now hope for better times."

With Frederick II practically ends the rule of the Hohenstaufens in Germany. His son Conrad IV, elected king by his party, never obtained real power and died four years after his father, in 1254.

216. Charles of Anjou. — The kingdom of the two Sicilies remained for some years the object of fierce fighting between Frederick's Italian descendants and the papal party. In 1266 the pope as suzerain of the kingdom gave the crown to *Charles of Anjou*, a brother of St. Louis IX of France.[1] His harshness caused so much dissatisfaction that *Conradin*, Frederick's grandson and last scion, a youth of sixteen years, ventured on an attempt at gaining the kingdom. He was defeated and captured. A court summoned for the express purpose of condemning him declared him innocent with all but one vote. This vote sufficed for Charles of Anjou to have him executed. *Thus, on the scaffold, ended the family of the Hohenstaufen emperors.*

But Charles of Anjou's cruelty and the insolence of his French retainers provoked a bloody insurrection in Sicily, beginning with a massacre called the *Sicilian Vespers*. Peter III of Aragon was invited, and eventually the island became a separate kingdom under his successors. Charles of Anjou maintained himself in the peninsula, thus forming the separate kingdom of Naples. Both kingdoms, however, remained fiefs of the Holy See.

217. The Work of the Hohenstaufen Emperors. — Under them *Germany* saw a new and brilliant growth of arts and literature, particularly in poetry. Many of the grandest buildings of the mighty princes and flourishing cities were finished or

[1] This Charles of Anjou was no relative at all of the Angevin family that ascended the English throne in the person of Henry II (§ 166 ff.). Charles had by marriage acquired the County of Provence, and thus was in name a German vassal.

commenced. The Crusades exerted their renovating influence in every direction. The kingdom and empire reached a dominating position in Europe. Nor did the intellectual side of this development cease with the end of the Hohenstaufen rule. The wrong conception of the imperial dignity, however, could not but work great harm. The violent and almost insane opposition of Frederick II to the papacy degraded the crown which he wore. *About the time of his last war with the popes there set in a rapid political decay.* Several of the German dukedoms had been broken up, and their former subvassals became immediately subject to the crown. But this served only to prepare a state of political confusion, and the title and rank of duke was now bestowed on more princes. The rise of the cities, promoted by the rulers themselves, weakened the influence of all the vassals of the crown, but the granting of royal privileges to many princes, — *e.g.* exemption from appeals to the king, — and the liberal distribution of royal property, the chief source of revenue in an age which practically knew no taxes, tended to diminish greatly the ruler's actual power. This squandering of the king's rights and property assumed truly alarming proportions shortly before and after Frederick II's death. The effects became apparent. Germany had entered upon a process of interior disintegration. After this, few German kings were strong enough to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Meanwhile France, interiorly strengthened (§ 194), inaugurated a policy of conquest.

The Italian cities were practically left to themselves. Notwithstanding their endless party strifes and wars (§ 209), they grew constantly in prosperity, and their intellectual life became more vigorous. They, more, perhaps, than any other country, were benefited by the new Mendicant Orders (§ 232 ff.).

218. The Papacy. — Imperial transgressions had forced this struggle upon the popes. They came out victorious. It had cost them dearly, however. In the last contest with Frederick II

they were deprived of the revenues of their States and at the same time obliged to shoulder heavy expenses. They resorted to a taxation of ecclesiastical property. Their right to do so and the justice of their cause cannot be questioned, but complaints were at once raised by avaricious prelates and jealous rulers. These complaints increased constantly and became one of the standing grievances against the Holy See. The popes could no longer rely upon a strong Germany, and began to look to France for support. But this France had ceased to be the France of Saint Louis.

EXERCISES ON §§ 151–218. (1) Fact drills (cf. *Ancient World*, pp. 166, 299, for suggestions.) (*a*) Dates: 843, 887, 962, 1166, 1270, 1295.

(*b*) Fix other events by pointing out the connection with these dates; such as Lechfeld, Lombard League, Accession of the Capetians, Peace of Venice.

(*c*) Make up a list, in three parallel columns, of the principal events during each century, in England, France, Germany. (Cf. *Ancient World*, pp. 102 ff.)

(*d*) Make up a list of terms for brief explanation, by countries, or by centuries or periods, giving the names of rulers, battles, political or economic institutions.

(*e*) Write a series of events on the history of individual rulers, or of some entire country, or of some period. (Cf. Questions to *Ancient World*, Marius and Sulla.)

(2) Map Review. Compare the maps on the several countries for the varying boundaries, and for increase in number of political divisions.

SECTION IV. PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

CHAPTER XI

REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH

219. Concerning Church Reform. — We have observed repeatedly that the discipline of the Church and the morals of both clergy and laity were not what they should have been. Young Catholic students, accustomed to look up with great respect to their ecclesiastical superiors, are often shocked when for the first time it comes home to them that in the past there have been priests and bishops who were lukewarm in their faith, lax in their morals, and careless in the fulfillment of their duties; nay, that there have even been a few bad popes.[1] But this should neither dishearten nor frighten us. Among the twelve Apostles there was one Judas, and one, St. Peter, who in a moment of temptation denied his Lord, and one, St. Thomas, who at first refused to believe in the resurrection. And yet it was through the Apostles that the Divine Redeemer built up His glorious kingdom on earth. And so, in spite of all the shortcomings of her ministers, the Church has been the great and efficient teacher of sanctity, the restorer of morality (see §§ 30, 41), the chief, and in a way, the only civilizer of the barbarian nations.

Moreover, being an organism which is animated by a Divine Spirit, the Church possesses the power of reforming both herself and her members, whenever a reform is needed. And when this is the case, God will not fail to see that such a reform be

[1] It is amusing to come across certain pugnacious persons who have heard about one or two of the few bad popes, but know nothing of the many good ones.

really inaugurated. The chief powers in every reform will be the authorities of the Church, above all the papacy, though others, laymen included, may not only yield great assistance, but even, in a private way, originate the struggle against the evils from which the Church is suffering. (See for instance §§ 232 and 233.) In fact the whole activity of the Church, like the life of every good Christian, is a constant work of reform. Nor should it be forgotten that even during the worst periods there have never been lacking immense numbers who led the life of ordinarily good Catholics, and many that were eminent for their sanctity. (See § 57.)

A. The Evils in the Church

220. Lay-Investiture. — We have seen previously (§§ 125, 3; 142, 2) that practically all the great functionaries of the Church possessed feudal property, which the great lords or the kings themselves had bestowed upon them. For this property they and their lords went through the ceremony of investiture (§ 118). But as it was not thought becoming that a bishop or abbot should be handed a spear or banner or anything suggestive of warfare, it was customary *to invest ecclesiastics by surrendering to them the ring and pastoral staff*. Now this was likely to create an essentially wrong impression. Ring and staff were here used to represent the secular fief, while in themselves they were the emblems of spiritual jurisdiction. The act, therefore, was apt to create the opinion that the bishop received from the king not a temporal possession but the spiritual power itself.

As long as this lay-investiture took place after a canonical election (§ 142) the evil was not so considerable. But soon the king (or other temporal lord) simply demanded the ring and staff of the deceased bishop or abbot, and without further ado "invested" with them a person of his own choice, whom he ordered to be elected by those who had the right.

In practice, even this violent interference did not always work badly. Good rulers carefully selected their candidates and often succeeded in filling the sees of their territory with excellent bishops. But the principle was wrong in itself, and on the whole it had already done incalculable harm to the Church.

221. Simony. — Simony is committed by buying, selling, or bartering for temporal goods any *spiritual things* or *temporal things on account of the spiritual benefits annexed to them.* This is the sin committed by Simon Magus, the Sorcerer, who offered money to St. Peter to buy from him the power of communicating to others the Holy Ghost (Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9–24). At the time of which we speak ecclesiastical positions chiefly were the "article" bought and sold. Lay-investiture greatly increased the evil. It was of course very tempting for a ruler to accept a present or a contribution for his empty exchequer with the understanding that the donor would be granted a rich bishopric or abbey. Similar to this was the promotion of sons or relatives to important ecclesiastical positions, the duties of which they were neither able nor willing to fulfill. While such criminal transactions were far from the minds of men like William the Conqueror or the German Ottos, other lords, high and low, who had ecclesiastical preferments within their power, often indulged in them very freely. In some royal courts bishoprics and abbeys were occasionally put up at auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The prelates who had thus obtained their position would then sell the lower offices in the same scandalous manner.

222. Nicolaitism was another evil, closely connected with the former two. From the beginning of Christianity deacons and higher ecclesiastics were strongly advised not to enter the state of matrimony, because the life of celibacy for God's sake is a closer imitation of Jesus Himself and His Virgin Mother; because it enables priests to live exclusively for their sacred duties; and because it frees them from numerous worldly en-

tanglements. About the end of the fourth century this had ceased to be merely a recommendation and had become a strict law in the whole West. But during the troubled period of the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire and the inroads of the Northmen, the general confusion of the times caused the law to be widely disregarded. It was a serious violation of ecclesiastical discipline. Worse than this, there were those who even taught that married life was better for the clergy, thus adding the crime of heresy (§ 235, note) to that of disobedience. All these transgressions were comprised under the term of *Nicolaitism*.[1] They were never so general as to allow the law of celibacy to be forgotten entirely.

As a rule ecclesiastics who did not scruple to buy their offices for money cared little for the law which enjoined on them a celibate life. They tried to provide their children with Church offices obtained through simony, and aimed to have their own sons as their successors. There was indeed ground for fear that ecclesiastical positions be reduced to the rank of hereditary fiefs.

223. Evils Threatening the Election of the Popes. — In the earliest times the popes were elected much after the manner of the other bishops (§ 142). The act was performed by the clergy of Rome together with the prominent laymen and the people. Since the reign of the Emperor Justinian the Great (§ 63) the Byzantine *emperors* for some time claimed and exercised the right of approving the election before the elected could be recognized and crowned. This "right" ceased of course after the establishment of the Papal States. Pippin the Short and Charlemagne did not influence the elections. But it appears that the Carolingian emperors obtained the privilege of having their envoy present at the consecration and in-

[1] In the first Christian centuries the *Nicolaites* formed a sect which taught that open immorality was pleasing to God. Its originator was a more or less fabulous Deacon Nicholas. (See *Cath. Encyclopedia*, under Nicolaites.) In the Middle Ages the name was applied to those clerics who violated the law of celibacy.

thronization of the pope-elect. The three Ottos went much farther. In some cases they proposed the person they expected to be chosen. Yet the election itself was always considered essential, and without it no imperial candidate would have been recognized as pope. St. Henry II and Conrad II did not interfere in the elections, while Henry III, who found a rather chaotic state of things in Rome, again made his influence strongly felt. The fact that he as well as the Ottos raised only worthy and able men to the papacy cannot excuse the principle itself.

But whenever during these times the power of the northern emperors relaxed, there arose almost regularly that of *Roman and Italian factions*, which interfered with the elections generally in a much more detrimental way. Happily the principle of state interference was resisted at the moment when it threatened to produce the worst consequences.

B. Reform Popes and Their Struggles

224. Measures Against Simony and Nicolaitism. — One of the most influential elements for a thorough reformation of the Church was the Congregation of Cluny (§ 150). Many were the bishops and other prelates that had been taken from the ranks of these zealous monks or were at least under their spiritual guidance. They and the monks themselves worked everywhere for the purity of the clerical state. They disseminated correct ideas and advocated correct practices and virtuous living among all they could reach.

The first among the so-called reform-popes is *St. Leo IX* (1048–1054), who for several years traveled through France and Germany, expelling unworthy bishops and priests from office. Victor II arranged with Emperor Henry III, his cousin, for a worldwide campaign against simony and Nicolaitism, but both died before these plans could be carried into execution. The succeeding pontiffs were by no means neglectful of their duty; but nobody undertook the struggle with such vigor

as the great *Gregory VII* (see below). He appealed directly to the laity, forbidding them to hear the Masses or admit the ministrations of priests who openly defied the laws of the Church. When this intrepid champion of the purity and liberty of the Church died in exile, the power of both these evils was broken, never to revive in the same frightful and threatening degree. But before this, another important law was enacted.

225. Law Concerning Papal Elections. — After the death of the stern Henry III, the unruly elements in Rome raised their head again, and as usual caused difficulties for the papal elections. Under such circumstances *Nicholas II* ascended the Chair of St. Peter. He was determined to put an end to all undue interference. A new law confined the choice of the pope to the cardinal-bishops, that is, the bishops of certain towns in the immediate neighborhood of Rome.[1] The other cardinals, the lower clergy, and the laity were allowed merely to express by acclamation their consent to the accomplished election.

It should be remarked that the occasion of this incisive regulation was chiefly the violence shown by the Roman factions during late years. But it was equally designed to exclude all imperial meddling as well. However, it reserved expressly the rights which had been lawfully granted or were to be granted to the Roman king or emperor personally. The decree was strongly resented beyond the Alps. But there it was eventually more or less lost sight of in the great contest which affected the rulers nearer home.

226. The Law Against Lay-Investiture. — In 1073 Cardinal Hildebrand was elected to the papacy. He assumed the name of *Gregory VII*. Hildebrand, an Italian of German extraction, was a Benedictine monk of the Congregation of Cluny. Under several popes he had been the soul of the government of the Church. No one knew better than he the needs of the Church; no one had given so much thought to the question as to how her

[1] Later this law was changed so as to admit all the cardinals to the election.

difficulties might be remedied. In 1075 he solemnly prohibited *lay-investiture*, threatening with excommunication any layman that would presume to perform it and any ecclesiastic that would submit to it. This law concerned all countries. There was some opposition everywhere. But it nowhere reached the violence with which the powerful kings of England and Germany resisted it.

227. The Contest about Lay-Investiture in Germany. — *Henry IV* (§ 207) soon was at variance with the Saxons, among whom he generally resided. By all known means of force and fraud and broken promises he crushed their several rebellions against his tyranny, and punished their leaders with the most brutal cruelty. They were his principal but by no means his only enemies in the kingdom. His court was a real hotbed of simony, where a lucrative traffic was going on in sacred offices. Whenever he was hard pressed by his enemies, he listened to the voice of the pope and his own conscience; when the danger was over, he returned to his former habits of luxury, tyranny, and oppression of the Church.

Henry IV was engaged in wreaking barbarous vengeance upon the Saxons when the new decree was promulgated. He defied Pope Gregory's law and continued in his practice of lay-investiture and all the scandalous manipulations connected with it. The Saxons appealed to Gregory VII for help against the tyrant. The pope now summoned the king to Rome to answer to the charges made against him. Henry retorted by calling a sham synod of German bishops and abbots, which declared Gregory deposed, and he himself addressed to the pope an insulting communication. The great majority of the bishops almost at once sent to the pope a letter of confession, in which they pleaded fear of death as an excuse and asked for penances. The pope then in a Roman synod solemnly excommunicated Henry IV, forbade him to act or appear as king and threatened him with final deposition unless he should be

absolved from the excommunication within a specified time (§ 147).

In Germany all those who sincerely sided with the pope in his contest for right and justice and the liberty of the Church now combined with the many who had been outraged by the despot. Soon the plan of electing another king was discussed. As the pope had not yet rejected Henry definitely, he tried to mediate. It is entirely due to his efforts and the untiring activity of his legates that the plan was not carried out. An agreement was reached between the three parties, the pope, the king, and the princes. Henry IV should appear in a diet at Augsburg, next Candlemas day, where the pope would listen to the grievances that might be urged against the king. There all disputes were to be settled, provided the king would give satisfaction to both pope and princes. Until then he was to live as a private man.

228. Henry IV did not trust the justice of his cause. He desired by all means to appease the pope and thus to gain a better standing before the matter was to come before the princes. He set out for Italy in the dead of winter under the greatest hardships, and crossed the Alps. The pope had withdrawn to **Canossa**, a castle of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. Here in 1077 took place the famous meeting of pope and king. (It must be kept in mind that there were three parties to the compact, and that all three must coöperate in the final settlement.) For three days the king appeared before the castle gate and stood there from morning till night imploring absolution from the ban. The pope was in a quandary. If he absolved him and restored him to his rights, he would break his promise to the German princes; if he did not absolve him, he would incur the charge of cruelty. He at length took a middle course. He absolved him from the excommunication as far as he was a private Christian, but left him as it were under its civil effects. He was not to act or appear as king and remained

obliged to present himself at the diet of Augsburg and to submit to the verdict which would be reached there. This the king promised to do. He was then absolved and admitted to Holy Communion at the pope's Mass.

Henry IV's act was certainly a humiliation, but not an extraordinary one in those days. In the Ages of Faith public penance was of frequent occurrence and had nothing degrading attached to it. Men of high rank, kings included, submitted to it and lost nothing in the estimation of their subjects. Henry's penance, moreover, was self-imposed. The pope did not desire, much less demand it. The event, often represented as the triumph of a proud pope over a helpless king, was in reality an advantage won by Henry over his German adversaries.

It is worth while to see how Gregory VII himself describes this memorable happening. The following extracts are taken from two of his letters, one of which he wrote to the German princes in order to prevent misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

"Having laid aside all the belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he (the king) continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. Nor did he desist from imploring with many tears the aid of those who were present there, and whom the report of it had reached, to such pity and depth of compassion, that interceding for him with many prayers and tears, all wondered indeed at the unwonted hardness of our heart, while some actually cried out that we were exercising not the gravity of apostolic severity but the cruelty as it were of tyrannical ferocity. . . . I seeing him humiliated, having received many promises from him concerning the bettering of his way of living, restored him to the Communion. But only that; I did not reinstate him . . . that I might do justice in the matter or arrange peace between him and the bishops and princes beyond the Alps." (From Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.)

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Henry IV in making his peace with the pope. But the good resolutions did not last long. Hardly had he left Canossa, when the numerous simonistic bishops of Lombardy surrounded him and by flatteries

and threats of rebellion undid the work of Gregory VII. The vacillating king again disregarded his duty. As soon as this became known in Germany, his numerous adversaries made good their threat and chose another king, Rudolph, Duke of Suabia. After further attempts to restore unity Gregory at last excommunicated Henry again and recognized Rudolph as Roman King. Germany was torn by civil war. Rudolph, indeed, soon fell in a battle. But under the plea of zeal for the Church Henry's own sons claimed the throne and found adherents.[1]

The unfortunate Henry IV died while under the public excommunication. He was not buried in consecrated ground, until it was learned, five years later, that before his death he had desired to be reconciled with the pope. His son Henry V, who had so far feigned fidelity to the Church, continued the policy of his father with greater violence. Pope Paschal II, high-minded and generous, but better versed in spiritual matters than in secular diplomacy, was no match for the unscrupulous Henry and suffered the utmost humiliation at his hands.

229. The contest about lay-investiture was finished, after nearly fifty years, by a *concordat concluded in the city of Worms.*[2] Pope Calixtus II granted that the election of the bishops might take place in the king's presence but without simony. The prelate was to be invested with the temporalities of his see by means of a scepter. This certainly did away with the danger of a wrong interpretation of the ceremony, because the scepter does in no way denote spiritual power. The influence which this arrangement left to the monarch did not necessarily interfere

[1] Henry IV was never crowned except by an antipope whom he had intruded into the See of Peter. He has therefore no claim to the imperial title. Some writers call him emperor, because they erroneously hold that the coronation was not essential. (See § 202.) Others do so by a kind of habit, because nearly all the German rulers of the time rightfully bore that title and all without exception were elected with a view of obtaining it by a lawful coronation.

[2] A concordat is an agreement, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, between the pope and a secular ruler.

with the liberty of election. It was thought to be excusable on account of the great importance of the ecclesiastical possessions for the crown in Germany.

230. The Contest about Lay-Investiture in England. —The decree against lay-investiture was published just nine years after William the Conqueror had won England. He simply refused to give up the evil practice. And since he selected his candidates with great care and promoted none but good men to ecclesiastical offices, Pope Gregory did not urge him any further. (See § 159.) But under his sons (§ 163) the inevitable clash came. William Rufus openly trafficked in spiritual offices, and of course clung to lay-investiture. While most of the bishops either submitted to, or at least did not oppose the tyrant, St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, became the champion of the rights of the Church. William drove him into exile. Under Henry I he returned, but was soon forced a second time to leave the country. The king relaxed, however, when threatened with excommunication by the pope. St. Anselm returned to England. In 1107 it was agreed that there should be no investiture of ecclesiastics at all, but that the bishops should take an oath of fidelity for their feudal possessions. The elections were to take place in the king's palace.

The happy conclusion of the fierce struggle did not, in fact, prevent all royal interference with the liberty of the elections. Unscrupulous rulers, high and low, found other means to get their candidates into ecclesiastical positions. The papacy was not excluded. Charles of Anjou, for instance, brought about the election of *his* pope by the incarceration of two cardinals who would have opposed him. (See also § 208.)

For Further Reading. Guggenberger, I, §§ 373–399; 400–409. Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 266 ff.

231. ***Innocent III,*** **1198–1216,** is considered the greatest of the "Reform Popes." It will be instructive to gain some idea

of his activity, though in a book like this we must be satisfied with a mere enumeration of a few of his achievements. He was elected after the death of Henry VI and ruled the Church for eighteen years. His first care was to do away with a number of abuses in the papal court itself. He then restored the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See in its own domains. He inaugurated and organized the FOURTH CRUSADE (§ 244). His endeavors concerning Germany and Italy have been alluded to in § 212 ff. He resisted the despotism of John Lackland (§ 177), defending at the same time the justly acquired rights of the Apostolic See.[1] Ecclesiastical penalties forced the mighty king of France, Philip II, Augustus (§ 147), to reconcile himself with his lawful wife whom he had divorced with the consent of the French bishops and kept imprisoned for years. The pope tried, though not with complete success, to stop a cruel war between the kings of France and England. He annulled the marriage of King Alfonso of Leon in Spain with a near relative and for the same reason that of the king of Portugal. At the same time he reconciled three kings in the Pyrenean Peninsula, brought about a *Spanish crusade* against the Moors and saw their power broken forever in the battle of Navas de Tolosa, 1212. In Norway he protected the people against the tyranny of their king, and then prevented civil wars in Norway as well as in Sweden by arbitrating between crown pretenders. He protected King Emeric of Hungary in his just rights, but opposed his despotic methods of government. He restored ecclesiastical discipline in Poland, reunited far-off Armenia with the Catholic Church, and settled religious and crown disputes in Bulgaria.

His private life was a series of acts of piety, humility, and charity. His needs were very few, while he always had money for pious and charitable purposes. In Rome he established a large and well-appointed hospital. Thus he started a real hospital movement. His Roman hospital became the model of

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 538–545.

innumerable others. In consequence of the pope's action, more than eighty hospitals are known to have been erected in Germany alone.[1] The most important and most brilliant event in his pontificate was the General Council of the Lateran, held in 1215. Among other momentous decrees it stated the duty of every Christian to receive at least once a year the Sacrament of Penance and receive Holy Communion during Easter time. Innocent III gave the first official encouragement to the rising new religious Orders of the Mendicant Friars.

C. The Mendicant Orders

232. Character of the Mendicant Orders. — At the beginning of the thirteenth century there existed a great and ever growing prosperity all over Western Europe. In many quarters it was accompanied by a decrease in morality. Together with greed and avarice went a general luxury and dissipation among the higher classes which rendered the condition of the poor more helpless and degrading. The clergy did not keep entirely free from these evils. The number of worldly-minded ecclesiastics lent color to violent accusations against bishops and priests.

One of the most striking acts of Divine Providence was the establishment of a new kind of religious Order, called the *Mendicants*, from the Latin *mendicare*, to beg. Our forefathers styled their members *Friars*, from the Latin *frater*, brother. In the older Orders the unit was the individual house. Though a monk was privately poor (§ 60), the house was supposed to possess property. Self-sanctification was their aim. Hence monastic institutions were originally located in places far remote from the turmoil of the world, on hilltops or in solitary valleys. In the new Orders the unit was the whole organization, ruled by one general superior, or a "province" consisting of

[1] See J. J. Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, pp. 248 ff.

several houses, the members of which might be sent from place to place as conditions required. The houses were to subsist entirely on alms, hence their name. Besides the spiritual perfection of the individual members there was a second purpose; namely, preaching and other priestly and spiritual ministrations. This made it necessary to locate the residences near the people in villages and cities.

The principal mendicant Orders are the Franciscans and Dominicans.

233. The Franciscans. — When St. Francis of Assisi heard the words of the Gospel, "do not possess money in your purses, nor scrip for your journeys, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff," he resolved to carry them out literally. He chose the "Lady Poverty" for his spouse. Soon enthusiastic companions gathered around him, with whom he began to preach, chiefly to the poor and wretched. This was the beginning of the Franciscan Order. It was solemnly approved in 1223 and spread rapidly. Its influence has been wonderful. The friars alleviated the misery of the poor, the sick and forsaken, and taught them by their example and by pointing to the poverty of Jesus Christ to accept their condition with resignation, if not with joy. Many of the higher classes joined the devoted followers of the "poor man of Assisi," and all learned not to look with contempt upon the lowly, and to make a Christian use of the possessions God had granted them. Very large is the number of prominent men and women who desired at least to be buried in the humble garb of St. Francis. "St. Francis and his companions," says the author of an excellent work on political economy, "have roused in millions of souls the love of poverty, simplicity, and contentedness, in a society which threatened to succumb to the dangers of avarice and greed." Though chiefly devoted to humbler pursuits, the Order has given to the Church many learned and otherwise prominent men.

St. Francis encouraged a young lady of Assisi, St. Clare,

to become under his direction the foundress of an Order of women, the "*Poor Clares*." They follow a life of great strictness and seclusion from the world. The many communities of Franciscan Sisters which labor so successfully in the fields of education and charity are institutions of later date.

234. The Dominicans. — After making brilliant studies, St. Dominic, a Spaniard, accompanied his bishop on a journey through southern France. When passing through the districts infested by the Albigensian heresy (§ 193) he noticed that the preachers who tried to convert them indulged too much in the outward display of pomp, while the leaders of the heretics were known for their abstemious life. This suggested to him the idea of a new Order, which would combine the austerities of the older communities with learning sufficient to refute and bring back to the Church the Albigensians and other heretics. The Dominican Order, therefore, besides practicing poverty in a style similar to that of the Franciscans, makes preaching and teaching and the pursuit of learned studies its peculiar end. The Order was approved in 1216 and extended very rapidly. It has done great service to the Church in every sphere of piety and charity and above all in combating heresies by means of example and instruction. The "Prince of the Christian Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas (§ 274), belonged to the sons of St. Dominic.

St. Dominic, too, founded an Order of women. The *Dominican Nuns* are bound to an active life of industry and educational work.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES

A. The Christian and the Mohammedan Orient

235. The Christian Orient: The Byzantine Empire. — To the description of Byzantine culture given in § 94 should be added mention of the endless number of court intrigues and palace revolutions with their revolting cruelties.[1] After Charlemagne's time the empire constantly diminished in size. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa had been lost in the first onrush of the Mohammedans (§ 72). Slav nations were encroaching from the North upon the European provinces, until about A.D. 1000 the Bulgarian kingdom succumbed to the emperor Basil II. Armenia and Cilicia, too, were reconquered. But soon after, all Asia Minor was torn away by the Turks, and the remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Italy by the Normans (§ 211).

The saddest event, however, was the **Great Eastern Schism.**[2] Since 451 the bishops of Constantinople had assumed the title of patriarchs (§ 41, note), which the popes accorded to them after long hesitation. Though there were among them many eminent

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[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 161–164. §§ 420–435 refer to this and following sections on the Orient.

[2] *A schism* is the separation of a community, parish, diocese, etc., from the unity of the Church by defying the lawful authority. *Heresy* is a much greater crime. It consists in the denial of some doctrine which is evidently revealed by God, as the necessity of baptism. It denies the veracity of God Himself. Disrespectful or scandalous utterances concerning matters of Faith, though always sinful, are not necessarily heresies. Schism and heresy are often combined, as in the case of the Eastern Schism.

THE
EASTERN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
Lands of the Eastern Emperors before 960 are marked thus
The lands conquered between 960 and 1045 are marked thus.
The dates are those of the conquests.
Russians
Magyars
(Hungarians)
Patzinaks
Danube
CROATIA
SERVIA
Dalmatia
Dyrrhachium
Nicopolis
Gaeta
Naples
Langobardia
Calabria
WEST
BULGARIA
(1019)
Ochrida
Prespa
EAST
BULGARIA
(971)
Prestiflava
Dorystolum
Adrianople
Macedonia
Thrace
Thessalonica
Constantinople
Nicaea
Helias
Peloponnesus
CRETE
(960)
Chandax
ASIA MINOR
CAPPADOCIA
Iconium
CILICIA
(964-965)
(968-978)
Antioch
(1068)
CYPRUS
(965)
Aleppo
Edessa
ARMENIA
(1045)
Ani
Armenia
Cherson

and saintly men, others openly championed heresies, or showed too great a subserviency to the emperors. The contempt with which the East now looked down upon the entire West including Rome, and the ignorance of Latin in the East and of Greek in the West, helped considerably to widen the breach between the two parts of Christianity. For several hundred years, however, the schisms caused under these circumstances through the pride of either emperor or patriarch had been short-lived. But in 1043 the arrogant Patriarch Caerularius again fell away, and this time the split remained unhealed. He aspired to be the head of the whole Church. The transfer of the secular capital to Constantinople, he maintained, drew with it the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, who besides, he asserted, had fallen into grievous dogmatical errors. This schism at first did not extend farther than the empire itself. But in the course of several centuries the rest of the Eastern patriarchates, including the Russian Church, one after the other severed their connection with the Chair of Peter.[1]

The schism completed the estrangement between the East and the West. It partly accounts for the little sympathy which was extended to the Western crusaders in their struggle against the common foe of Christianity.

Materially and intellectually, however, the Eastern empire, though so much reduced in size, remained the most civilized part of the world.[2] Were we transferred into those distant times, nowhere should we find so near an approach to the methods of our own city and state administration, our police system, our own institutions of learning and of public and private charity. And notwithstanding its weakness and losses the empire had so far fulfilled its *mission of keeping the Mohammedans out of Europe and checking the advance of the semi-barbarous nations which inhabited the northern coasts of the Black Sea.*

[1] See "Eastern Churches," in Vol. IV of *History of Religions.*

[2] See Robinson, *Readings*, I, p. 340.

236. The Mohammedan Orient.[1] — Soon after the death of the Prophet religious dissensions rent the unity of the Mohammedan world. The *Sunnites* admitted, as a rule of their faith, besides the Koran (§ 71), an oral tradition which the *Shiahs* rejected. The latter did not recognize the Caliph of Bagdad as the legitimate successor of Mohammed. They set up another Caliphate under the "Fatimites" in Egypt and Northern Africa with the new city of Cairo as capital. Their power often extended far into Asia.

Meanwhile the power of the Caliphs of Bagdad (§ 73) passed to the *Seljuk Turks*.

Moorish Vase.

The homes of this Turanian nation were the plains east of the Caspian Sea, around the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, where they lived divided into many separate tribes. The Caliphs of Bagdad began to form a bodyguard of Turkish slaves and captives. Like the pretorians of old Rome, this guard, called Mamelukes, soon became the real power in the empire, and made and unmade caliphs at will. Its commanders became the actual rulers, while the caliph remained a kind of religious figure-head. One of the caliphs, thinking he could drive out one devil by another, called in a powerful Turkish chief, a grandson of *Seljuk*. But it did not change matters. It simply put the Seljuk Turks in place of the former masters. The Seljuk Sultans, as the real heads of the Bagdad Caliphate, at once started a career of conquest and made themselves masters of the whole of Asia Minor. But the vast territory soon broke up into several Sultanates and Emirates.

There existed, therefore, toward the end of the eleventh century, the following Mohammedan powers: In Spain the ever diminishing Caliphate of Cordova; in Egypt and Northern Africa the Caliphate of the Fatimites; in Asia the Caliphate of Bagdad, ruled in name by the Caliphs, in reality by the Seljuk Turks, and divided into several minor states.

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 431–435. Newman (Card.), *Historical Sketches*, Vol. I, contains material for reports on the Turks.

COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA.

During these religious and political changes intellectual and material civilization of the Arabian dominions remained on the whole as it had been before. Even some of the Turkish rulers of this period did much to encourage it. Unspeakable cruelties against Christians and other enemies, however, disgrace the records of the Mohammedan wars.

With the vigor of a young race the Turks renewed the onslaught of Mohammedanism upon the religion of the Cross and its professors. They proved in the course of time confirmed enemies of civilization. Though their rich and prominent men might enjoy all the achievements of culture, the countries ruled by them were the very opposite of civilized. Much more than the Arabs were they subject to the adverse influences of Islam (§§ 71, 74). It was under their "administration" that the once flourishing cities of Asia became heaps of ruins or at best conglomerations of squalid hovels.

B. The Crusades

237. Origin and Nature.[1] — The scenes of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Our Lord had always been the most cherished goal of pilgrimages (§ 148). Undaunted by the hardships of the long journey, and their ignorance of countries and languages, thousands set out from all parts of Western Europe. The conquest of Palestine by the first caliphs (§ 72) rendered these pious journeys more difficult, as the pilgrims were now obliged to pay a fee for admission to the city. But conditions became much worse when, in 969, the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt became the masters of the Holy Land. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher and countless other churches were destroyed. In 1076 the Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem from the Fatimites, subjected the native Christians to unheard of vexations, and replaced the pilgrims' tax by a system of robbery and extortion. By hundreds and thousands the pilgrims went to Palestine and returned by units and tens to spread the tale of the miseries they had witnessed. Their sad reports brought

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 436–443.

home to all Christians the shame and humiliation of seeing their most holy places in the power of the infidel.

It seems that Pope Gregory VII (§§ 225 ff.) was the first to conceive the idea of a military expedition for the purpose of ending both the degradation of the Holy Land and the sufferings of the Christians. In 1095, however, Pope Urban II, took this matter vigorously in hand. In a Council held at Clermont he appealed to all the Christian nations and rulers to combine in a great undertaking, an armed pilgrimage. His eloquence thrilled the multitudes with holy enthusiasm, and spontaneously from the listening crowds rose the cry, "*God wills it! God wills it!*" This became the rallying cry for the sacred wars. Wandering preachers roused the population of the more distant lands. Those who pledged themselves to the expedition fastened a cross upon their breast — hence the names *Crusader* (cross-bearer) and *Crusade*. *Thousands and hundreds of thousands took the cross.* Thus began a movement of truly gigantic proportions, the like of which the world has never seen. For two hundred years army upon army of pious volunteers traveled to a far distant land, underwent incredible hardships and faced an almost certain death, from the noblest and most unselfish motives. They were prompted by the desire to do penance for their sins, and by other pious considerations, but the mainspring of their enthusiasm was their warm personal devotion to Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, the King of Kings.

True, some crusaders went merely in a spirit of military ardor, or to gain temporal possessions in the land they hoped to conquer.[1] Even baser promptings were not absent. None the less the real cause of the crusades was religious zeal. They were real "Wars of the Cross." The grosser motives helped to rally recruits around a banner which religious enthusiasm had set up.

[1] This motive appealed strongly to France, which unlike Germany had no outlet for the increasing number of her inhabitants. In England the Danish and other internal wars had prevented overpopulation.

THE WORLD
DURING THE
CRUSADES
ENGLAND
London
Winchester
FLANDERS
Cologne
Rheims
Trier
Worms
Prague
BOHEMIA
KINGDOM OF POLAND
RUSSIA
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
Paris
Metz
SUEVIA
BAJARIA
Vienna
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Buda
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Clermont
AQUITANIA
Lyons
Geneva
Milan
Trent
Trieste
Bordeaux
Vienne
Turin
Venice
Belgrade
GASCONY
Agues
Mortes
Arles
PROVINCE
Genoa
Florence
Spalato
Toulouse
NAVARRE
Marseilles
Pisa
PAPAL STATES
Ancona
SERVIA
BULGARIA
Cherson
BLACK SEA
LEON
CASTILE
ARAGON
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Toledo
Barcelona
CORSICA
Rome
Ragusa
Durazzo
Adrianopolis
Constantinople
ROMAN EMPIRE
Thessalonica
Nicaea
SELJUKS
Cordova
Seville
Algeciras
Ceuta
KINGDOM OF THE ALMOHADS
HOLY
SARDINIA
APULIA
Naples
Brindisi
Barri
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
SICILY
Athens
Corinth
Ephesus
Iconium
Caesarea
Brussa
Antioch
Laodicea
Attalia
RHODES
CYPRUS
Tripoli
Damascus
Acre
Tyre
Rama
Jerusalem
Jaffa
Askalon
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
CRETE
BARKA
DOMINIONS OF SALADIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bona
Tunis
Tripoli
First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.
West 0° Longitude 10° East from 20° Greenwich 30°
10°
20°
30
40
30°

The crusaders enjoyed many *ecclesiastical privileges.* From the moment a man had taken the cross, the Church forbade under pain of excommunication all attacks, even by law, upon his person or property, until he had returned home. She also granted him what would now be called a plenary indulgence, provided he would keep his vow or die in fulfilling it.[1]

The crusades were one continuous movement. This armed migration went on uninterruptedly for two centuries, from about 1100 to 1300 A.D. The *Seven or Eight Crusades* commonly distinguished by historians were merely the highest waves of the incessant flood.

238. The First Crusade. — From nearly all parts of Christendom crusaders flocked together, but chiefly from Northern France and Southern Italy. None of the Christian kings of Europe,[2] but a number of prominent vassal princes joined this crusade. The most renowned of them is Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. A papal legate supplied in some measure the lack of centralization in the command.

While the princes were still making their preparations, an innumerable host of peasants and similar people, impatient of waiting longer, started without any organization or arrangement for provisions. Peter the Hermit and a knight, Walter the Penniless, acted as their leaders. This unfortunate, disorderly horde soon found itself devoid of the very necessaries of life and plundered friend and foe alike. A small remnant arrived in Asia Minor and fell an easy prey to the Turks.

A multitude of more than three hundred thousand, the chroniclers report, set out with the princes in the spring of 1096. The Greek emperor, who had himself been imploring

[1] Nevertheless the crusaders who fell in a battle were not martyrs in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. Those only are true martyrs who *when completely helpless* choose death rather than apostasy.

[2] It is evident that neither Henry IV of Germany nor William Rufus of England were apt to become enthusiastic for so unselfish a project as the crusades (§§ 227–230). Philip I of France was not much better but shrewder than both. (Guggenberger, 1, § 390.)

the pope for help, now that the crusaders arrived in his dominions, gave them little assistance. But they overcame the Turkish army which opposed their advance in Asia Minor. During their further march their numbers were considerably reduced by want of every kind. Still they conquered Edessa, beyond the Euphrates, and invested the strongly fortified city of Antioch. Some of the memorable events connected with the siege are told below in a crusader's own words.

A Crusader.— From a thirteenth-century manuscript, now in the British Museum, London.

The following year *they took Jerusalem* after a desperate resistance on the part of the Mohammedans. Godfrey was the first of the princes to leap from his siege tower upon the walls of the city. Now followed scenes which will ever remain a disgrace to the crusaders. Incensed by the fierce resistance and probably fearing new dangers, they put to death the whole garrison and nearly all the Mohammedan inhabitants. But three days later, clad in white garments, they went in solemn procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other sacred places of Jerusalem.

239. As a result of this crusade the Greek Empire was enabled to reconquer a great part of Asia Minor. The crusaders erected the country of Palestine into a *Kingdom of Jerusalem*, and elected as their king their most popular and best beloved hero, Godfrey of Bouillon. But Godfrey refused to wear a royal diadem in a place where Jesus Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and styled himself Protector of the Holy Sepulcher. His worthy brother and successor, Baldwin, admitted the royal title. Several smaller "Latin" states were formed along the coast and beyond the Euphrates as fiefs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. (See map.) The crusaders knew of no system of

KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Euphrates
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
DOMINION OF ATABEKS
(Mohammedans)
Apamia
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Tortosa
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Tripoli
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Toron
Hattin
Acre
Tiberias (Galilee)
Nablus
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Jaffa
Ibelin
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Kerak
Montreal
FATIMITE CALIPHATE
THE CRUSADING LATIN STATES IN SYRIA
DURING THE
TWELFTH CENTURY
(AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT)
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

government except Feudalism. So each ruler divided his lands in feudal fashion among his followers who cared to remain in Palestine. Churches, monasteries, and other Catholic memorials soon marked all the spots which are sanctified by Our Lord's life and actions. French became the language of the Christian settlers, who, however, were confined to the larger places. The open country remained, for the most part, in the power of hostile Mohammedans, and traveling was very unsafe.

240. The Knightly Orders. — The "Latin States" possessed rather precarious resources. Their existence depended on the influx of new volunteers from the West of Europe. Nor did the rulers themselves always act in unison with one another. The never failing fertility of the Church, in particular through the religious Orders, came to the rescue. In 1118, a hundred years before the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, nine French knights banded together for the purpose of escorting pilgrims on their journeys to the Holy Places. This pious band soon grew into a new organization with the three religious vows. As their special purpose they proposed the defense of the Holy Land. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the greatest men of the century, wrote their constitutions. The new Order consisted of knights, who did the fighting and formed the ruling power in the Order. By them and from among them was elected the Grand-Master. They were assisted by subordinate "Brothers," who might be employed for the same purpose or for attending to domestic affairs; and by priests, who looked after the spiritual needs of all the members. From the first of their houses, which was located on the site of the temple of Solomon, they received the name of *Knights Templar*. Their establishments combined the characteristics of monasteries and fortresses.

About the same time pilgrims from Amalfi in Italy founded a hospital in Jerusalem in honor of St. John the Baptist for the

benefit of such of their fellow citizens as might come to Jerusalem. This institution, too, grew into a religious Order with the purpose of caring for sick pilgrims, protecting pious travelers and fighting for the defense of the Holy Land. It was known as the *Knights of St. John* or *Knights Hospitalers.* Its organization was similar to that of the Templars.[1] Without these mighty societies it may be truly said the power of the Cross in the East would have come to an end very soon. These devoted men, who had renounced all earthly ambition, supplied much of the fighting force which was necessary to maintain, in the absence of a numerous influx of crusaders, the hold of the West upon these distant countries.

In 1197 a third knightly Order was approved by the pope. It was organized in the same fashion, but was restricted in the admission of members to knights of German origin. This Order of the "Brethren of the German Hospital of Our Lady of Jerusalem," later on called either *St. Mary's Knights,* or *Teutonic Knights,* rendered a service to the Church and civilization which at the time of its institution could not have been foreseen (§ 247).

241. The crusaders were almost always forced to fight against vastly superior numbers. Next to Divine Providence their victory is due to their incredible bravery and boldness. Greater daring and prowess and more display of physical strength and skill the world probably has never seen. The well-deserved renown of invincible valor contributed largely to the relative security of the Christian conquests.

Some letters from the crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the

[1] The present Knights of St. John, who are organized in so many Catholic parishes and greatly help in fostering Catholic enthusiasm, are not connected with the ancient Order. Much less have the Knights Templar of to-day, a prohibited society, anything to do with the Knights Templar of crusading fame.

Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (§ 164). In 1098, from before Antioch, Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife" the following letter: —

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain, my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . Thence, continually pursuing the wicked Turks, we drove them as far as the great river Euphrates. . . . The bolder of them hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed a vast host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH
Old representation.

"By God's grace we here endured many sufferings and countless evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Before the city of Antioch, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very like our winter in the West.

"When the emir of Antioch — that is, its prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes.

These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses; for there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

242. The Second Crusade. — In 1147 Europe was alarmed by the fall of Edessa, the farthest outpost of the Christian power. Pope Eugene III at once called upon all the Christians for a second great effort on behalf of the Holy Land. He commissioned St. Bernard (§ 150) to preach a new crusade.[1] Conrad III, Roman King (§ 208), and Louis VII of France put themselves at the head of immense forces. But the grand enterprise failed, partly from bad generalship, partly from dissensions among the crusaders. Nevertheless the number of warriors who thus reached Palestine was of considerable assistance to the Latin states.

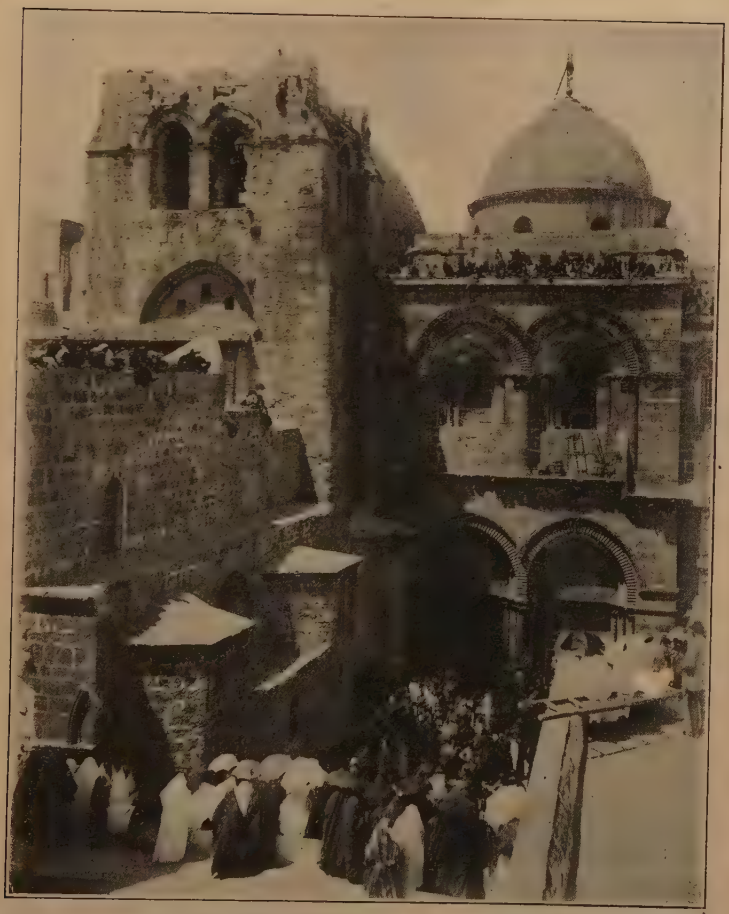
243. The Third Crusade. — Another Turkish power had meanwhile arisen from among the parts of the Seljuk Dominions (§ 236). Its chief representative was the redoubtable *Saladin*. Province upon province he tore away from the hands of the Christian defenders. Finally, in 1187 the incredible happened: he entered the Holy City as conqueror. All Christendom was

[1] When the great preacher entered the cathedral of Speyer, the Salve Regina was being chanted. Deeply moved by the devotion of the immense crowd he is said to have added the words, "O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria" (O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary) which have remained attached to the beautiful prayer. They were engraved on the pavement of the Speyer cathedral. (See picture on p. 164.)

staggered. The three greatest potentates of Europe, *Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Kings Philip II of France,* and *Richard I the Lion-Hearted of England* arranged a third crusade (§§ 209, 192, 176). It was much better organized than either the first or second. The severest loss of this crusade was the death of the great emperor, whose enthusiasm and military experience had much to do with the initial successes. The two kings soon fell to quarreling. Philip was the first to return home. Yet the crusade was far from fruitless. Richard and Philip, combining their forces for a time, had reconquered the important coast fortress of Acre. Richard the Lion-Hearted filled the Orient with the terror of his name. Though his brilliant exploits did not lead to the recovery of Jerusalem, he secured other advantages. It is to his credit that the whole coast line was returned to the Christians and strongly fortified, and that free access was guaranteed to the Holy Sepulcher.

"On one occasion, near Emmaus, he (Richard) attacked single-handed a horde of Turks, slew twenty and chased the rest before him. With only fifty knights he scattered another large army at Jaffa. Saladin himself fled before him like a hunted hare." Guggenberger, I, § 514.

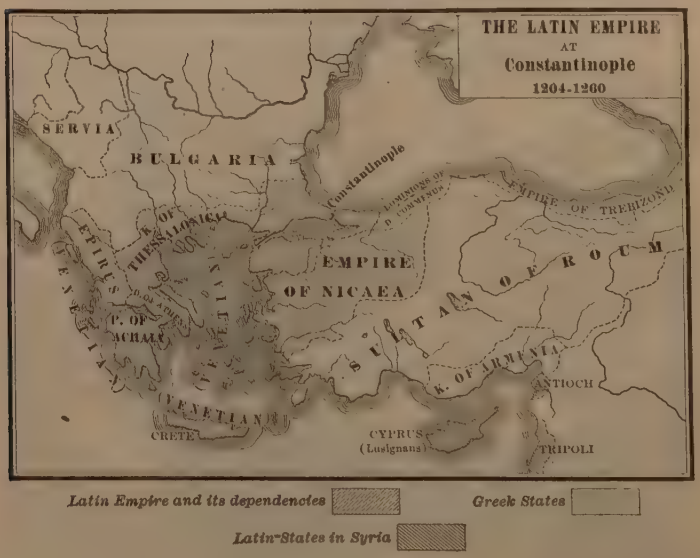
244. The Fourth Crusade; the Latin Empire at Constantinople. — Contrary to their vow the leaders of this crusade went to the assistance of a dethroned emperor at Constantinople. Another usurper, however, repudiated the treaty with the crusaders and attacked them treacherously. The crusaders without much ado took the city by storm, deposed the emperor, and replaced the Greek by a "Latin Empire." The Greek schismatic empire could lay no claim to the gratitude of Western Christianity at this period. But Pope Innocent III, who had inaugurated the crusade, was very much exasperated by this conduct of the crusaders. Since, however, he could not undo what had been done, he recognized the new "Latin Empire." It was justly expected that Latin rulers in the city on the



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER. — Present condition. — St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, built a splendid church over the Holy Places of the death, burial, and resurrection of our Savior (see Betten, *Ancient World*, § 676). It was destroyed by Chosroe (Chosrau) II, King of the Persians, in 602, and once more by the Mohammedans in 1010. The structure erected by the crusaders on a grand scale, suffered greatly by neglect and fires, but was restored to some extent during the nineteenth century.

Bosphorus would be more in sympathy with the Christian enterprises in the Orient.

The Latin emperor did not receive the whole of the Greek realm. The mighty Republic of Venice occupied parts of the territory, chiefly coastal districts and islands. Other parts became vassal states of the new empire, while some remained



in the power of Greek monarchs. The Latin Empire labored under difficulties similar to those encountered by the Latin states in Asia. It lasted about half a century. In 1261 a Greek potentate reconquered Constantinople and restored Greek rule. The Venetians maintained themselves in most of their possessions, and some of the minor Latin states, also, survived to a later date.

245. The Other Crusades. — Saladin had obtained possession of Egypt, where he displaced the Fatimite Caliphs (§ 236). His realm

included the lands from beyond the Euphrates as far as deep into Africa. But after his death it broke into several fragments, ruled from Damascus, Cairo, and other capitals. The title of Caliph was still held, at Bagdad, by the powerless successors of once mighty rulers. It was at this juncture that large crusading armies attempted to approach the reconquest of Palestine by securing Egypt. They conquered Damietta, but the fact that Emperor Frederick II, contrary to his solemn promises, failed to come to their aid caused them to lose a good opportunity to regain Jerusalem (§ 214).

On account of the unquestionable advantages scored ten years later by this emperor some writers count his pleasure trip to the Holy Land as a separate crusade. In 1244 the last remnants of his gains were lost. In the same year *St. Louis IX, King of France* (§ 193), took a vow to enter upon a crusade, — a vow which he carried out in 1248–1254. He, too, at first, landed in Egypt. But after heroic deeds and great successes he was taken prisoner, compelled to pay a heavy ransom and to surrender all his conquests. He then betook himself to Syria. But in spite of his great personal qualities as general and as warrior he could achieve but little. Twenty years later, when an old man and unable to mount his horse without help, he again gathered an army for a crusade. This time he sailed to Tunis. The expedition resulted in the liberation of thousands of Christian captives. But the great king succumbed to a fever. "Jerusalem, Jerusalem" and "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," were his last words. In St. Louis died one of the grandest characters of his times, — one in whom were embodied most perfectly all the qualities of the Christian knight, king, and crusader.

This was the last great effort made to obtain possession of the Holy Land. The difficulties of maintaining the distant military colonies proved insurmountable. Although the popes did not give up the idea of a reconquest, the crusading spirit cooled down in Europe. People thought, too, that in some cases the name of crusade had been used for enterprises the purpose of which was less spiritual than secular.

In *1291* Acre, the last stronghold of the Latins in Palestine, had to be abandoned. The only remnant of all the Latin possessions was now the *Kingdom of Cyprus*, ruled by an old crusading family, which for three hundred years more withstood the assaults of the Crescent.

For Further Reading. — *Chronicles of the Crusades* (see book list). Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 312–345. Guggenberger, I, §§ 436–452; 464–467; 506–515; 521–530; 559–562; 576, 577; 580.

Exercise. — Catchword review on the crusades.

246. Further History of the Knightly Orders. — *The Knights of St. John* soon conquered, and held for two hundred years, the island of Rhodes, whence they were called the Rhodesian Knights. They were dislodged, after an heroic defense, in 1522, by the Turks. In 1526 Emperor Charles V (§ 359 ff.) gave them the Island of Malta, and since this time they were known as the Knights of Malta. The loss of this island in 1798 to the French induced the insignificant remnant of the Order to take exclusively to works of charity, *i.e.* activity in hospitals in peace and war.[1]

Effigies of Knights Templar. — From funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The crossing of the legs in funeral sculpture indicated a crusader.

The Knights Templar suffered a tragic end. Their vast possessions roused the jealousy and avarice of King Philip IV, the Fair, of France. This unworthy grandson of St. Louis spared no device of intrigue and violence to bring about a condemnation of the Order for heresy and immorality. Pope Clement V, though himself a Frenchman and most anxious to please the French king, refused to go that far. Without condemning the Order he decreed, in 1311, its dissolution. The accusations against the Order as such, though completely unfounded, had made the rounds of Europe and had undermined its good name. An organization thus slandered was not likely to be joined by young men of respectable families. (§ 328.)

[1] See Th. Drane's *History of the Knights of St. John.* Special Report: Siege of Rhodes.

247. Towards the close of the Crusades in the Orient the *Teutonic Order* finished a crusading enterprise against a pagan nation almost in the heart of Europe. Northwest of the lower Vistula lived the fierce *Prussians*, a Slavic race, akin to the Lithuanians farther east. They were given to a low kind of idolatry. Like the Saxons of old (§ 84) they admitted no missionaries and harassed the neighboring countries incessantly. St. Adalbert, the "Apostle of the Prussians," and others paid with their lives for attempting to preach the Gospel to them. To end the devastations wrought by these barbarians, Duke Conrad of Masovia [1] invited the Teutonic Order to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The conquest, carried on with varying success, required fifty-five years, 1228–1283. The Prussians fused entirely with the new settlers that arrived in the wake of the conquerors, and in the course of time the old Prussian language gave way to the German. For more than a hundred years Prussia, ruled by the Knights, was considered the best governed country of Europe. It was a fief at once of the empire and of the papacy. A number of bishoprics under the Metropolitan See of Riga, and numerous monasteries of monks and friars, looked after the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants. The Knights extended their possessions along the whole southeastern coast of the Baltic, making this the largest ecclesiastical territory next to the Papal States. We shall be obliged to refer to it later on.

C. Results of the Crusades

248. Failure. — The purpose for which so many thousands sacrificed all that was dearest to them, the purpose for which the popes and countless unselfish persons had been laboring incessantly, was obtained only in a very imperfect way. For a brief space only were the holiest places in Christendom in the

[1] Masovia was a part of Poland. Poland had no strong rulers at that time (§ 107).

power of Christians. "*This failure was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Europe.* The inundation by the Turks could not have taken place had Europe become and remained mistress of Egypt and Syria. This possession would have forestalled all destruction of civilization, and we should now have more nations of our own kind in Europe." (Niebuhr.) Nevertheless the heavy expenses in blood and treasure had not been made entirely in vain.

The crusades had helped to create a new age. The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100.

249. Military Result. — By keeping the Mohammedan powers busy in Asia the crusaders saved the life of the Eastern Empire for two hundred years more. Europe had two more centuries to develop its own civil and political institutions, before the enemy battered at its very gates. It is a significant fact that not ten years after the fall of Acre (§ 245) a Turkish chieftain, *Osman* (Othman), made himself master of those provinces in Asia Minor which the Greeks had reconquered after the first crusade (§ 239). In Brussa, not a hundred miles from Constantinople, he established in 1299 the center of a *new Turkish power, that of the Osmanic or Ottoman Turks,* which became the terror and scourge of all civilized Europe.

250. Results for the Church. — A great idea, to free the Holy Sepulcher, had taken hold of Christian Europe. To realize this idea heroic efforts were made by individuals and communities, by the millions that went on the crusades and by other millions, parents, wives, children, and friends, who sympathized with the crusaders, and though remaining at home had fully caught the crusading spirit.[1] The source of this spirit was an intense and enthusiastic personal love for Jesus Christ, and this devotion could not fail to be enormously strengthened

[1] James J. Walsh (*Thirteenth Century*, p. 229) thinks that much of the chronicling of crusaders' experiences was done for the sake of the women. (See § 241.)

in consequence. No wonder that Christian life in general became much more brisk and active. No period can boast of so many Saints in palace, hut, and convent. The foundation of the Mendicant Orders (§§ 232 ff.) was a fruit of this new spirit. Shortly before them another Order, a very "timely" one, had been established, the "Order of the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of Captives," — a counterpart of the military Orders. About a million prisoners, it is said, owe to this Order their liberation from horrible servitude. The military Orders and their flourishing condition at a time when membership meant a life of sacrifice reveal an astonishing amount of lively Faith among the higher classes.

The Migration of Nations had inaugurated a great *missionary activity*, which indeed had never died out completely. But the period of the crusades saw a new revival of apostolic zeal. It was now that final and successful efforts were made for the conversion of the Slavs on the eastern bank of the Elbe (§§ 199, 200, 106).[1] The Christianization of Prussia (§ 247) was the last step in this progress of the religion of Christ along the coasts of the Baltic. Finland's conversion originated from Sweden at the same period. Lithuania alone in spite of serious efforts remained pagan for a hundred years more. Numerous were the attempts at Christianizing the Mohammedans of Northern Africa. Missionaries went even to the Mongols and established a bishopric in Peking, then the capital of the vast Mongolian empire (§ 214). The popes directed, encouraged, and supported all these enterprises.

251. General Intellectual Results. — The crusades brought new energies into play, and opened up new worlds of thought.

[1] An amusing incident is told of the conversion of the Pomeranians. A poor monk arrived among them as apostle. They refused to listen to him, because they said the Lord of heaven and earth could not have chosen such a beggar for His ambassador. Thereupon St. Otto, the Bishop of Bamberg, went to them. But he added to the virtue of an apostle the pomp of a prince. He effected their conversion.

The intellectual horizon widened. Men gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners. They became desirous of discovering unknown countries. Crusading thoughts in fact had much to do with the enterprise of Columbus.

The crusaders brought back at once some new gains in science, art, architecture, and medical knowledge; and their romantic adventures furnished heroic subjects for the pen of poet and story-teller — so that literary activity was stimulated, and many histories of the crusades were written. But, best of all, *Europeans had learned that there was more to learn* in the world. There was a new stir in the intellectual atmosphere, and the way was prepared for a wonderful intellectual uprising. It was indeed at this period that the universities began to rise and the great teachers to gather eager crowds of students about them (§ 267 ff.). This, too, was the time of the grand development of architecture (§ 277 ff.).

252. Commercial Results. — As long as the Latin states in Syria lasted (nearly two hundred years), they were *dependent upon Europe for weapons, horses, and even supplies of food.* These things had to be transported by sea; and, during the last crusades, the crusaders themselves usually journeyed by ship. *This stimulated shipbuilding, and led to an increased production of many commodities for these new markets.*

Even more important was the reappearance in the West of long-forgotten Oriental products. Europeans now learned to use sugar cane, spices, dates, buckwheat, sesame, saffron, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, and various drugs and dyes, and, among new objects of manufacture, cottons, silks, rugs, calicoes, muslins, damasks, satins, velvets, delicate glassware, the cross-bow, the windmill.

Many of these things became almost necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously.

In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods, spices became of immense importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning; and at this time Europe adopted the Arabic numerals (§ 74).

Money Replaced Barter. — All these commercial transactions called for *money*. The system of barter and of exchange of services by which Europe had largely lived for some centuries was outgrown. In consequence the coinage of money grew rapidly.

253. The Crusades Undermined Feudalism. — After money had become common, the relations between tenant and landlord, and lord and vassal no longer needed to rest upon exchange of services for land. Thus the economic basis of feudalism (§ 118) was weakened or destroyed. The presence of money, too, enabled the kings to collect national revenues, and so to maintain standing armies of well-drilled mercenaries, more efficient than the old feudal arrays.

The crusades struck even more direct blows than this at feudalism. Thousands of barons and *knights never returned from the Orient*, and their fiefs escheated to their lords, frequently to the crown. Moreover, to procure the money wherewith to equip their followers for the crusades the great barons mortgaged their possessions to the kings, and sometimes the smaller vassals sold them outright. And kings as well as great vassals sold charters of rights to the rising towns to obtain money. Thus the kings acquired a more direct power over their subjects outside the cities, and the cities obtained more liberties and a greater amount of home rule. The townsmen now figure as the "third estate" beside the higher clergy and the nobles. All this, however, varied greatly in the various countries.[1]

[1] See "The Results of the Crusades," in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*. pp. 355–393.

Siege of a Medieval Town. — (The summons to surrender.) — From a sixteenth century copper engraving.

CHAPTER XIII

MEDIEVAL CITIES

A. Character

254. The Origin of the Cities has been alluded to repeatedly. In the former Roman provinces there had remained some of the old communities which carried on their municipal life as best they could. This was in particular the case in Italy and southern France (§ 56; for Germany see § 199). Later on human habitations clustered around the convents and the residences of the bishops and kings. In the beginning these settlements remained under the complete control of the lord of the land, the king or his vassal. Soon they obtained special privileges, such as the exclusive right of holding a market for certain districts. Exemption from the lord's court of justice and a greater or less amount of self-government followed.

Many of the inhabitants possessed fields in the neighborhood,

which gave to the new town the aspect of a large but prosperous looking village. A large number of the cities thus created, always remained to some extent agricultural. But the tendency of the city people was rather to engage in commercial and industrial pursuits. Commerce, carried on on a larger or smaller scale, as well as every kind of handicraft and professional pursuit, stamped all the cities with quite a peculiar character. The increase in money (§ 253) gave a new impetus in the same direction. Thus there arose a division of labor between the town and its rural environs, the latter furnishing the fruits of the fields and the town offering the products of industry and the merchandise imported from elsewhere.

Medieval Town Hall (Oudenarde, Belgium).

255. External Appearance of the City. — The mean cottages of the country folk gave way to the comfortable and even stately homes of the sturdy townsmen, and the palaces, stores, offices, and warehouses of the merchants. Imposing town halls and other public buildings, and large and splendid churches further contributed to mark the difference between the country and the city.

For their safety the townsmen would surround their cities as the nobles did their castles with lofty stone walls and deep moats. Access could not be had except through the well-fortified gates. The citizens themselves were obliged to military service. By turns they mounted guard at the gates on the high towers of the wall — at least when times were critical: while

City Gate at Aigues Mortes, a town in Southern France.

ordinarily, in cities which could afford it, these duties were intrusted to a few paid officers. The gates were locked at night. During the day no one was admitted unless he gave the men on duty satisfactory assurance of his unobjectionable character.

But the space inclosed by the walls had to be utilized to the utmost. Hence the streets were narrow and dark. They were nearly always crooked, because the city had grown spontaneously, without much planning. Sewerage and sanitation in general left much to be desired. Nor were the thoroughfares lighted during the night.

The number of inhabitants was much smaller than the renown of many a famous city would lead us to expect. There were some really large cities in Italy, one or the other of which could claim more than a hundred thousand people. Some German towns went beyond twenty thousand. But few places anywhere had more than seven thousand. Until 1500 England had only two towns with more than twelve thousand — London and Bristol.

B. The Gilds

256. Organization was the watchword of the Middle Ages. The adage, "United we stand, divided we fall," has never been better understood nor more systematically carried into effect. Wherever there were people with the same inclinations, aims, and interests, religious or secular, some kind of Gild (guild, society, confraternity) was sure to arise. The number of these gilds was incredibly large. Yet there was no confusion, partly because of the definiteness of their aims and purposes, partly because all were under the active control of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

257. I. The religious gilds were somewhat like our own confraternities and sodalities and pious societies. But on the whole they showed their religious spirit more actively in common practices of piety and in the exercise of charity towards members and non-members. Each had its peculiar devotions and religious festivities. But almsgiving, from funds collected by the members or from endowments established permanently by benefactors, the care of the sick, the burial of the dead, and the providing of Masses for deceased members were common to all.

These features, however, were found in the secular gilds as well, because the people could not conceive of any organization which would refuse to profess itself Christian. The greatest

event in the yearly round of public religious practices was the participation in the Corpus Christi procession.[1]

II. The craft gilds were unions of artisans — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English city of some three thousand people, had fifty such gilds, Cologne had eighty.

Three grades of workers were distinguished according to their skill in handicraft: masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The *master* alone might set up a shop in which he himself with one or more journeymen and apprentices worked at his craft. It was a diminutive factory, in which the factory owner himself was a worker. His journeymen commonly, and his apprentices always, lived in his house and ate at his table like members of his family. "The master must so faithfully and loyally teach his apprentice that he can one day answer for it to God." "He must take his apprentice to church, and with zeal bring him up in honesty and fear of God, as if he were his own child."

When the stipulated time of the apprenticeship was over, the *apprentice became a journeyman*, and began "journeying" to other towns in order to perfect himself in his trade and see the world. Some years later he presented to the gild officers his *masterpiece*, that is, some piece of work in the line of his particular craft, to show his competency. If it was accepted, he was admitted as master to full membership in the gild.

The gilds were formed by the masters and journeymen, while the apprentices were considered its wards. The real control of

[1] The gilds took a prominent part in the performance of the popular religious dramas. Of these there were two kinds, the *Miracle Plays*, which enacted events taken from the Bible or from lives of Saints; and the *Morality Plays*, which presented in allegorical form the great truths which ought to govern the life of Christians. Some of these plays have survived, for instance the famous "Everyman," which was given some years ago in most cities of America. It brings out most forcibly the vanity of all earthly possessions. The performances took place in the open air, and there was of course no charge for the spectators. Special Report: Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 238 ff.

gild affairs, however, was in the hands of the masters. But the traveling journeyman enjoyed the protection of the gild in every city where he happened to be occupied. It was greatly conducive to a good understanding between employers and employees, that both belonged to the same organization.[1]

The gilds had their *gild houses*, some of which were quite sumptuous buildings. Here took place the business meetings and the social gatherings and jollifications. Gild life generated a strong corporate feeling, a pride in the *honor of handicraft*, and a desire to turn out work which would be a credit both to the workman and to the profession. The craftsman knew there were other men greater and more powerful than he. But he envied them not. According to Divine Providence the workman, too, was a necessary part of the human family; without him the world could exist as little as without the king. And handicraft had been sanctified by the God-Man Himself.

The gild had its *Patron Saint*, on whose festival the members in a body attended High Mass, often in their own chapel. Commonly there was a grand procession. A banquet and merry-making took up the afternoon. Nor were the poor forgotten on such occasions. At Kiel twelve poor people were fed, "and a good piece of beef and a loaf of bread given to twelve poor students."

The gild was based upon the Christian principles of justice and charity. Every member had the right to share in the supply of raw material of any other member by refunding the cost, and all were bound to follow the same methods in the sale of their products. The price fixed by the gild secured the rights of both producer and customer.[2] If a member died poor, the

[1] In some cities this advantage was lost by the formation of separate journeymen's gilds, which, like the unions of our own times, consisted of employees only. Strikes, too, were not of infrequent occurrence in the Middle Ages.

[2] Times have changed since the gilds governed the relation between workman and employer. Our tables and chairs are no longer produced in the

gild paid a pension to his wife and even gave dowries to his daughters. "We shall be repaid by the good God, Who has repaid many."

III. **The merchant gilds** were established for the purpose of obtaining those business advantages which could be secured only by united action. Though, like the craft gilds, essentially of a secular nature, they embodied not only the economic but also the religious and charitable features which were practically common to all such organizations. On the continent they were of a more aristocratic character than in England. The craft gilds, conscious of their own strength, here and there engaged with them in bloody contests for political privileges in the government of the cities.

It was chiefly due to the activity of the gilds, religious and secular, that "there was practically no unrelieved poverty in the cities during the later Middle Ages. The specter of the modern proletariat, wretched, debased, with no definitely recognized claim upon any social group or institution, had no counterpart in the municipal life of that time." Rev. John A. Ryan, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 599.

258. The rise of princely despotism about and after the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the religious disintegration induced at that time by the Reformation, greatly contributed to the **decline of the gilds**. In England all the gilds were

craftshop, where a master worked side by side with his journeymen and apprentices. The owner of our furniture factory is no longer on familiar terms with his numerous workmen. Commonly he hardly knows them. The old gild relation cannot be revived except where there is still a sufficiently large number of craftsmen of the old type. Generally speaking we must try to secure by some other method the results formerly obtained by the gilds. Above all it must ever be kept in view that according to the will of God workers and employers are not enemies but friends, neither of whom can get along without the other. The principles which guided the medieval gilds in fixing the amount of wages and prices are still in force and ought to bring about the same result. In his famous Encyclical, "On the Condition of the Working Classes," Pope Leo XIII sets forth in what manner workingmen's societies should be organized in our own modern times.

brutally destroyed by Edward VI (§ 379). In many places on the continent the gilds practically became benefit societies for a limited number of masters' families and their associates. In some localities, however, gild life retained much of its ancient vigor until well into the nineteenth century.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, Vol. II, §§ 176–180, will supplement our short sketch in many ways. Several chapters in Dr. Walsh's *Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries* give a brilliant picture of the conditions of handicraft and art during the Middle Ages. Similar is a chapter in Cardinal Gasquet's *Eve of the Reformation* and the first fifty pages of Vol. II of Janssen's *History of the German People*. *Translations* and *Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, is a collection of ordinances, rules, etc., of medieval gilds.

C. The Cities as States

259. Political Position of the Cities. — The town elected its own officers, and prescribed their powers. Offenses committed within it were tried in its own courts, and were punished by ducking in water, by fines, by flogging, mutilation, or death. Some of the continental towns inflicted cruel penalties. The town officers, together with the gilds, supervised all industry, in particular the making and selling of articles of food, such as bread, ale, wine, etc. They provided against famine by keeping supplies of grain in the cities' warehouses.[1] They even made regulations for the dress of the several classes, to prevent extravagance. They waged wars on one another, or concluded special treaties regarding trade privileges. Southampton had formal agreements with seventy other English towns. Within twenty years London sent out three hundred letters on such matters to the officials of ninety different towns. On the continent such city leagues were more pronouncedly of a political

[1] In 1540 the burghers of Nuremberg boasted to Emperor Charles V that the bread they offered him had been made from wheat kept in the town granary for 118 years.

character. We have already noted the powerful Lombard League, which fought against Barbarossa (§ 208).

In England the development was slower than on the continent. The cities found the royal power more firmly established, and, like the English nobles, they never possessed the extreme independence which was found in other cities of Europe. But the

THE "DUCAL PALACE," VENICE. — Residence of the "Doge" (Duke), the president of the Republic of Venice.

"Cinque Ports," a league of five towns on the Channel, was able to wage war on its own account with French and Flemish cities.

In France the Southern towns which had grown from old Roman municipalities (§ 194) were in the beginning almost independent. But the systematic increase of the royal power encroached upon them to such a degree that by 1400 their

early liberties had entirely vanished, and they were ruled by royal officers.

Northern Italy. After the imperial power had almost disappeared, the cities grew enormously in wealth, power, and independence, and were practically sovereign states. Venice, never really under the emperor, and Genoa, retained their

St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice. — The present building which replaced an older one, was erected in 976. Its style is a mixture of the Byzantine and the Romanesque (§ 277). Compare with the pictures in §§ 63, 141, 142, 145.

position as sovereign republics until the days of the French Revolution. Many other cities fared differently. In the incessant wars between town and town able generals found opportunities to become, first the most prominent men, then the rulers of their fellow citizens. In this way, after a long period of free city life, there appear dukedoms and other principalities

in Northern Italy instead of the ambitious municipalities. Chief among these were the dukedoms of Milan under the family of the Visconti and Sforza, and of Mantua, under the Gonzagas. Later on the Medici held a similar position in Florence.[1]

260. *In Germany* the cities rose to be a great political power. They obtained their privileges partly from the king, partly from the vassal lords, the bishops included. Some fifty cities gained freedom from all control of subordinate princes, and became directly subject to the king (or emperor) alone. As "free and imperial cities" they were the equals of the princes in rank. They retained their position until the times of Napoleon I (§ 605, *d*).

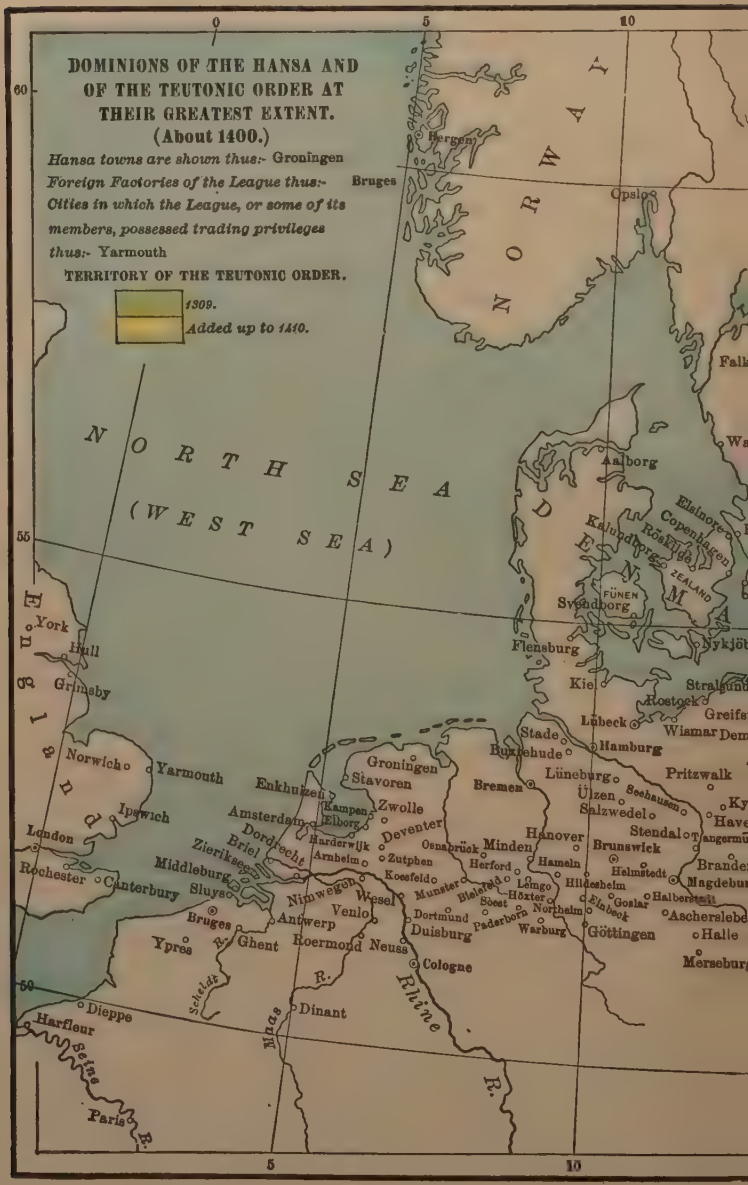
Like the cities in other countries the German towns frequently combined in city leagues, chiefly to secure safe transit for their commerce by land and sea. Important and mighty were the *Rhenish League* and the *Suabian League*, and more so than all the rest combined, the *Hansa*.

261. The Hanseatic League ("Hansa," — an old German word for "union") was composed of eighty *northern* German towns. It grew up about 1300, out of earlier unions of small groups of cities; and it was organized to protect trade against pirates and robbers, and to secure greater *advantages in foreign countries* than single cities could secure for themselves.

It established colonies, or "factories," in foreign cities, as in London, Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and Wisby. Each such colony had its own government and its own soldiery, independent of those of the other parts of the city in which it was imbedded. The Hanseatic settlement in London was known as the *Steelyard*. The importance of the Hansa in English trade is indicated by the fact that the coin (pound) of the "Easterlings" (from the East, or Baltic, Sea) became the "pound sterling" in English currency; and the trustworthy character of their wares is shown by the meaning of the word "sterling" in our language.

By friendly transactions or by war, the Hansa won trading privi-

[1] See Betten, *Ancient History*, § 126, on the Greek Tyrants. — St. Aloysius Gonzaga was of a side branch of the Ducal Family of Mantua.


DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND
OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT
THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
NORWAY
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
DENMARK
England
Bergen
Opslo
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Kalundborg
Röskilde
ZEALAND
FÜNEN
Svendborg
Flensburg
Kiel
Stralsund
Rostock
Greifs
Wismar
Lübeck
Hamburg
Stade
Buxtehude
Lüneburg
Pritzwalk
Bremen
Ülzen
Seehausen
Salzwedel
Stendal
Hanover
Brunswick
Helmstedt
Hameln
Hildesheim
Goslar
Halberstadt
Göttingen
Halle
Merseburg
Minden
Herford
Lemgo
Höxter
Northeim
Paderborn
Warburg
Bielefeld
Soest
Dortmund
Duisburg
Cologne
Neuss
Roermond
Venlo
Wesel
Nimwegen
Kocsfeld
Zutphen
Osnabrück
Deventer
Zwolle
Groningen
Stavoren
Kampen
Elborg
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Enkhuizen
Amsterdam
Dordrecht
Briel
Zierikzee
Middleburg
Sluys
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Ypres
Dinant
Maas R.
Rhine R.
Scheldt R.
Dieppe
Harfleur
Seine R.
Paris
York
Hull
Grimsby
Norwich
Yarmouth
Ipswich
London
Rochester
Canterbury
0
5
10
60
55
50

15
20
25
30
60
55
50
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Neva R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
Dorpat
Pernau
Pskof
ÖSEL
Livland
1237
L. Wettern
Wenden
Wisby
Windau
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina
Dünaburg
Kalmar
R.
Polotsk
Vitebsk
1384
Memel
EAST SEA (BALTIC)
Niemen
Kovno
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Rügenwalde
Stolp
Oliva
Danzig
Braunsberg
Elbing
Marienburg
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Prussia
Kolberg
Kammin
Gollnow
Kulm
Kulmerland
Löbau
Stargard
Neumark
1402
Thorn
1328-43
Grodno
Bug
R.
Pripet
R.
Vistula
R.
Frankfort
Kalisz
Oder
R.
Breslau
R.
Krakow

leges from the kings of England and other northern countries. In 1370 Waldemar of Denmark was compelled after long strife to sign the *Peace of Stralsund*, which provided that future Danish kings must have the sanction of the League before they mounted the throne. For a century the League was one of the Great Powers of Europe. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas and over nearly every counting house from London to Novgorod. The League owned fisheries and mines; and in their trading posts there met, for exchange, furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic coasts, metals of Saxony, wines of the Rhine, wool and tin of England, cloths of Holland, and the products of the more distant South and East.

The Hansa declined partly because of internal dissensions; partly because the German princes in whose territory the cities lay — there were very few "free and imperial cities" in the North of Germany — grew jealous and ordered them to discontinue their membership; partly because the governments of the foreign countries in the North gained more strength and resented German commercial influence. The Hansa, however, still exists in three of its members, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, which, in 1871, entered the new German Empire on the footing of sovereign states.

262. Conclusion. — For a time it almost seemed as if the future of Europe belonged to the enterprising cities and not to the kings and their larger states, so mighty were the city leagues. But their power was not to last. We may regret that the ascendency of these thriving little commonwealths declined, and we cannot but disapprove of many of the conditions which brought about this decline. Had their power kept increasing, however, it would have broken up larger national life and reduced all Europe to fragments like the powerless city states of ancient Greece.

For Further Reading.— Ogg, *Source Book*, No. 57; Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 406–415; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns;* Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 375 ff.; Walsh, *Century of Columbus*, pp. 169 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

LEARNING AND ARTS

A. Literature

263. Latin Literature. — The language of the learned was Latin and remained so for many centuries. Among the Latin productions of the Teutonic period we may mention particularly many *historical* works and the lives of Saints and other prominent persons.[1] Peculiar to the time are the *Chronicles*, which simply record, under each year, the important events without trying to connect them in any way. Some of them are confined to localities, convents, or churches; others, *e.g.* the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, take in a whole nation. Chronicles are not history proper, but they furnish valuable material to the historians.

Many of these writings, lives of Saints particularly, contain much legendary matter. Those were not critically inclined times (§ 148). People believed in the possibility of miracles, and in a kindly Divine Providence. They were right so far. But in their credulity they often accepted the reports of miraculous events without much investigation. Then, just as with writers of our own days, they were subject to bias for or against certain rulers or nations or institutions. Yet all this leaves a very considerable number of reliable sources from which to draw knowledge of the period.

Poetry, too, at first, usually chose a Latin dress. Charlemagne's literary circle could boast of a goodly number of

[1] In his *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, James H. Robinson enumerates and briefly describes the chief historical sources for the Middle Ages. But this bibliography (placed at the end of the several chapters) can give but a faint idea of the large number of books from which historians draw their knowledge of those times.

creditable poetical productions, which did not remain without imitations. The period of the Ottos had the honor of being glorified by a poetess, the nun Hroswitha,[1] whose fertile and not unskillful pen produced a number of simple Latin dramas and panegyrical poems of considerable merit. Several epics, also, belong to the same period. The copious literature of the "Schoolmen" will be dealt with in a later chapter (§§ 273 ff.).

The struggle carried on by the Church for a more dignified and virtuous life in the clergy and against the encroachments of the secular power had an enlivening influence upon the whole intellectual life of Europe. A similar and even more powerful effect in every field of medieval activity followed the general stir caused by the Crusades.

264. Literature in National Languages. — At the time of the Crusades the national languages begin to be used much more extensively. Charlemagne had cultivated his German, Alfred the Great had introduced the tongue of Anglo-Saxon England into his prose writings. A number of poetical works had appeared in the course of several centuries in the languages of the people. But now this use became general. The following are a few of the important productions of the period.

Under the Hohenstaufens Germany developed lyric poetry of a high perfection. The chief theme of its *minnesingers* was love. Southern France had its *troubadours* with their amatorial songs, many of them notoriously corrupt. Spain produced the *Song of the Cid* (the national hero in the conflict with the Moors). In northern France the *trouveurs* celebrated King Arthur and his Table Round or the adventures of Charlemagne and his (real or fictitious) companions. An unknown German poet wove part of the national legends into a stately epic, the *Nibelungenlied*. The ballads of the North were shaped into the *Heimskringla* by a bard in far-off Iceland. These medieval works and many others richly repay careful reading.

[1] See *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 1914, pp. 442 ff.

265. But the grandest product of medieval poetry is the *Divine Comedy* of the Italian Dante, "the most astonishing poem in the world, dwarfing all others."

Under the allegory of a journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, the poet gives expression to the most sublime thoughts that nature and Faith can furnish. Comparing him with Virgil, the great Roman, a critic said: "His metre is as pliable and flexible to every mood of emotion, his diction as plaintive and as sonorous. . . . Dante is even truer in description than Virgil, whether he paints the snow falling in the Alps, or the homeward flight of the birds, or the swelling of an angry torrent. But under this gorgeous pageantry there lies a unity of conception, a power of philosophic grasp, an earnestness of religion, which to the Roman poet is entirely unknown." (Quoted from Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 317.)

B. Schools and Universities

266. The Monastic and Cathedral Schools. — Before the inroads of the Northmen the schools of the Irish monasteries were celebrated throughout Europe (§§ 62, 102). On the continent Charlemagne's enlightened efforts gave a new impetus to school education. It was in the convent and cathedral schools established or renewed in consequence of his encouragement, and in similar institutions of later date, that the authors of the literature of the times (§ 263) had received their education. The instruction in mathematics and astronomy, however, was of a very primitive character. Natural sciences were very little cultivated.

But the causes mentioned in the beginning of § 264 worked a complete revolution. They brought about the establishment of universities, a means of instruction beyond which mankind has not as yet advanced.

267. The universities came into being gradually. The oldest, Bologna in Italy, grew from the famous schools of Law of that city. That of Paris was originally a union of the cathedral school with other schools. Several universities were started by dissat-

isfied students and professors seceding from other institutions. Thus Oxford in England owes its beginning to such a secession from Paris; the university of Pavia is an off-shoot of Bologna.

It required relatively little time for these new institutions to develop a regular system of teaching and government. The teachers were divided into several *faculties* for the various branches: theology, philosophy, medicine, law. What natural science there was went under philosophy. *A faculty of arts* gave the preliminary education, chiefly in the classics, — a course more or less resembling that covered in our high schools and colleges combined. The professors of each faculty elected a *dean*, as their head; the whole university was under an elective *rector*. In those days it was evident that in all questions of education the pope must have a decisive influence: in each university he was represented by the *chancellor*, who gave the teaching license to those whom the university had appointed.

The universities were completely cosmopolitan. One language, Latin, served for the lectures as well as for daily intercourse among professors and students. A German might be elected rector in Paris, or an Englishman in Bologna. The students flocked together from all countries indiscriminately. In the university each student belonged to a certain *nation*. But this did not necessarily coincide with the nation from which he came. In Paris there were four "nations," the French, the Normans, the Picards, the English; but the English nation embraced all the students from the northern countries, including the Germans. In Bologna there was one great division between those from Italy and those from "Beyond the Mountains," each class being again subdivided into some twenty "nations."

The universities soon procured great ecclesiastical and civil privileges. Teachers and students became exempt from the local magistrates. The institution thus was a republic in itself. The students were tried and punished for crimes not by royal or city courts but by the university authorities.

The young man who passed the examination at the end of his course in "Arts" was declared *Baccalaureus Artium*, Bachelor of Arts. Many were satisfied with this. Those who stayed for higher studies selected one of the other branches. The goal of their ambition was the title of *Doctor* (teacher) in their profession. (In some universities the title of *Magister*, Master, was equivalent to Doctor.)

The examination contained a written and an oral test but the oral was the more important. Besides the lectures of the professors there was a constant round of oral *repetitions* and above all numerous debates or *disputations*. Lent was the special season for disputations, and they were from time to time held with great pomp and ceremony.

While the first universities rose more or less spontaneously, the later ones were formally established by popes or, with the pope's coöperation, by secular princes, until by 1400 about fifty of them dotted Western Europe. The number of students was certainly very large, though such figures as, for Paris, 30,000, have been proved to be exaggerations.

With the rise of these new institutions of learning the older schools did not disappear. Some affiliated with the universities. Others ceased to teach the higher branches and finally found their place as preparatory schools, corresponding to the faculty of arts in the universities.

268. The Students of the Universities. — The student body commonly contained men in civil and ecclesiastical positions, not to speak of numerous nobles. Even cardinals are mentioned as students. For poor scholars liberal provisions were made. Medieval life was more fluid than we can easily comprehend. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen (§ 257), were always on the move. But the wandering scholar was in eminence. The laws of many countries afforded him special protection. But he often begged his bread. With the secular priests and in the monasteries large and small, he commonly met with a kind reception. (Even now in places which have remained Catholic the young student is the welcome guest of the priest and of those monastic institutions which have survived the ravages of time.) Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Pavia to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher, and to see the world — another kind of education. They often traveled in bands with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement.

C. Doctrines and Teachers in the Universities

269. University teaching embraced everything that was considered worth knowing. The principal branch was *theology*, that is, the revealed tenets of Christianity. The Bible and the decrees of Councils and of popes, as well as the writings of earlier authors, were the object of detailed study. Even when not studied as a special branch they formed the groundwork of all other theological teaching. Next came *philosophy*, that is, the knowledge of things from merely natural sources. The philosopher of the Middle Ages, like his predecessor of ancient Greece, tried to penetrate by reasoning into the very essence of things, starting from what is known to everybody, and driving his conclusions to what is knowable by dint of deeper thinking.

Theology as well as a good deal of philosophy had been studied and taught from the beginning of Christianity. But at this period another method, though not altogether a new one, was employed. This is called *Scholasticism* (school method), and the great teachers who used it are the *Scholastics* or the *Schoolmen*. Scholasticism of course does not teach new doctrines. But it teaches them in a peculiar systematic way.

(1) All the various tenets bearing on one point are brought together, those for instance on the Blessed Trinity, or the Redemption, or Original Sin. Thus the entire doctrine appears as one great organism. This had never been done to such an extent. Now it became the rule. The catechisms of to-day have the same feature. In fact they are tiny extracts of Scholastic theology.

(2) Scholasticism not only adduces proofs for every individual point of doctrine, but it also shows the connection between various points, and everywhere compares expressly the natural knowledge of philosophy with that received from God by supernatural revelation.

(3) The constant appeal to natural wisdom for the purpose

of proving, explaining, and appreciating the great truths of Faith is perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Scholasticism.

270. As to the relation between theology and philosophy, the Schoolmen as well as all Christians hold that there can be no contradiction between the truths revealed directly by the God of Truth and Wisdom and those embodied by the same God in the visible works of His hands. The latter truths are the contents of philosophy and the natural sciences; the former make up the articles of our Faith. An opposition between the two can exist in appearance only, and evidently, in case of such an apparent opposition, we must not presume revelation to have erred but philosophy. The source of revealed truth is infallible. But human reason, subject to countless influences of pride and other passions, of custom and surrounding, is liable to go astray, and as a matter of fact has endless blunders on its record. It is not philosophy that has saved the world from barbarism and from the mire of immorality!

271. Arabic Influence — Aristotle. — As the first universities had grown out of the older schools, so they continued in the traditions received from former institutions. But about the beginning of the thirteenth century the West of Europe became acquainted through the Arabs with the complete works of *Aristotle*, the greatest of the ancient Greek philosophers, of which little had been known before. (See § 74, and *Ancient History*, § 316.) In the course of the century, however, copies of the original Greek text were obtained through the Greeks in the East, and better translations made. These books worked a real revolution. Aristotle's books, supplemented by the master hand of St. Thomas and other prominent teachers, became the foundation of all philosophical studies. Aristotle was *The Philosopher*.

This was the only influence exerted by Arab philosophers on Scholasticism. None of the *philosophic tenets* of the Schoolmen had been taken from original Arabic books. The attacks of Mohammedans on Christianity, however, forced the Christians to study many points more explicitly than they would have done otherwise.

In the line of *natural sciences* the Arabs rendered valuable services. In medicine, geography, mathematics, chemistry, and physics, they transmitted much positive knowledge to the eager scholars of the new universities.

272. The Schoolmen laid great stress upon dialectics, that is, the art of reasoning and scientific debating.[1] The very heart of dialectics is the *syllogism*. The syllogism is the natural process of reasoning expressed in clear form. All men make most extensive use of it, without being aware of the fact. Suppose you are in a strange city and wish to go to Lincoln Park. You hear from a policeman that any brown car will take you there. You watch for a brown car and jump into the next that comes. You have used a syllogism, which if fully expressed would look like this:

> Any brown car will take me to Lincoln Park.
> But this is a brown car.
> Therefore it will take me to Lincoln Park.

In scholastic disputations syllogisms are always expressly formulated. The proceeding is exactly like that in which the detailed proofs of mathematical problems are given. This method cuts short all beating about the bush.

The syllogism cannot teach anything entirely new. It can only bring out what is concealed in the "premises." Nobody has ever claimed that it can discover unknown forces of nature. But all scientists apply it

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[1] Here should be mentioned the brilliant but rather superficial *Peter Abelard*, 1079–1142, who attracted immense crowds when teaching in Paris before the university of that city had been formed. His ability in disputing is unquestioned. "But he appears to have preferred victory to truth." In consequence of a love affair he was forced to leave Paris, entered the Benedictine Order, which he left on account of difficulties with his superiors, and established himself in a lonely place, where he again attracted multitudes of eager listeners. Abelard was at war with everybody. His teachings contained many errors. St. Bernard of Clairvaux brought about his condemnation. "He was condemned not because he advocated the rights of reason, nor because he applied dialectics to the discussion of the Blessed Trinity. . . . But because of the extravagant claims he urged on behalf of reason, and because of the heresy into which he fell." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 292.) *To him, in spite of all his faults, is due the importance attached to dialectics by the Schoolmen.*

very widely in the further exploitation of natural powers and in their attempts to determine the character, causes, and effects of such forces.[1]

273. Some of the Prominent Schoolmen. — (1) **Blessed Albert the Great** (died 1280), a German nobleman, joined the Order of St. Dominic in 1223. He taught at Paris and other places, but chiefly at Cologne, and everywhere eclipsed his fellow professors. Prominent as theologian and philosopher, he is from our standpoint more remarkable as a scientist. In one of his books he describes, for instance, all the trees and herbs known at his time, and adds: "All that is here set down is the result of our own observation, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know to have written what their personal experience confirmed: for in these matters experience alone can give certainty."

FRIAR TEACHING THE GLOBE. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

Modern scientists fully appreciate his works. "He was acquainted with the sleep of plants, with the periodical opening and closing of blossoms, with the diminution of sap through evaporation from the cuticle of the leaves, and with the influence of the distribution of the bundles of vessels on the folial indentations." "He considers that from the equator to the South Pole the earth is not only inhabitable but in all probability actually inhabited, except directly at the Poles, where he imagines the cold to be excessive. If there be any animals there, he says, they must have very thick skins which are probably of a white

[1] These remarks show that the syllogism is neither the only nor the most primary mode of "cognition." See handbooks of Logics or Dialectics, for instance, the little booklet, *The Laws of Thought*, by Wm. Poland, S.J.

color. The intensity of the cold is, however, tempered by the action of the sea. He smiles at the simplicity of those who suppose that persons living at the opposite region of the earth must fall off." (Quoted from Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 48, 50.) He was indeed much in advance of his age. The uneducated among his contemporaries began to suspect him of witchcraft.[1]

274. (2) St. Thomas Aquinas (died 1274). — One of Blessed Albert's greatest merits is to have trained the "Prince of the Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas, born at Roccasecca, in Italy, was a relative of Emperor Frederick II. When still rather young he joined the Dominican Order. He taught chiefly in Paris and at Italian institutions. His renown was so great that once, when he returned to Paris, the king and the whole city came out to meet him. During his twenty years of teaching he wrote his numerous works, which cover most of the subjects of theology and philosophy, natural sciences included.[2] His mind was both speculative and constructive. Dominating in his works is the idea of the fundamental unity of knowledge, arising from the fact that all truths emanate from the One God either by nature or by revelation. Indeed no Christian scholar has ever taught the contrary, but nobody before St. Thomas put it forth so forcibly and with such a complete command of all the results obtained by previous thinkers. St. Thomas was eminently a common-sense man. He took the good things he discovered in Greek, Arabic, and even Jewish, works; improved on them wherever his keen intellect detected errors or shortcomings; and then each found its place in *the system* which he was building up, — the funda-

[1] In connection with our previous chapter on the cities it will be of interest to know that this friar, scientist, and university professor was repeatedly appealed to as arbiter in the quarrels of the city of Cologne with its several antagonists, among whom was the archbishop himself. "From this time dates the most flourishing period of the commerce of Cologne."

[2] It is said that in one of his treatises on chemistry he first used the Arabic term *amalgam*.

mental lines of which were radiating from the One God of Wisdom and Truth.

His books in print fill nineteen folio volumes, and have been translated from their original Latin into many languages, including Hebrew. His most important work is the *Summa Theologica*, a comprehensive and systematic presentation of the entire field of theology and philosophy. Perhaps no work possesses in a higher degree all the characteristics of the scholastic method. It still is and will ever remain the classic in the Catholic schools of theology and philosophy. Bl. Albert the Great surpasses him in extensiveness of knowledge. But it was the providential task of St. Thomas to be the *Organizer of Christian Learning.*

275. (**3**) **Roger Bacon** (died 1294?) was probably another disciple of Albert the Great.[1] This brilliant English Franciscan for some time enjoyed the greatest renown as professor at Oxford University. He was a good philosopher and correct theologian, though in philosophy he adhered to a few outlandish opinions. But he was above all an extremely progressive scientist. His "Great Work" is a cyclopedia of thirteenth century knowledge in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

He had learned of the ocean east of China, and speculated convincingly upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic (§ 344). He prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed," without the help of horses or sails, and also that man would learn to navigate the air. In 1358 Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, visited Bacon, and wrote as follows to a friend in Italy: "Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright.

[1] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century friar, must not be confused with Francis Bacon, his countryman, of three centuries later.

This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil. A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the secrets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, *who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.*"

It is to be deplored that this able and indefatigable scholar did not possess the character of an Albert the Great, whom he called ignorant and presumptuous. Friar Bacon ran amuck against the papal court, the bishops, the Mendicant Orders, the Scholastic method, and against all preachers and teachers in Christendom. Many of the things against which he inveighed were real abuses. But his inconsiderate ways made him many enemies. The superiors of his Order silenced and even imprisoned him, while it appears that Pope Clement IV took his side. "Had he possessed as much prudence as scientific insight, he would probably have succeeded in his reforms and conferred inestimable benefit on Scholastic philosophy. Albert, who was less of an innovator than Bacon, contributed far more than Bacon did to the advancement of science in the thirteenth century." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 339.)

276. Conclusion. — It would take too much space to give even the names of the most prominent of the Scholastics. In particular, St. Bonaventura and the "subtle Doctor," Duns Scotus, both of the Order of St. Francis, would deserve more than a passing notice.

Soon, however, there arose dissensions amongst the Scholastics themselves. All agreed in the dogmas of Faith, and in all important philosophical questions as well. But in points not so directly bearing on revealed truths they reserved the liberty of disagreeing, unless forced by proofs which they themselves recognized as valid. These disputes at times assumed a character little in keeping with professorial dignity or even with Christian charity, and considerably retarded progress in theological and philosophical investigation. But they leave intact the immense merits of the Scholastic systems as such.

The other branches of learning were studied with equal vigor in the universities. Albert the Great and Roger Bacon were by no means the only representatives of natural science. As a matter of fact, however, this study declined in the course of the fourteenth century. The great minds of the time were taken up with theological and philosophical controversies, and, on the other hand, the popular mind does not seem to have been prepared for great progress in this line. *That the Church officially opposed the sciences is an entirely unwarranted assertion.*

For Further Reading. — These questions have been admirably treated in Dr. Walsh's *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, and *The Popes and Science*. Every chapter in these books is both interesting and instructive; in particular, in the latter work, the chapters entitled: The Supposed Papal Prohibition of Dissection; The Supposed Papal Prohibition of Chemistry, — in the former, What and How They Studied at the Universities; Libraries and Bookmen; Great Explorers and the Foundation of Geography. The very lucidly written *History of Philosophy*, by Right Rev. Wm. Turner, which gives Scholasticism its proper treatment, may also be consulted.

D. Architecture

277. The Older Styles. — As models for their own churches the first Christians did not take the ancient pagan temples, which had never served as places for religious assemblies of the people but merely as sanctuaries for the gods or goddesses. The divine services of the Christians, which are a communion of the people with their God and Redeemer, called for buildings in which the whole congregation could gather. Hence the basilicas, which served for the sessions of the courts of justice and for purposes of commerce, were much better adapted to their needs. They were rectangular halls, often divided lengthwise by rows of columns, with a semicircular apse at one end. (See *Ancient World*, § 623.) Few changes were required to transform such buildings into churches. For several centuries the Christian places of worship were erected in the *Basilica Style*.

CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS. — Gothic style. Begun in 1220. One of the finest of medieval structures.

In the countries of the Greek Empire this style was partly replaced by the *Byzantine Style*, which groups the whole structure around one or several rotundas or semirotundas. (See picture of St. Sophia, near § 63.)

Architecture, as indeed all arts, suffered greatly during the invasions of the Teutons. And, except in the lands under Byzantine influence, few buildings of note were erected. About the year 1000, however, a new style developed slowly from the older basilica. It is called *Romanesque* or, in Northern Italy, Lombard; in Normandy and England, Norman. The buildings became larger and higher, and *their ground plan assumed the form of a cross*. For the flat ceiling or open rafters of the roof a *round-arched* vault was substituted. The round arch is employed in doors, windows, and other parts of the building. Hundreds of churches, erected in this majestic and imposing style, are still standing. They commonly have several towers, which form an integral part of the plan of the structure.

278. The Gothic Style[1] originated in northern France about 1200, and spread to all Christian countries. In Italy and Spain, however, it never obtained the dominant position which it enjoyed in France, England, and Germany. The architects of this enterprising age were looking for something grander than the Romanesque style could offer. The width of the round arch must always be exactly twice its height. The round ceiling rested entirely on the side walls of the building. These consequently had to be made very strong, and could not afford to be weakened by the insertion of numerous wide windows. The architect of the twelfth century introduced the *pointed arch*, which admits of a great variety as to width and height. He, moreover, broke up the vault itself by inserting cross ribs, which instead of resting the weight of the vault against the wall's

[1] This appellation, now firmly established in the terminology of architecture, is a misnomer and was originally used in Italy as a term of contempt. The Gothic style has nothing to do with either the East or the West Goths.

entire length transferred it to several points. These points, therefore, carried the whole side thrust of the vault. To give them the necessary strength various means were employed, the most ingenious being the *flying buttress*, which instead of making the wall look more massive and

Flying Buttresses. — From Norwich Cathedral.

clumsy could easily be so devised as to add to the grace and richness of the building. The walls might now be made lighter, and they admitted more and larger windows. The structure rose still more in height. The plans generally provided for pointed spires. The towers, though perhaps not so numerous as in the Romanesque style, presented less massive sides. Everywhere the *vertical line* began to dominate and the horizontal line to disappear. The entire structure grew into

one *Sursum Corda* (lift up your hearts) expressed in stone. Many people consider the Gothic churches the grandest buildings man has ever devised.

The secular buildings of the Gothic period, too, have their peculiar character, though they commonly do not possess all the characteristic features of the style. But the grand city halls of Flanders and Germany, the manors of medieval England, and the castles of Northern France show the possibilities of the Gothic architecture along lines distinct from that of church building.

279. The other fine arts were practiced chiefly in connection with and in dependence on architecture and were therefore less developed. The painters, for instance, had not as yet quite learned how to introduce perspective into their pictures, or to represent the members of the human body in correct proportions. But a very creditable beginning had been made. The sculptors, too, produced statues for decorative purposes, many of which are of considerable value.

For Further Reading. — "The Cathedral-Builders of Medieval Europe," in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*, pp. 311–354. Also chapters on several arts (easy to find) in Walsh's *Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*.

Exercises. — (1) Dates: 1077 (Canossa), 1122, 1107, 1096–1291 (Crusades), 1187, 1216 (Dominican Order Approved), 1223 (Franciscan Order Approved), 1274 (Death of St. Thomas Aquinas).

(2) List of terms for brief explanation, *e.g.* Kingdom of Jerusalem, Latin Empire, Craft Gilds, Byzantine Style, etc., Godfrey of Bouillon, Innocent III, Gregory VII, etc.

PART II. FROM THE END OF THE CRUSADES TO THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

We left the story of England in § 186 with the accession of Edward III in 1327, and the story of France, in § 196, with the rule of Philip the Fair, which closed in 1314. *For the next hundred and thirty years, the stories of the two countries are intertwined.*

A. First Two Periods of the Hundred Years' War

280. Opening of the Struggle. — When Edward III came to the throne (1327–1377) most of England's old possessions in France were gone; but he was still Duke of Aquitaine — and, in name, a vassal of the French king for that province. Like Edward I, the third Edward strove strenuously — but vainly — to unite Scotland to England by arms; and the French king, continuing the old policy of Philip Augustus (§ 192), toward his too powerful vassal, gave aid to Scotland. Therefore, in 1338, Edward gladly seized an excuse to declare war on France. This was the beginning of the "Hundred Years' War," which lasted, with two truces, until 1453.

281. To strengthen his position Edward set up a fanciful claim to the French crown;[1] and from that time until the

[1] The following table gives the Capetian kings for this period, with dates of accession. See § 191 for the earlier Capetians.

Louis X	1314	Charles IV	1322
Philip V	1316	Philip VI (Valois)	1328

nineteenth century, each English king kept also the title "King of France." **But at bottom the war was commercial in purpose.** England wanted markets for her products. In particular, her merchants wanted to *sell their wool* in the Flemish manufacturing towns, and to *buy the famous Bordeaux wines* of Aquitaine. In

1 2 3

DRESS OF FRENCH LADIES, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Middle Class; 2. Lower Class; 3. Nobility.

ENGLISH LADY ON HORSEBACK, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

that day every country shackled foreign merchants with restrictions and tolls; and the easiest way to get access to French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

John	1350	*Louis XI*	1461
Charles V (the Wise)	1364	Charles VIII	1483
Charles VI	1380	Louis XII	1498
Charles VII	1422	*Francis I*	1515–1547

The first three were sons of Philip IV, and left no sons. The French nobles then chose Charles' cousin, Philip of Valois, for king. The mother of Edward III was a daughter of Philip the Fair. French law, however, did not recognize inheritance of the crown through females. And if it had, then, through other princesses, there were French nobles with better claims than Edward. Edward did not put forward his claim until after war had begun.

282. The war was waged on French soil. — The English gained brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, and brought home much plunder. "No woman," says an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *featherbeds*, and utensils, from French cities." England was prosperous, too, in the early period of the war. The people felt none of its direct ravages — except for occasional raids by Norman pirates on the coast — and for many years they bore cheerfully the cost of campaigns abroad.

Localities of Hundred Years' War.

283. The Battle of Crécy. — The two great victories of this first period of the war were *Crécy and Poitiers*.

In 1346 Edward led an army through the north of France, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, and turning the country into a blackened desert, to within sight of the walls of Paris, — in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days. Philip VI (less capable than most Capetians but a brave prince) gathered the feudal forces of France in an immense host to crush the invader. Edward III retreated toward the coast, but was overtaken at Crécy by five times his numbers and won a complete victory.

Edward III had drawn up his troops, less than sixteen thousand in all, on the slope of a hill, with a ditch in front to check the charge of horsemen. Behind the ditch stood the English bowmen, the main force of the army; and Edward even dismounted his few hundred men-at-arms to fight on foot among them and so strengthen their lines against a charge. This force, which was to meet the French onset, was placed under the command of the king's oldest son, the young Edward, known better as "*the Black Prince*," while King Edward III, with a reserve, took stand higher up the hill.

The first charge of the French nobles seemed for a moment about to swallow up the little English army, and the young Edward sent to his father for reënforcement. But the king from his higher ground could see that all was going well. "Is my son dead, or unhorsed, or wounded? Then go back, and bid them not send to me again so long as he lives. Let the boy win his spurs, for, if God so please, I will that the honor of the day be his."

The honor really belonged to the English yeomen, — the men of the six-foot long-bow and heavy, yard-long shafts winged with feathers from gray-goose wings. The English free peasants were trained from childhood to draw "a mighty bow" — as English ballads called the national weapon — by "laying the body to it," when main strength, unskilled, could not have bent it. The archer shot nearly a quarter of a mile (four hundred yards), and drove his arrows through all ordinary iron armor; or, if the knight were clothed in "armor of proof" from Milan, he took deadly aim, at closer quarters, at openings for eyes and mouth, or at any exposed joint. Confident in their skill the bowmen coolly faced the ponderously charging mass, pouring in their arrows, says a French chronicler, "wherever they saw the thickest press," and letting few French knights reach the English lines.[1]

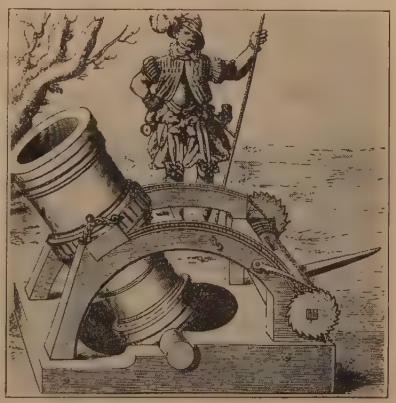
One chronicler of the day says that gunpowder was used at Crécy. The English, he reports, had several small "bombards," "which, with fire, and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses!*" *Cannon* certainly came into use about this time; but the

[1] Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 76, gives Froissart's description of Crécy.

first ones were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the gunpowder was full of impurities and very weak. Cannon were of little use for a century or more. Then they began to be used to batter down the walls of castles and cities. It was longer still before firearms became the chief weapon of the infantry.

A sequel to the battle of Crécy was the siege and capture of *Calais*, the port that dominates the narrowest place of the Channel. It remained in English hands for two centuries, — an ever open door for an invasion of France.

284. Poitiers — Peace of Bretigny. — Ten years later the Black Prince, now in sole command, repeated the victory of Crécy at Poitiers with the same tactics. *The invincibility of the feudal horseman was gone.* King John the Good of France with countless French noblemen became prisoners.



A "Bombard." — From a sixteenth century German woodcut.

The misery caused by the devastations of this war, together with the heavy ransoms for the captured lords, which ultimately had to come from the peasants, caused a terrible rising of the rural population. It is called the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacques Bonhomme*, which from this time on was the nickname for the lower classes. Bands amounting to a hundred thousand men roamed through the West and the North of France without plan or leader, inspired only with a blind passion for wholesale destruction. The nobles and the cities retaliated with every manner of cruelty. The movement brought no alleviation whatsoever to the peasants.

By the *Peace of Bretigny*, 1360, Edward III retained the possession of Aquitaine as a French vassal, but gave up all claims to anything north of the Loire except Calais.

285. The Second Period of the War. — In 1369 a dispute concerning Aquitaine found both parties eager to renew the war. The French king now was Charles V (*The Wise*), and the victories all belonged to the French side. Place after place fell to them, until, at the end, in 1380, *England kept only two towns, — Bordeaux and Calais.*

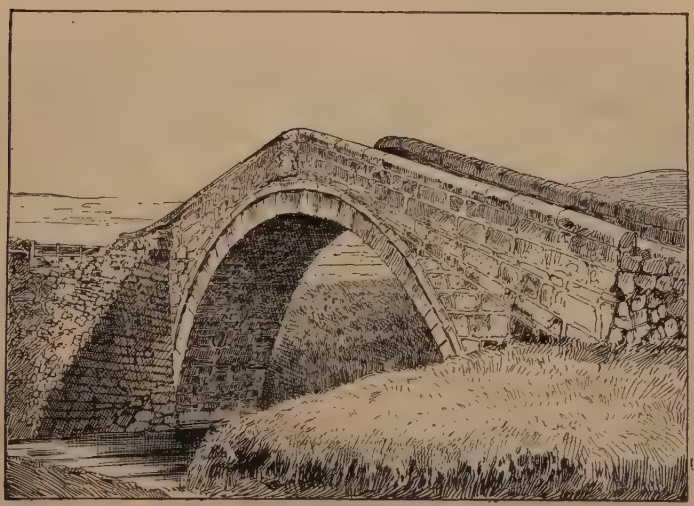
B. English Development during the War

286. The Black Death. — French success in the second period of the war had been due not alone to Charles the Wise, but even more to new conditions in England. The happy prosperity of the first part of the reign of Edward III had received a terrible shock from the *Black Death.* This was the most famous of all the plagues of history. It had been devastating the continent for some years, — moving west from Asia, — and it is believed to have *carried off at least a third of the population of Europe.* In 1347, the year after Crécy, it reached England, and almost at a blow it certainly swept away a third of the people there. One bright fact shines out from the universal misery — the splendid devotion of the clergy and religious. They might easily have kept themselves safest; but everywhere, through their self-sacrificing care of the dying, they suffered most. In some counties, more than two thirds of the parishes were left without clergy.[1]

287. Serfdom Begins to Disappear. — The ravages of the Black Death had at least one good effect for the lower classes. They accelerated the cessation of serfdom. As the plague had carried off at least one half of the farm laborers, the survivors thought that labor had risen in value and refused to do the same amount of work as before the plague, unless they were given additional wages. Parliament directly interposed, forbidding the lords to pay more and the laborers to demand more than

[1] See Gasquet, *The Black Death*, Chapters IX, "The Desolation of the Country," and X, "Some Consequences of the Mortality."

formerly.[1] Such prohibitions, though at times cruelly enforced, were very commonly evaded by both the employers and employees. To keep his serfs from running away the landlord made more and more favorable terms with them. The tendency was to allow the villeins to pay money rent instead of giving his services, and then to hire him back for money wages. This movement, however, which would make the villeins free



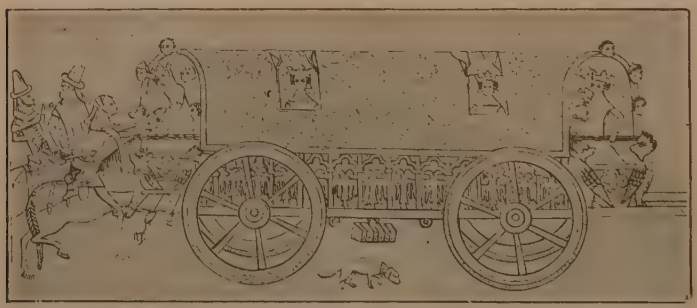
A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life.*

yeomen, was very slow. Half-freed serfs were often forced back into serfdom by legal trickery and downright violence. The farming population continued in a state of unrest for a hundred years.

During this period of deep dissatisfaction a man arose whose teachings were destined to be of serious consequences for England and still more for the continent.

[1] The *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, 5) gives the famous *Statute of Laborers.*

288. John Wyclif was a professor of considerable reputation at the university of Oxford. At this time the popes who resided at Avignon in France (§ 328) and were cut off from most of the sources of their revenue in Italy, insisted upon the payment of taxes by ecclesiastical dignitaries. Their demands, though justifiable in themselves, were opposed in England as well as in the rest of Europe. Moreover, the pitiable dearth of priests caused by the Black Death inclined the authorities to lower the



ENGLISH CARRIAGE, FOURTEENTH CENTURY. — After Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*. In the manuscript from which this picture is taken, the carriage is represented drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such carriages were a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen. They were the express trains of those times.

standard for those to be promoted to the priesthood. All this, together with his unaccountable aversion for the Mendicant Orders, became for John Wyclif the occasion of a violent opposition against the members of all religious Orders and the clergy in general. The Church, he maintained, must have no temporal goods at all. The secular authority must deprive the clergy of all their possessions. At any rate, no man who is in the state of mortal sin can be the owner of anything. Strong as were his teachings upon clerical poverty, however, they failed to impress him with the desirability of giving up the ecclesiastical property which he himself had obtained — the rich vicarage of Lutter-

worth. Nor was he consistent enough to apply the mortal sin principle to the possessions of secular lords. He soon denied transubstantiation, a fact which made him a heretic even in the eyes of the less educated, though in his controversies he cloaked his denial in obscure language. To have ready at hand an authority to oppose to that of the Church he declared the Bible the sole source of Faith. He falsified the existing translations of the Bible to suit his heresies.[1] He was as untiring as he was violent in his attacks upon the clergy, the bishops, and the pope. The blameless morality and abstemiousness of his private life contributed a great deal to increase his power over the common people. Prominent dissatisfied noblemen, above all the powerful John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (see note to § 290), took him under their protection.

289. Lollardism. — To spread his errors far and wide Wyclif organized, about 1380, the *poor priests* who were to travel up and down the country and preach his new doctrines. Very few of them were real priests. They and their adherents were called *Lollards* (from a word which means to sing in a low voice). They went farther in their doctrines than their master, declaimed against the celibacy of the clergy, made the validity of the sacraments depend upon the worthiness of the minister, rejected ceremonies and pilgrimages (a famous shrine of the Blessed Virgin in Walsingham they nicknamed the Witch of Walsingham), and, of course, they denied the presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. More consistent than Wyclif himself, many of them demanded that laymen, too, if in mortal sin, should be deprived of their offices and property. Their invectives against the rich sound very much like the talk of present-day socialists. Such harangues did not fail to make an impression at a time when the minds of the working classes were agitated by a keener sense of the real and imaginary wrongs they were suffering, and by the desire of an improvement which,

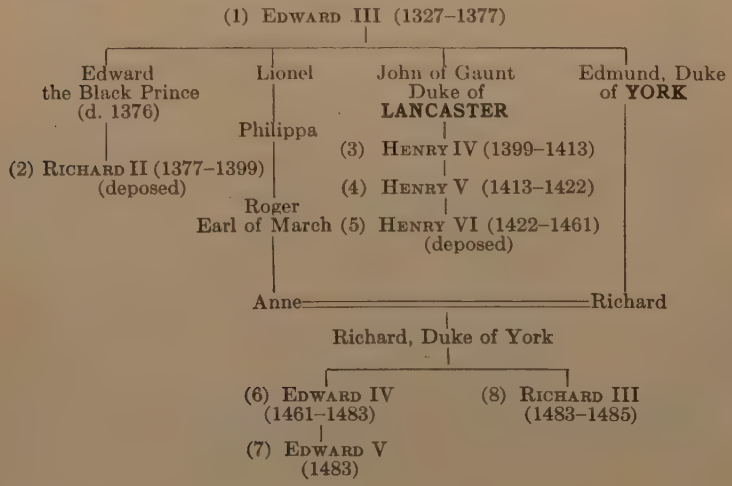
[1] See Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, Chapter VIII.

they thought, was almost within their reach. How far Wyclif and his Lollards are *directly* responsible for the events next to be treated cannot now be ascertained.

Lollardism remained a danger for about fifty years. Ecclesiastical and secular authorities combined for its suppression, for which they resorted to the methods of the Inquisition. By the middle of the fifteenth century the heresy had ceased to have any noticeable influence. The formation of the Anglican Church by Henry VIII is entirely independent of Lollardism. The logical successors of Wyclif are not to be sought in England but in Bohemia (§ 332).

290. The general confusion was increased by weakness in the government. — Edward's hand lost its firm control, in old age, with much sickness and family trouble, and he died in 1377. His eldest son, the Black Prince, had died before him; and he was succeeded by his grandson.[1] That prince, Richard II, was a mere boy, and the government was distracted by dissensions among his counselors.

[1] The following table will show the succession of English kings for the rest of this chapter; also the conflicting claims that will call for attention in § 299. For Edward III, refer back to the table in § 187.



291. The Peasant Rising of 1381. — While England was in this state of confusion and discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing with unfair weight on the poor. This proved a match to set the realm ablaze. With amazing suddenness, the peasantry rose in arms. From all sides they marched upon London, destroyed the deer parks and fishponds of the gentry, slew the lawyers and court officials whom they chanced to meet, burned the court rolls which testified to the villeins' services, and after much destruction and plundering in the metropolis, murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] The lawlessness, however, did not go so far as might have been expected. The boy king with rare courage rode out among the insurgents. *Wat Tyler*, the most dangerous of their leaders, drew his dagger against the king. He was instantly dispatched by Walworth, the Mayor of London. The king promised the peasants abolition of

Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince. — On the left side of his armor appears the English royal coat of arms, the Leopards; on the right side the French lilies, to signify his and his father's claim to the crown of France (§ 281).

[1] In spite of these excesses, the English peasants did not show that spirit of wanton destruction which characterized the Jacquerie in France (§ 284), and the Peasants' War in Germany (§ 361).

serfdom. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises. But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, both houses of Parliament declared that Richard's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due to them — without their consent. Now that the danger was over, the ringleaders of the rising were punished without mercy.

This outcome of the unfortunate revolt considerably strengthened the opposition of the possessing classes to a liberation of the serfs. But services unwillingly rendered cannot be long maintained. As the years passed, the conditions which made for the abolition of serfdom were too strong. After some time the same movement set in again, and by 1450 villeinage had passed away from England forever.

292. The growth of parliament during the Hundred Years' War was very important. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask parliament for many grants of money. Parliament supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers for itself. These gains may be classed under nine heads.

(1) It became an established principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply." That is, the king must consent to such new laws as parliament wanted *before* it gave him money to carry on his government.

(2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the same forms that have been used in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries.

(3) When Richard II was old enough to take the government into his own hands, he tried to rule without parliament. He put to death, or drove into exile, leading nobles whose opposition he feared; and then, surrounding parliament with his troops, he compelled it to grant him a tax for life, with other absolute powers. Soon England rose against him, *and*

the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin (Henry of Lancaster) *in his place.*

Richard II was the last Plantagenet king. The note to § 290 gives the Lancastrian reigns and those of the family that followed.

Richard's reign began with bloody treachery toward the English peasants, and it ended when he attempted equal treachery toward the nobles and middle classes. Shakspere has won undeserved sympathy for the tyrant by the pathetic lines put into his mouth at deposition, when Richard declares his willingness to give —

> "My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
> My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown . . .
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

But we must understand that this deposition by parliament is one of the chief landmarks in the growth of English (and American) freedom. *The next kings owed their title to parliament, and were dependent upon it.*

(4) The new king, Henry IV, frankly recognized his dependence on parliament. Under him the lower house (House of Commons; § 183) made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it (a practice that has been common to all English-speaking legislatures ever since), and that the royal officers must report to it the way in which they expended money (1407).

(5) The Commons secured the right to judge of the election of their own members.

(6) They compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to parliament.

(7) Freedom of speech in parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

(8) On three different occasions during Henry's reign, parliament passed acts fixing the succession to the throne.

(9) So far, when parliament had wanted a new law, it only *petitioned* the king to enact one of a given kind. When the

king had consented, and parliament had adjourned, the royal officers, in putting the law into form, often inserted words which really defeated parliament's purpose. But now, under Henry V (1414), parliament began to pass "bills," which the king had to accept or reject, and the wording of which he could not change without reference back to parliament.

293. The "Liberties of Englishmen." — Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of English liberty as a precious inheritance. With right they believed it superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. As a French historian says (Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 436), "In the middle of the fifteenth century, the English people had in Magna Carta a declaration of their rights, in the jury a guarantee for their safety as individuals, and in parliament a guarantee for national liberty."

C. France — Close of the Hundred Years' War

294. Third Period of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1415, after a generation of peace with France, Henry V renewed the Hundred Years' War. He had no clear excuse; but he was fired by ambition, and he saw an opportunity in the disorder in France under an insane king (Charles VI). He was brilliantly successful. At Agincourt he won a victory which recalled the days of Crécy and Poitiers (§ 283). The mighty Duke of Burgundy went over to his side. A peace treaty made him regent during the lifetime of Charles VI with the right of succession after the mad king's death. The son of Charles, "the Dauphin," as the heir of the throne was called, was simply passed over in the agreement. Both kings died within a short time of each other. The Dauphin held a feeble sway over the country south of the Loire. An English regent ruled in the North of France in the name of young Henry VI.

But when the English were besieging Orleans, the last stronghold of the Dauphin in the North, the tide began to turn. *Joan of Arc*, afterward called the "Maid of Orleans," saved the city, conducted the Dauphin to Reims, the ancient coronation city of the French kings, and had him crowned with the usual ceremonies. This act established him in the eyes of the nation as the lawful king, and revived the patriotism of the French. To offset the moral effect of this coronation, the English brought young Henry VI to Paris and had him crowned there by an English Cardinal. But it was to no avail. Their hold on Northern France was waning. By 1453 they had lost every inch of French soil except Calais.

295. Joan of Arc, a simple country girl of seventeen years, presented herself in the camp of Charles VII and declared that she had been ordered by "heavenly voices" to relieve Orleans and conduct the king to Reims to be crowned. For six weeks she was subjected to a severe examination by learned divines and magistrates. Finally Charles VII admitted her to his presence. To try her once more he mingled in disguise among his courtiers, but she identified him at once and revealed to him a secret known only to himself. She was given charge of a small army. In full view of the besiegers she led a convoy of supplies into Orleans and then headed a number of sorties so vigorous, that within eight days the English withdrew. Through a country swarming with English and Burgundian forces and studded with hostile castles and fortresses she led Charles VII to Reims where he was crowned according to the traditional rite. Now that her mission was fulfilled, she insisted that she must return to her humble home and occupation. But she was prevailed upon to remain. The following year she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who sold her to the English for 10,000 francs.

Angered and mortified at their defeat by a young peasant woman, the English determined to represent her to the world as an ally of the devil. With flagrant injustice an ecclesiastical court tried her for witchcraft. King Charles VII, to whom she had given a kingdom, made not even the slightest attempt to save her. She was condemned as a sorceress and heretic and burned at the stake in the city of Rouen. She died with the heroism of a martyr, protesting her innocence and invoking the name of Jesus until she expired. Many of the English spectators exclaimed:

JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS. — From the modern picture in the Pantheon at Paris.

"We are lost; we have murdered a Saint." Twenty years later, after the French had retaken Rouen, the process was reëxamined by order of the pope, and in the same city the decree of her rehabilitation was published with great solemnity and rejoicing. In 1909 she was beatified by Pope Pius X, and Benedict XV in 1919 concluded the process of her canonization.

Saint Joan of Arc is one of the most remarkable personages of history. This peasant girl of little more than high-school age was an accomplished army leader and sat in the war councils of France. When only nineteen she testified to the supernatural character of her mission by a martyr's death and became the glory and pride of her nation and of the entire Christian world. Her beatification called forth expressions of enthusiasm not only among the patriots of Catholic France, but even among the descendants, Catholic and non-Catholic, of the English against whom she fought and who brought her to death.[1]

296. The French Kingship. — Charles VII, in spite of his detestable desertion of Joan of Arc, proved a great king. He restored order with a firm hand. Bands of "free lances" (mercenary soldiers) had been living on the country for generations and had earned the name "flayers" from their methods of torture to discover valuables. All such bands were now driven from France; and prosperity came back swiftly to the exhausted peasantry and the towns.

During the long war, and after it, while breaking up the "flayers," Charles had maintained a standing army. This force he was careful to keep when the troubles were over. He had also a train of artillery, which now made him able easily to batter the castle of any feudal rebel about his ears. During the war, too, the kings had raised taxes arbitrarily, of necessity. They continued to do so, now that the national necessity had passed. *The Estates General* (§ 195) *lost all chance to become a real power, and the monarchs grew absolute.*

The nobles of France made one last desperate attempt to check this royal despotism when **Louis XI** came to the throne,

[1] Special Report on Joan of Arc. — Wyndham's *The Maid of Orleans* discusses the pretended evidence against the supernatural character of the Maid's Mission. See book list.

but were quickly crushed. The young Louis won his victories mainly by cunning. Through his reign, he chose his chief advisers and ministers from men of low position, who could not gain by turning against him; and before his death feudalism had ceased to be a political danger even more completely than in England. *Louis XI* ranks alongside *Philip II, Augustus, St. Louis IX, Philip IV, the Fair, and Charles V, the Wise,* in numbering the kings who built up the French monarchy.

297. The Growth of France Completed. — France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after vast destruction of property, after terrible periods of suffering, with territory consolidated, with a new patriotism binding her people together, and with her kings more absolute than ever.

In §§ 192 and 193 we traced the growth of French territory to the opening of this war. The closing campaigns, after the victories of Joan, made the French king finally master of Aquitaine, the southwest quarter of France. The lower Rhone valley soon became entirely French (see map following page 204). Other acquisitions were to follow in the northwest (§ 316).

298. *The next two kings* were less capable. The reign of Charles VIII is remarkable for his attempt to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, where the family of Charles of Anjou had died out (§ 216). He failed utterly. After a series of vicissitudes Naples was reunited with Sicily, which had been under Aragonian rulers since 1282. Thus, in 1505, the whole *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became a Spanish possession,* remaining, however, by right, a vassal state of the Holy See.

D. England and the Wars of the Roses, 1454–1485

299. The Wars of the Roses.[1] — In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old (§ 300). His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles; and when Henry was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords

[1] Stevenson's *Black Arrow* is an admirable story dealing with the age.

caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns, whose industries called for settled government; and, encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York came forward to claim the crown. Thus began the Wars of the Roses,[1] to last from 1454 to 1485.

York was descended from a son of Edward III older than the one through whom the Lancastrians derived their claim to

Warwick Castle. — Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (the "King-maker"), was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses.

the throne;[2] and the war, the most ruthless and bloody in English history, was largely a selfish contest between great nobles. At the same time the chief significance of the struggle lay in the fact that the Lancastrian strength was in the feudal nobility of the North of England, while York was supported by the new middle class of the towns in the South.

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[1] The Yorkists assumed a white rose as their badge; the Lancastrians, a red rose. Students may be asked to find the scene in which Shakspere represents the choice of these symbols.

[2] Footnote to § 291.

300. Finally, York and the Cause of the Towns Conquered. — Edward IV was a selfish and rather careless despot. His son, Edward V, was a child and was never crowned. It is believed that the regent, his uncle, murdered him. The murderer became king as Richard III. He was an atrocious tyrant, and was soon overthrown by a popular rising. **Henry Tudor**, a distant connection of the Lancastrians, led this rising, and became king as *Henry VII.*

301. A "New Monarchy." — The losses in the long civil war had fallen mainly on the feudal classes. The old nobility was almost swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. The new kings created new nobles (but kept them dependent on the crown), and *set to work skillfully to crush the scant remains of feudal independence.* For instance, a law of Henry VII wisely forbade nobles to maintain armed bands of retainers — whose presence was always a source of disorder and a threat to peace.

A few of the surviving *old* nobles at first disregarded this law. On a visit to one of these, — the great Earl of Oxford, — the king found an array of such armed retainers drawn up to salute him. Oxford had been one of Henry's earliest supporters for the throne; but now Henry frowned darkly: "I thank you for your good hospitality, Sir Earl; but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." And Oxford was called before the king's court and ruined by a fine of £15,000, — some half million dollars in the values of to-day.

302. Results of the Wars of the Roses. — The first plain result of this crushing of feudalism was a *general* loss of liberty. Without great nobles for leaders, the towns and the country gentry were not yet strong enough to challenge the royal power. *So parliament lost authority.* During the wars, it had not been possible to hold true parliaments; and when war was over, the kings had been so enriched by confiscations of the property of opposing nobles that they did not need new taxes in ordinary times, and so could get along without calling parliaments.

Another new device helped the monarch to maintain this superiority. During the wars, a king had had to depend, not on parliamentary supplies, but on free-will gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. After the war, Edward IV continued to ask benevolences from leading men as he met them in traveling through the kingdom. Richard III had tried to secure popular favor by promising to surrender this evil custom; but he soon practiced it in a more extortionate form than ever. And now Henry VII reduced it to a system of regular supply. He asked, no longer merely in person, *but by letter*. His minister, Morton, sent out demands to rich men over all England. To some he said that their luxurious manner of living showed that they were easily able to supply their king; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid their sovereign's necessities. Thus every man of consequence in the realm found himself impaled, it was said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork." [1]

303. Thus England entered the sixteenth century under the Tudor kings with a "New Monarchy." — Henry VII and his son Henry VIII were more absolute than any preceding English kings. Still they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional **forms**, and so did not challenge popular opposition. They called parliament rarely, — and only to use it as a tool. Parliament did not play as large a part again for more than a hundred years as it had in the century before the Wars of the Roses. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, *saved the* **forms** *of constitutional government*. This was a mighty service. At a later time, as we shall see, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain

[1] Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (two-pronged instruments) at the table. They had come into use in Italy a little earlier.

that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete and valuable than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

For Further Reading. — Corresponding chapters from Gardiner's *Student's History*. Guggenberger II, §§ 54–106. On the Hundred Years' War the student will enjoy the contemporary story of Froissart.

Exercises like those suggested after § 218.

E. Ireland

304. English Ascendency. — In 1171 Henry II went to Ireland and took possession of it as "Lord of Ireland" (§ 171). His dominion consisted principally of the "English Pale," a district varying in extent, with Dublin as its center and capital. The English colonists lived under English law, which did not protect the Irish in any way. Had there been a really fair government, Ireland might have flourished under the strong hand of the Anglo-Norman kings. But though many of the English noblemen lived on good terms with the natives, the latter on the whole were treated with brutal indignity. John Lackland (§ 177), when a young man of nineteen, was sent over by his father Henry II, but he offended the earlier English colonists by his utter neglect. He came a second time as king, and accomplished some good for the settlers by regulating the courts of justice. The natives, *the mere Irish*, or *Irish enemies*, were no better off for his coming. Nor did a similar visit of Richard II (§ 296) produce any different results.

On one occasion the Irish sent "a remonstrance" to Pope John XXII in which they describe their sufferings. Any Englishman, they say, may prosecute an Irishman for an injury, but no Irishman can prosecute an Englishman. If an Englishman kills an Irishman, there is no penalty for the murderer. Moreover, "Irishmen are excluded from monastic institutions governed by Englishmen."

305. Edward Bruce. — When Robert Bruce, a scion of the Celtic family of the Bruces, rose successfully in Scotland against

the English (§ 180), a large Irish party invited his brother *Edward* to come to Ireland and assume the royal dignity. There was no lack of bravery in Edward Bruce's Scotch and Irish warriors. But in spite of all successes, dissensions among the chiefs brought about the complete failure of the projects. For three years this war wrought great confusion, devastation, and misery among the native population. But it also shook the English government of Ireland to its very foundations.

"Both the Irish and the English lords became more independent and consequently more tyrannical. So general, so needless, and well-nigh so insane had been the destruction of property, that vast numbers of people lost everything and sank into helpless poverty."

306. Irish Gains. — One of the greatest mistakes, if not the greatest, made by the English was the contempt in which they held the descendants of their own first settlers. All offices of the Pale were given to *English by Birth.* Those Englishmen who were born in Ireland were looked down upon as *Degenerate English.* These *English by Blood* mixed more and more with the natives, intermarried with them, and adopted not only their language but even their dress and customs. The "Statute of Kilkenny" threatened this practice with the severest penalties, but to no purpose. The fusion of the races went on in spite of the law. "As generations rolled by, the descendants of English immigrants became quite incorporated with the natives and indistinguishable from them in everything except their family names. This was especially the case with the great and powerful family of the *Fitzgeralds.*" Many of these Anglo-Irish are said to have become more Irish than the Irish themselves.

307. *The Black Rent.* — During the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses the hold of England upon Ireland grew weaker year by year. The colonists felt themselves so much at the mercy of the natives that they concluded agree-

ments with certain Irish clans to pay a fixed yearly sum for protection against further molestations. This was the *Black Rent*. It became very common and formed a regular source of revenue for many Irish chiefs.

The greatest Irish hero of this period was *Art MacMurrough Kavanagh*, a descendant of the archtraitor Dermot MacMurrough (§ 171). When eighteen years old he was chosen provincial king of Leinster, and immediately began his career as defender of the province. By a better knowledge of the country, and by bravery and superior generalship, he kept even the mighty host of Richard II at bay. For nearly half a century he preserved his independence just beside the Pale, in spite of every effort to bring him to submission. He died in 1417 — the most renowned Irish chief since Brian Boru (§ 102).[1]

[1] Much of the matter in this subdivision on Ireland has been taken from Patrick Weston Joyce's *Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608*, a book "written soberly and moderately, avoiding exaggeration and bitterness, and showing fair play all round." (Pref.) The way this book is arranged makes it very useful for "special reports." The first part describes the civilization of ancient Ireland, the matter being treated by topics. The rest proceeds in historical order, and the facts are chiefly grouped around personalities or important events.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY AND HER DEPENDENCIES

308. The Interregnum. — Towards the end of the Hohenstaufen Period seven of the German princes had arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of choosing the King of the Romans. After the death of Conrad IV these seven "Electors" could not unite on one candidate. One faction elected Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England (§ 179). Richard visited his kingdom three times without exerting much influence. The other faction decided for Alphonso of Castile, who never saw Germany. The period 1254–1273, during which these two foreigners were supposed to rule, was marked by an almost complete absence of law and order. It was the heyday of club-law, when robber knights in ever-increasing number infested the country. To combat the evils of the period the city leagues grew into power (§ 259) and, as far as their influence reached, safeguarded the roads for traveling merchants.

309. Rudolph of Hapsburg (1273–1291) was a man of sterling character, and likely to bring some order out of the chaos. His moderate possessions, southern Alsace and some territory in the Alps, made him acceptable to the great princes who did not want too powerful a king. His election was hailed with unbounded joy by the people. Rudolph was sincerely religious. From the first he had the active support of the popes. He showed, however, little inclination to interfere in Italian affairs, but gave his undivided energy to the welfare of Germany itself. The robbers soon found out what kind of man the new king was. Along the Rhine alone he demolished a hundred and fifty of their castles, and on one memorable occasion hung twenty robber knights at a single execution.

Rudolph was forced to draw the sword also for the integrity of the realm. King Ottokar of Bohemia (§ 105) had brought

that country to a high degree of prosperity. But he sought to withdraw his possessions from the overlordship of the Empire. When summoned to pay homage (§ 118) to the new king for Bohemia and Moravia and to give up several other fiefs which he had occupied with very questionable right, he refused, even after Pope Gregory X had sent him an admonitory letter. War became inevitable. With greatly inferior numbers Rudolph defeated him. Ottokar fell in the battle. Rudolph bestowed Bohemia and Moravia upon Ottokar's infant son. But most of the other fiefs, among them the dukedom of *Austria* (§ 200), he granted, with the consent of the German princes, to his own son Albrecht. Thus the family of the Hapsburgs was established in the land on the Danube, *which was destined to grow into the Austrian Monarchy under Rudolph's descendants.*

Rudolph's rule proved an immense blessing for Germany. But his actual influence did not extend very far into the North. The short reigns of the contemporary popes — there were eight during his own reign — must be assigned as one of the reasons that prevented his imperial coronation.

310. For the next fifty years after Rudolph's death the crown passed from one family to the other. Rudolph's son *Albrecht*, Duke of Austria, however, was his father's second successor. *Henry VII, of the House of Luxemburg*, again went to Rome and was crowned emperor, but died soon after his coronation in Italy. He secured the succession of his son as king of Bohemia. *King Louis*, a Bavarian prince, for sixteen years at war with a rival, lived in unending opposition to the popes. He led an immoral life and broke the most solemn pledges. His reign is remarkable only because of the favor he bestowed upon the free cities.

Here is the place to sum up *the chief causes of the decline of Germany*. They are: The disastrous Italian policy of some of the emperors, the complete electiveness of the royal office, the large number of short reigns, and the continuous change

GERMANY AND ITALY

During the Interregnum 1254-1273

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200

of the ruling houses. Concerning the latter points compare §§ 187, 189, and 206, note. To these causes will be added, in the coming centuries, the aggressiveness of strong foreign powers including the Turks, and the internal disunion fostered enormously by the Reformation.

311. King Charles of Bohemia, grandson of Henry VII, succeeded as **Charles IV** (1347–1378). He had received his education in Paris, spoke Bohemian, German, French, and Latin, and was a great promoter of learning, literature, and art. In his residence, Prague, he established a university, the first in Germany, which was soon frequented by thousands of students. With the power of rich private dominions at his disposal he might have consolidated Germany or at least greatly retarded its disintegration. The cities and the lower nobility would have been his mighty allies. But his was too conservative a nature. On the whole, however, his rule was a happy one. He formally sanctioned the privileges of the seven Electors. His "Golden Bull" defined exactly how the "college of Electors" should make elections, and *fixed its members* as the *three Archbishops* of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, the *King of Bohemia*, the *Duke of Saxony*, the *Margrave of Brandenburg* (§ 200), and the *Count Palatine of the Rhine*. Thus he forestalled arbitrariness in the royal elections at least to some degree.

But the apple of his eye was his own *kingdom of Bohemia*. "Under the long reign of this wise and learned king," says a Bohemian writer, "the Bohemians themselves became wise and learned. The surrounding nations now sent their sons to the new university. Bohemians obtained the most important positions in the empire. Several foreign bishoprics received Bohemian bishops. The Bohemians were the most learned, the dominant nation in Europe. It was thought a great honor to be a Bohemian. The neighboring princes bought or built houses in Prague to live among the Bohemians."

Another prominent ruler of the Luxemburg family was

Sigismund (1410–1437). In addition to his private possession of Bohemia he acquired by marriage the kingdom of Hungary. At the head of a crusading army of Hungarian, German, French, and other warriors he marched against the Turks, but was completely defeated in the battle of Nicopolis, 1396. His greatest merit was the prominent part he played in the happy termination of the Great Western Schism. This will be seen later. In the Empire he fulfilled the expectations entertained of him much less than Charles IV.

312. *From 1437 onward all the emperors were elected from the House of Hapsburg, the descendants of Rudolph.* The dignity did not, however, simply become hereditary. The election always remained a reality. More than once the imperial crown was on the point of slipping away and nearly every election resulted in a further limitation of the royal power. One more reign during the present period is important, that of *Maximilian I* (1493–1519). He found it impossible to go to Rome for his coronation, and the pope permitted him to style himself *Emperor Elect.* The only German ruler that was crowned emperor after him was his grandson Charles V. The others obtained the same privilege as Maximilian. The title of "Roman King" (§ 202) was now reserved to those few who were elected during an emperor's lifetime to succeed him after his death.

Maximilian I, called "the Last of the Knights," is one of the most romantic figures of the closing Middle Ages. But most of his noble efforts to bring Germany abreast of England and France were frustrated by the jealousies of the princes and partly by his own dreamy nature.

Until 1806 Germany was simply called "The Empire," and its ruler "The Emperor," because there was but one emperor in the Catholic world. Historians, however, occasionally use the appellations of "German Empire" and "German Emperor" with reference to those centuries. There was no Emperor of Austria then. But the ruler of the dominions of the House of Hapsburg was the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing Maximilian of Austria, his queen, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip, who became the father of Emperor Charles V (§ 359).

313. Institutions of the Empire. — *The Diet.* During this period the German "national assembly" took form. It was called a Diet. In earlier times, it had been merely a gathering of nobles. In the fourteenth century representatives of the "Free and Imperial Cities" were admitted (§§ 260; 183, 195, 318). The Diet came to consist of three Houses, the Electors, the Princes, the City Representatives. To be binding a resolution had to be passed by at least two Houses, and by the emperor. But the execution of the laws thus adopted was always difficult and often impossible for the emperor.

The honest endeavors of Maximilian I had scored at least some success. Under him private feuds were completely forbidden, a *Supreme Tribunal* was instituted to settle disputes, and for the purpose of a better enforcement of the laws and of carrying out the verdicts of the Tribunal, Germany was divided into ten "*Circles.*" But it took some time before both institutions were in working order and able to do a limited amount of good.

We have to register two events in the history of the Hapsburg dominions, one a loss, small but significant, the other a great and important gain.

314. Switzerland. — In the mountains around Lake Lucerne there dwelt a sturdy race given to the pursuit of a simple agricultural and pastoral life. They had been under the sway of the Hapsburg dynasty long before King Rudolph. But about 1300 they claimed independence, and several non-Hapsburg kings granted them the right to rule themselves and be directly under the emperor. The Austrian dukes refused to recognize the lawfulness of this grant. Duke Leopold advanced with a strong army of knights to enforce what he thought was his right. The brilliant army was completely routed by the peasants. The battle of Morgarten, Nov. 15, 1315, is the birthday of Swiss liberty. In several other battles,[1] assisted always by the nature of their rugged country, the brave mountaineers maintained their freedom, and by and by increased the number of the little "cantons" from the original three "Forest

[1] The myth of *William Tell* belongs to the period of Morgarten. It is a good subject for special reports.

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
R. Danube
R. Rhine
R. Doubs
R. Adige
R. Ticino
R. Adda
Mosella
Ensisheim
Freiburg
Mühlhausen
Schaffhausen 1501
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Constance
Dornach
Basel 1501
Winterthur
THURGAU
Lindau
Bregenz
Kyburg
St. Gall
Toggenburg
Zürich 1351
Appenzell 1513
Habsburg
L. Zürich
Horgen
Zug 1352
Wildhaus
Frastenz
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
BASEL
Solothurn 1481
Biel
Sempach
Kussnacht
Einsiedeln
Luzern 1332
Morgarten
Nafels
Schwyz
Sargans
Neuenburg
Gersau
L. Luzern
Glarus 1352
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Murten
Bern 1353
Sarnen
Prattingau
Granson
L. Neuchâtel
Fribourg 1481
UNTER WALDEN
Altdorf
Chur
Davos
Thun
Engelberg
R. Rhine
Dissentis
URI
Urseren
GRISONS
Splugen Pass
St. Gothard Pass
VAUD
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Chillon
TO BERN
Sitten
R. Rhone
Visp
Chiavena
Bormio
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
Münster Thal
Locarno 1512
Bellinzona 1390
Sondrio
Valteline 1512
Geneva
VALAIS
Martigny
SAVOY
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
MILAN
VENETIA
TYROL

Cantons" to eight and more. A rather loose tie connected the Cantons, each of which ruled itself independently. In 1481, when the whole alliance was on the point of breaking up, it was saved by the sudden appearance of a famous hermit, Blessed Nicholas of Flue, who within one hour settled all the difficulties. Within the empire the Swiss Alliance ranked with the princes. It remained politically a German country until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648.

315. The Swiss victories, won by peasant infantry over the feudal array of armored knights, together with the battles of Legnano, Crécy, and Poitiers (§§ 208, 283, 284), mark the beginning of a new mode of warfare. The time of the mailed horseman was gone. The developments in the use of gunpowder completely sealed his fate.

The Swiss acquired fame as redoubtable warriors, whose assistance, either as allies or mercenaries, was sought by foreign powers. Many a throne was faithfully guarded by these free sons of the mountains. The last remnant of this custom is the little Swiss "army" in the Vatican.

316. Burgundy. — One of the kingdoms into which the realm of Charlemagne was finally divided was Burgundy, between the Rhone River and the Alps. This kingdom eventually became annexed to Germany (§ 206), but much of it was lost to France in the course of several centuries. To the northwest of the kingdom, there was the *Dukedom* of Burgundy, which had always been a French fief. There was also a *County* of Burgundy, which as part of the kingdom owed allegiance to Germany. Both the duchy and the county were finally united. The mighty Dukes of Burgundy found opportunities to incorporate other large provinces, in particular the *Netherlands*, that is, the greater part of present Holland and Belgium with some districts now belonging to France. (Map near § 192.) Most of these acquisitions were German fiefs. Duke Charles the Bold (1467–1477) fell in an attempt to conquer the Duchy of Lorraine, which he intended to serve as a link between the northern and the southern part of his dominions.

His daughter Mary, by marrying Maximilian of Austria, the later emperor, brought her vast inheritance to the House of Hapsburg. On the plea of escheat the king of France, Louis XI, occupied the Duchy of Burgundy and other French fiefs (§ 118) which greatly increased his domain. But Flanders escaped him. The acquisition of the German fiefs by Maximilian was, next to the winning of the Duchy of Austria (§ 309), the most momentous step in the development of the Hapsburg power.

317. *The Netherlands* was one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The several duchies and counties comprised under this name contained very rich and populous cities, where merchants from Italy exchanged wares with those of the Hansa towns. It might even be said that they were rather workshops than trading rooms. "Nothing," says one historian, "reached their shores but received a more perfect finish; what was coarse and almost worthless became transmuted into something beautiful and good." "The whole world," exclaims a thirteenth century English chronicler, "is clothed in English wool manufactured in Flanders." Early in the crusading age the cities had won or bought their liberties. Each province had its Diet, where sat the nobles and the representatives of the cities. Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, had granted them *The Great Privilege* (1478) which further increased their influence upon the policies of their sovereign.

CHAPTER XVII

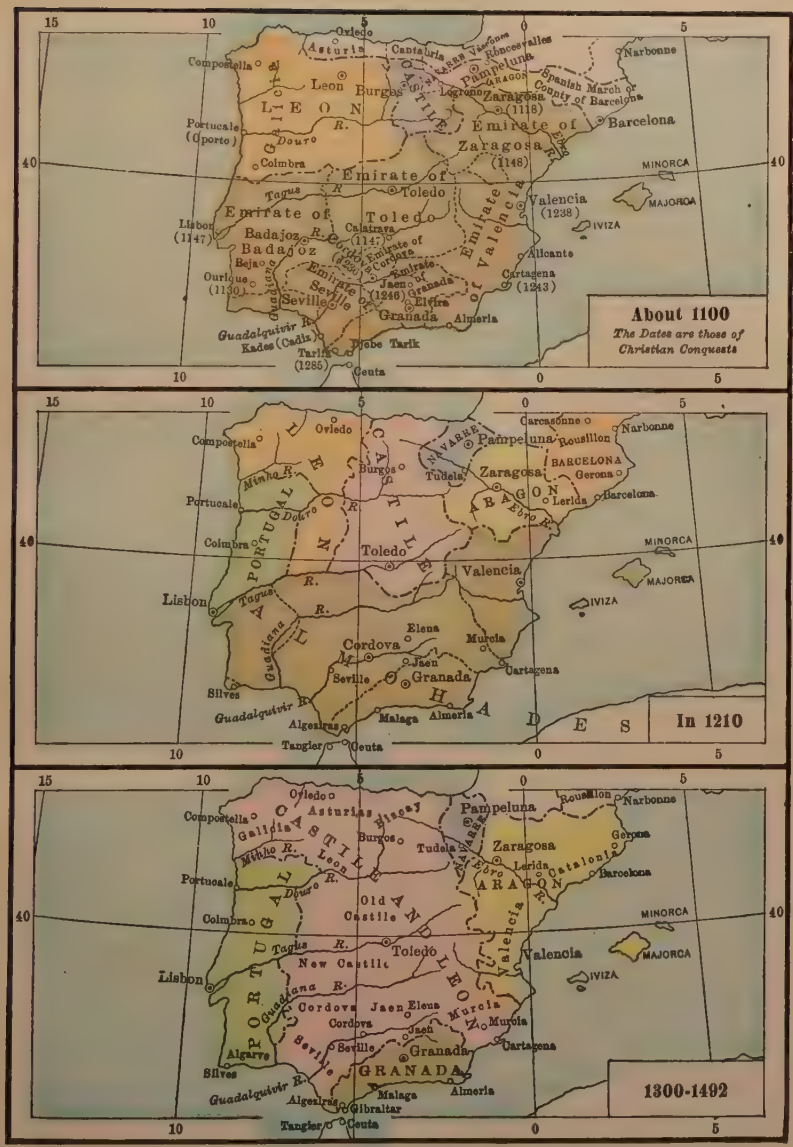
OTHER NATIONS IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH

A. The Struggle against Mohammedanism

318. The Spanish Peninsula. — The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (§ 73) separated the course of development in Spain from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The wave of Moorish invasion, however, had left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and Charlemagne recovered part, also, of the northeast (§ 84). In these districts, *Asturia* and the *Spanish March*, several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. *This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war*, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel (§ 231). *The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, intensely patriotic, and enthusiastically devoted to the Church.*

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, *Portugal*, *Aragon*, and *Castile*. Portugal remained independent. In consequence of the marriage between Isabella, heiress of Castile, with Ferdinand II, "the Catholic," heir of Aragon (1469), the other two countries were eventually united and in later times were known as the *Kingdom of Spain*. In 1492 this combined power captured



SPANISH KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the peninsula, and Spain at home achieved national union. In 1505 Ferdinand added the Kingdom of Naples to the Spanish domain (§ 298).

Portugal as well as Spain entered upon a period of discovery and colonization which made both mighty European states. But in European politics Spain by far outdid her smaller neighbor.

The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been the most uncontrollable in Europe. In each petty state they elected their king, and took the oath to obey him in forms like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, and who together are far more powerful than thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not."

The towns of Spain, too, had possessed charters of liberties of the most extreme character, and in various kingdoms they had sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the "Cortes," for more than a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and in the next two reigns *the process was carried so far that Spain became one of the most absolute monarchies in Europe.*

Map Exercise. — "Castile" was at first merely a line of "castles." It was a "mark state": it shut off Aragon on one side and Leon on the other from any effective contact with the Moors, as Barcelona, Navarre, and Asturia had been shut off still earlier. After this was accomplished, Castile was the state most likely to grow to supremacy. Cf. Wessex in Britain, § 113.

319. The Balkan Peninsula. — While the Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, the barbarous Turks (§ 249) were gaining southeastern Europe. They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont for the first time in 1346. In 1361 they conquered Adrianople and made it their capital. A crusade under Sigismund, then king of Hungary, was a failure. The Serbians and Bulgarians yielded more and more. The Greek Empire shrank to a narrow fringe along the coast in the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople. At Varna (1444) King Wladislaw III of Hungary and Poland, and Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, found a noble death on the battle field.

A chief cause of these successes was the "Tribute of Children" imposed on the conquered Christians. At stated times a certain proportion of strong and promising boys had to be delivered up, to be educated in Mohammedanism and trained in the use of arms. For three centuries the *Janissaries*, "new soldiers," recruited in this worse than barbarous fashion, formed the most dreaded part of the Turkish army. The strength of the Christians themselves was turned against Christianity.

To enlist the assistance of the West, the Greek emperor had brought about a union of the Greek with the Latin Church. But this remedy proved unpopular on the Bosphorus. In **1453** *Sultan Mohammed II entered the city of Constantine the Great*, after the last emperor, likewise a Constantine, with a small army of Greeks and Latins, had defended it heroically for eight weeks.

Europe stood aghast. The popes, who had been the soul of the resistance to the Turks, again took up the defense of Christianity.

"But the apathy and selfishness of the rulers rendered united action impossible. While the pope sold the treasures of art collected by his predecessor and even his own table service for the benefit of the crusade, the king of Naples spent the crusading moneys in his pleasures or on private wars; Charles VII of France (§ 295) prohibited the export of the collected sums and sent the fleet equipped by the French Church against England and Naples; the German princes talked in their Diets and intrigued against each other and against emperor and pope; Christian of Denmark and Norway stole the crusading money from the sacristy of the cathedral of Roskilde." Guggenberger, II, § 115.

320. *Pope Calixtus III*, of the crusading Spanish nation, worked with untiring energy for a new crusade. *John Hunyady*, administrator of the Kingdom of Hungary, who had for many years been warring with the Turks, and *St. John Capistrano*, a Franciscan friar, whom the pope had sent out as preacher of the new enterprise, collected an army which was reënforced by thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Poles. Mo-

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
AT THE ENTRANCE OF
THE OTTOMANS
(about 1850)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
EXPLANATION
Greek
Turkish
Servian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Venetian
Other Latin Powers
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Tartars
PEREKOP
CRIM
CIRCASSIA
LAZICA
BLACK SEA
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
BOSNIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
EMPIRE OF SERVIA
CONSTANTINOPLE
EMPIRE OF
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
CRETE
RHODES
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
DUCHY OF ATHENS
Pressburg
Komorn
Raab
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Zagrab
R. Drave
R. Danube
R. Theiss
R. Save
Belgrade
Tergovist
Jassy
R. Dniester
R. Pruth
R. Danube
Kherson
Zara
Rebenico
Spalato
Widdin
Krajova
Silistria
Rustchuk
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Varna
Kossova
Nissa
Ragusa
Trebinje
Triaditza
Sofia
Philippopolis
Scodra
Durazzo
Ochrida
Otranto
Kastoria
Seres
Demotika
Adrianople
Chalcedon
Constantinople
Heraclea
Nicomedeia
Sinope
Tripoli
Trebizond
Thessalonica
Berea
Gallipolis
Brusa
Nicea
CORFU
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Larissa
Arta
LEUCAS
Lepanto
Thebes
Chalcis
MITYLENE
PSARA
Rhocsa
Magnesia
CEPHALONIA
Patras
Corinth
CHIOS
Smyrna
Philadelphia
ZAKYNTHOS
Argos
Athens
Anapolis
SAMOS
HYDRA
Maina
NAXOS
NIO
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
Rhodes
Candia
Famagusta
Nicosia

THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
at the time of
THEIR GREATEST EXTENT
about 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200
Immediate Ottoman Territory
Tributary States
POLAND
RUSSIA
CRIM
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
Dniester R.
Jassy
Kaminiets
Jedisan
Bessarabia
Balaklava
Tergovist
Rustchuk
Varna
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Trebizond
Nicea
Brusa
Smyrna
Athos
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
CORFU
LEMNOS
MITYLENE
SAMOS
NAXOS
CERIGO
RHODES
CRETE
Candia
CYPRUS
Nicosia
Famagusta
L. Van
L. Urumiah
BLACK SEA
ANATOLIA
RUMELIA
BULGARIA
WALLACHIA
SERVIA
Belgrade
Widdin
Nicopolis
Kossova
Serajevo
Ragusa
MONTENEGRO
Cettinge
Cattaro
Durazzo
Spalato
Zara
CROATIA
BOSNIA
Agram
Stuhlweissenburg
Buda
Pest
Komorn
Pressburg
Vienna
HUNGARY
Pashalic Buda
Thessaloniki
Danube
Morava
Drave R.
Save R.
Serama R.
Maritza
Adriatic Sea
ITALY
Ionian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Dniester R.
Pruth
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Transylvania
Hermanstadt
Tyrol
Thessaloniki
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
Athens
Argos
Sparta
Thebes
Smyrna
Nicea
Brusa
Sinope
Trebizond
Cerigo
Candia
Nicosia
Famagusta
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
Dniester R.
Pruth
Danube
Morava
Drave R.
Save R.
Serama R.
Maritza
Thessaloniki
Pashalic Buda
Thessaloniki
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
Athens
Argos
Sparta
Thebes
Smyrna
Nicea
Brusa
Sinope
Trebizond
Cerigo
Candia
Nicosia
Famagusta
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
Dniester R.
Pruth
Danube
Morava
Drave R.
Save R.
Serama R.
Maritza
Thessaloniki
Pashalic Buda
Thessaloniki
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
Athens
Argos
Sparta
Thebes
Smyrna
Nicea
Brusa
Sinope
Trebizond
Cerigo
Candia
Nicosia
Famagusta

hammed II, with the same army that had reduced Constantinople, laid siege to *Belgrade* on the southern bank of the Danube, now the most important stronghold of Christianity. A fleet, the ships of which had been chained together, was to prevent the approaching Christian host from crossing the river. But with two hundred small boats the indomitable Hunyady effected the passage, and his crusaders joined the garrison of the beleaguered city. The Turks continued their fierce attacks. But St. John Capistrano's addresses kept up the courage of the Christians. Finally a desperate sortie drove the Mohammedans into a headlong flight with the complete loss of their camp and most of their artillery, Aug. 6, 1456.[1] The two heroes of this success, John Hunyady and the saintly Franciscan friar, died soon after.

During the same time the little country of Albania was saved for a generation by a handful of mountaineers under their invincible leader George Castriota, commonly called by his Turkish epithet, *Scanderbeg* (Prince Alexander).

Dissensions among the Turks under less warlike sultans gave some periods of respite to the Christian nations. The popes meanwhile endeavored to strengthen the resistive power of Hungary, until the greater part of that country, too, succumbed for a time to the power of the Crescent (§ 365). Unable to assimilate European civilization, the Turks remained like a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, and their baneful influence blighted and largely destroyed the ancient culture of many a conquered land.

B. The Countries of the Northeast

321. Poland, Prussia, Lithuania. — Poland had recovered from the helpless condition in which we found her at the begin-

[1] The Sultan's sumptuous tent was sent to the Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III. To commemorate this victory, the feast of the Transfiguration was instituted, to be celebrated in the whole Church on Aug. 6.

ning of the thirteenth century (§ 247). The Teutonic Knights now possessed a strong, well-ordered state between the Baltic Sea and Poland. But grave charges began to be raised against them. They insisted with rigor, nay cruelty, upon what they called their rights, and failed to respect Polish territory. In the course of the fourteenth century numerous frictions led to an ever-increasing enmity between the two neighbors. The intervention of vigorous popes, no doubt, would have prevented much of the dissension and removed many causes of enmity. But this was just the period of the unfortunate Western Schism with all its disastrous effects upon the general interests of Christianity.

East of both Poland and Prussia was the country of the Lithuanians, still practically pagan (§ 250). The Lithuanians and the Knights were regarded by Poland as her hereditary foes.

In 1386, however, *Princess Hedwig, the heiress of the Polish crown, consented to marry Jagello, the chief of the Lithuanians, on condition that he with his whole nation should become Christian.* This momentous fact united the two countries under one king, now called Wladislaw II, against the Teutonic Knights. The war, long evaded by the Knights, finally broke out. In 1410 the Knights were completely defeated in the battle of Tannenberg (west of Kulm). This battle marks the downfall of the Teutonic Order. Fifty years later (1466), after another disastrous war, the Grand-Master was forced to cede the land west of the Vistula to Poland, receiving the eastern portion as Polish fief. This is the first great "secularization" of ecclesiastical territory on record.

The Poles have reason, from the national standpoint, to celebrate the victory of Tannenberg. From the standpoint of the Christian we must regret the robbery thus committed by a Catholic power. To some extent, however, it can be excused. The Knights had by this time lost the purpose for

which their Order had been originally established. Several attempts to find another field where they might serve the cause of Christianity with the sword had failed — not without their own fault. During the period of prosperity religious discipline within the Order had suffered greatly. The Prussian cities, justly or unjustly, complained of oppression, and made common cause with the Poles. The kingdom of the united Poles and Lithuanians, on the other hand, had to fulfill in due time a providential mission; namely, the defense of the West of Europe against the Turks (§ 502).

322. Scandinavia had sent the Northmen into all parts of Europe (§ 96). After the formation of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway a complete Christian hierarchy of bishops and archbishops kept in touch with Rome and the ecclesiastical life of the continent. But since the dissolution of the brief empire of Knut the Great (§ 151) Scandinavia took no prominent part in European politics. The story of these northern lands is romantic. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery, — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Old, Hakon the Good, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. In 1397 the three kingdoms were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark by the *Union of Calmar*, which left to each realm its own laws and administration, but placed the management of all foreign affairs in the hands of the Danish ruler. In practice the two states of the northern peninsula became dependencies of Denmark. Both Norway and Sweden rebelled several times. In 1521 *Gustavus Wasa* succeeded, after a career of daring adventures, in freeing Sweden, which elected him hereditary king. (See § 370.) Norway remained united with Denmark until 1815.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHURCH AND PAPACY IN THE LATTER PART OF THE MIDDLE AGES

In this chapter we shall treat, first, of an institution which shows the intimate connection between Church and State, and the high esteem in which the purity of religious doctrine was held in those days. We shall then set forth the events which tended toward a weakening of the papal influence upon the further development of European politics.

A. The Inquisition

323. Origin and Nature. — Faith is a reality. Its teachings are not fairy stories but express *facts*. The Church is the God-appointed guardian of these revealed truths. She is not merely an advisory board, whose findings one may or may not follow. She is endowed with a supreme power to teach and to rule. She can and must demand submission to her decisions. But this power would be futile were it not combined with another power, namely, the right to enforce obedience and to punish those who refuse to abide by her decisions. The penalties, however, which she inflicts will vary according to the times. Circumstances may either recommend or forbid the employment of bodily chastisements besides merely spiritual weapons (§ 147).

Public opinion was far from siding with heretics. On the contrary, in several places notorious heretics were burned at the stake by the enraged populace as early as 1100.

Many of the heterodox systems, which made their appearance about this time, were of a very vicious character. They threatened not only religion but the very existence of the whole social and political order. The Albigenses and the later Wyclif-

ites have already been mentioned (§§ 193, 288, 289). Induced by the frequency and gravity of such errors, and more than half forced by the demands of the people, the Church created a special tribunal, **the Papal or Universal Inquisition.** The essential features of its method were fixed by a set of laws passed jointly by Pope Lucius III and Emperor Barbarossa in 1148. The minor details had been added by 1230. Such spiritual courts of justice were established in localities most infected by erroneous teachings. They did not supersede the power and duty of the bishops to watch over their flocks and suppress heresies in their own dioceses. The jurisdiction of the Inquisition extended only to baptized persons or such as claimed to have been baptized.

These courts received the accusations for heresy, summoned the accused persons, called in witnesses to testify for or against those that were indicted, and, if they saw fit, inflicted punishment. Their first endeavor was always to convert the guilty by instruction. If they succeeded, spiritual penalties were imposed, such as pilgrimages, fasting, almsdeeds. In severer cases they proceeded to incarceration. Persons that had once recanted and then relapsed or proved absolutely incorrigible were handed over to "the secular arm," [1] to be dealt with according to the laws of the state. The state, too, considered heresy as a crime, because it undermined the foundations of public welfare. The penalty fixed by the secular laws for heresy was death by fire. This was never inflicted by the ecclesiastical judge.

This Roman Inquisition was not extended to all the countries of Europe. It was active chiefly in Italy and Southern France. The prosecution of the Lollards in England, and, as far as it went, of the Hussites in Bohemia, was carried on by the episcopal authorities. In the trial of Hus at Constance, the Council itself was the court of justice.

[1] The spiritual and the secular power were compared with the two arms of the human body and spoken of as "the spiritual arm" and "the secular arm." See also § 204.

324. The Spanish Inquisition. — Spain struggled with religious problems of its own. Moors and Jews in large numbers submitted to the formalities of baptism in order to gain admission to the court and appointments to the highest secular and ecclesiastical offices and thus to destroy both religion and nationality. To cope with this very serious danger Ferdinand and Isabella petitioned the pope for a *separate Inquisition for Spain*. This Spanish Inquisition became an institution unique in character and organization. It consisted of several tribunals permanently established in certain cities with a Grand-Inquisitor at the head of all. The state exercised a very great influence upon the appointment of its members and even on the procedure itself, though it never was a mere state institution.[1]

325. Character of the Inquisition. — It is evident that something like the Inquisition is a necessity for the Church, unless she is to neglect utterly her duty of preserving unchanged the teachings of Christ. In fact every "religion" must, by some board or committee or assembly, or by some individual officer, or by the general vigilance of the members, watch over the integrity of the body of doctrines to which it has decided to adhere. And as soon as an actual case turns up, the transaction will of itself assume the nature of court functions. Some spiritual or temporal penalty, too, must be inflicted, if the whole proceeding is not to be an empty farce. It is therefore only natural that in the course of time the Church came to organize a regular "Tribunal of Faith."

The peculiar shape, however, which this tribunal took is due to the nature of the times. "The political and social development of the Christian world," says a non-Catholic historian, "led with almost automatic precision to the establishment of the Inquisition." It was the product of its age. Some items of its procedure at first sight indeed seem surprising to the modern mind. To appreciate them correctly, *we must gauge them not by the judicial practice of the present time, but by that of the Middle Ages.*

[1] In our days the duties of the Inquisition are taken care of by the Roman "Congregation" of the *Holy Office*, — Congregation being the name of the several committees of cardinals each of which looks after a certain kind of business. The Holy Office depends entirely upon the voluntary obedience and religious conscientiousness of those whose doctrine it may have to investigate.

(1) *The accused never found* out the names of those who either had reported him or had given evidence against him. But those who prescribed this method knew it would appear incongruous. They considered it necessary to take away all risk for such as might feel bound to give information against some important man who could and would, even if condemned, wreak vengeance upon them.

(2) *The use of the rack* in order to extort confessions was taken from the Roman law. The Inquisition did not inflict it as penalty. It was applied in the secular courts without the stringent regulations with which the Inquisition limited its use.

(3) *The prisons of the Inquisition* were as a rule much better and perhaps in no case as bad as were those dens in which criminals were detained by secular potentates.

(4) As to the *death penalty*, see above, § 323. The death by fire certainly cannot compare in cruelty with the butchery which in England was the regular punishment for high-treason, and, later on, for the profession of the Catholic Faith. The number of executions has been enormously exaggerated, though according to our views it was big enough. But justice was sterner in those days, and the death penalty was much more readily inflicted. A prominent citizen of Constance has left us a chronicle of the eventful four years of the Council (§ 333) which was assembled in that little town. He relates with pride that the city magistrates succeeded in preserving perfect order, although the number of executions amounted to ONLY twenty-four.[1]

326. Abuses. — While thus the Inquisition and its methods stand justified, it was like all human institutions liable to error and abuse in its actual workings. Lower officials and even judges made themselves the tools of unscrupulous rulers and of their still more unscrupulous

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[1] The Protestants at any rate ought not to upbraid the Inquisition for the multitude of its victims. If the latter had been as numerous as they are represented to be, it would still be child's play in comparison with the victims of Protestant persecutions. We need only mention the wholesale massacres in Ireland which reduced that Catholic country almost to a wilderness. (See §§ 391, 392, also § 369.) In Spain, where they were most frequent, all the executions during three and a half centuries amount to about four thousand (not 20,000 as is claimed). By this vigorous measure Spain obtained a period of interior peace, the preservation of its religious unity, and its existence as a nation. Instead of an Inquisition, France had its Huguenot Wars with the devastation of a considerable part of its territory; and Germany had its Thirty Years' War, which reduced its population to less than one half.

ministers. There are well-attested cases of glaring injustice, above all in Spain, where the influence of the government and of government officials was very great. Once Pope Leo X excommunicated the whole tribunal of Toledo (Spain) for cruelty, and ordered the witnesses to be tried for perjury. Occasionally the government intercepted appeals to Rome. The clause which assigned the entire property of the guilty to the public treasury repeatedly occasioned the condemnation of innocent persons.

Notwithstanding all its shortcomings the Inquisition has done immeasurable good to the Church and mankind. An anti-Catholic historian cannot help admitting that, had the Albigensian heresy "become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous." And this is only one point.

Taken as a whole the Inquisition does not stand for judicial arbitrariness, but for the reform of crying evils in the contemporaneous methods of administering justice. Many of the details embodied in the procedure of that much maligned tribunal passed into the practice of the secular courts and have been retained ever since. Says a French historian, "The word Inquisition is the scarecrow of unthinking people."

B. The Period of Avignon and the Western Schism

327. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) devoted a mind cultivated by profound learning and matured experience to the noble aim of pacifying the Christian nations, enforcing the laws of the Church, and bringing about a new crusade. The empire had lost most of its power and influence. But the monarchy of France had become strengthened (§ 297). Here ruled Philip IV, the Fair (1285–1314), who aimed at nothing less than to restore the Roman Empire in its old boundaries and make the pope his court chaplain. He waged his private wars with the money which, so far, by a special papal permission, he had levied on the clergy for the purpose of a crusade. His demands, however, did not stop here but grew more and more exorbitant. The clergy implored the pope for protection against the extortions of royal officers. Then appeared the Bull "Clericis Laicos," already mentioned in connection with England. We have seen what effect it had in that country (§ 185). When

Philip continued his aggressions, Pope Boniface VIII addressed to him a letter in which he reproved him in a fatherly way for the evil he was doing. The king had the original document destroyed and another one written in very insulting language, which with an equally insulting answer he spread broadcast among his people. An assembly of pliable bishops and servile barons now put forth a number of the most absurd charges against the pope, calling him a heretic, a sorcerer, and an unbeliever. They then *appealed from the pope to a general council and to a future legitimate pope.* Philip IV secretly sent one of his creatures, Nogaret, a low and violent character, to Anagni in Italy where the pope resided. Having gathered an army of ruffians he forced his way into the papal palace. Clad in the full insignia of his office, Boniface awaited him. The aged but dauntless pontiff was imprisoned and deprived of food and drink for several days. The citizens of Anagni rescued him, but he died a month later.

An outcry of indignation arose throughout the whole Christian world. This outrage against the Vicar of Christ showed clearly the criminal aspirations and violent character of a mighty prince. It defeated its purpose by rousing universal sympathy for the papacy. Unfortunately, however, Philip IV did not find a Gregory VII or an Innocent III to oppose him. Thus this sad event was in fact the significant beginning of a new period for the papacy.[1]

328. The Popes in Avignon. — After the one year's pontificate of Benedict XI, the French Archbishop of Bordeaux was chosen pontiff as Clement V. Since the city of Rome just then was again the scene of bloody party strife, Clement V preferred to avoid Italy altogether. He had himself crowned in Lyons, and in 1309 *transferred his residence to Avignon,*[2] a quiet little town on the Rhone. He was the obedient servant of Philip IV. All the papal utterances which had been published against

[1] Guggenberger, I, §§ 620–630. [2] *Ibid.*, II, §§ 1–6, 15, 18.

the king were at once repealed. Determined opposition to the extortion of money from the clergy came to an end. The Order of the Knights Templar was suppressed (§ 246). The one thing Philip IV could never obtain from this weak pontiff was the condemnation of Boniface VIII as a heretic.

In all, four popes resided at Avignon, the most prominent of whom was undoubtedly *John XXII*. He strove untiringly for the true welfare of the Church. His most cherished idea, however, the inauguration of a new crusade, was never realized. Under him as well as under his successors the missionary efforts for the conversion of Africa and Asia were zealously continued. One of the four, Blessed Urban V, returned to Rome for a short while, but finally died in Avignon.

The Church undoubtedly suffered much through the residence of the popes in Avignon. Though the city was not strictly French territory but belonged to the popes as a kind of outlying province of the Papal States, the one-sided influence of French politics was at times strongly noticeable. It was, moreover, principally in consequence of the absence of the pontiffs that the Papal States at one time almost slipped from their control, and the loss of this source of revenue made it necessary to insist still more extensively upon the payment of papal taxes by ecclesiastics the world over. All this caused uneasiness and loud complaints, and *seriously undermined the general confidence in the fairness and integrity of the Holy See.* There is some reason to speak of the Avignon period as "the Babylonian Exile of the Papacy."

In 1377, Gregory XI at last made up his mind to return to the Eternal City, and he in fact died there the year following, — just before he could carry out his resolution to go back to Avignon. "He found the ancient monuments destroyed, most of the 414 churches in ruins, commerce paralyzed, and the number of inhabitants reduced to 30,000."

329. The Great Western Schism. — (1) *Origin.* After the death of Gregory XI, the cardinals assembled for the con-

clave in Rome. The populace gathered in front of the building and wildly clamored for a Roman or, at least, an Italian pope. The cardinals to avoid the charge of intimidation chose an Italian archbishop who assumed the name of Urban VI. To forestall all objections they met again the following day and, in due form, cast their votes for him a second time.

All might have been well had Urban VI excelled as much in prudence as in sanctity and learning. At once, with much harshness, he addressed himself to the task of a much needed reform of the papal court. The cardinals, accustomed to a less restrained life in Avignon, were loath to submit to his severe regulations. Within a few months there was general dissatisfaction. His refusal to go to Avignon occasioned an open rebellion upon the part of the eleven French cardinals. They withdrew to another city, claimed that, since in electing Urban VI they had not been free, he was no legitimate pontiff, and proceeded to "the election of another pope." The king of France eagerly espoused the cause of the antipope, Clement VII, who at once took up his residence in Avignon. French influence gained him additional supporters among the Christian rulers.[1] Thus, in 1378, began the Great Western Schism.

There were now two men each of whom claimed to be the successor of Peter, each elected by cardinals. Christianity was divided into two "obediences." The schism was perpetuated by each pope's appointing cardinals who after his death elected a successor.

330. (2) *Effects of the Schism.* The people did not doubt that one only of the two claimants could be the right pope. But it was difficult, if not impossible, for most to decide. Had not the majority of the cardinals rejected Urban VI? Was it not for the cardinals, the august senate of the Church, to know and state whether Urban's election had taken place in the lawful manner? Hence there were well-meaning people on both

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 21–26.

sides. In our own days, however, when all the facts can be better surveyed, the Roman pope is clearly seen to have been the real head of the Church.

This deplorable condition was productive of unspeakable confusion. There were often two claimants to the same bishopric or abbey or parish, and each had sentence of excommunication pronounced upon him by the pope to whom the other adhered. In many churches divine services were neglected. The religious devotion of the people grew lukewarm. The charges of rapacity against the papacy grew in volume and violence, as each of the two "popes" was obliged to increase the already heavy demands for support (§ 328). The rulers occasionally changed sides, accordingly, as one pontiff promised them greater advantages than the other. The schism made the popes more dependent upon the secular power than any previous event had done. Thus the prestige of the Holy See, which had been suffering during the Avignon period, fell still more in consequence of the schism.

To make sure that the influence of a "hostile" pope should not find its way into their realms, some rulers, in particular those of England, forbade the introduction of any papal document without their own approval. This practice they kept up even after the schism was ended. Certain potentates, Catholic and non-Catholic, have at times extended this demand even to the pastoral letters of the bishops. Of course no such right exists. Neither did Christ oblige His Apostles to submit their official utterances to the secular magistrates before publishing them, nor has the ecclesiastical authority ever granted any such privilege.

331. Many plans were tried to put an end to this sad state of affairs in the Church. When one decade after another elapsed without any sign of reconciliation between the two rival "popes," prominent men, foremost of all the University of Paris, advanced the idea, unknown to former ages, that a

General Council is above the pope. A Council, it was thought, could and ought to take this matter in hand. Again an attempt made by the cardinals of both sides to bring the two claimants together had failed. Now six cardinals of the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, joined seven cardinals of Gregory XII, the Roman pontiff, and these thirteen constituted themselves a provisional government for the Church. In this arrogated capacity they summoned the bishops of the world to a *General Council to meet at Pisa* in Italy, 1409. This Council, " assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost," declared both claimants deposed and elected a new one. Of course neither of the former two submitted to the verdict of this self-appointed tribunal. And so the world, as it is flippantly said, now had three popes instead of two.

Inasmuch as this assembly assumed authority over the Church it was illegitimate and revolutionary from the start, because most certainly it was neither summoned, nor presided over, nor sanctioned by the real pope. Whichsoever of the two be deemed the true successor of St. Peter, — and one of them surely was, — the "Council" was in direct opposition to him. (See Guggenberger, II, §§ 34–37.)

332. Heresies contributed much to aggravate the deplorable state of Christianity. The most dangerous were the innovations of Wyclif (§ 288). The English queen at that time was a Bohemian princess. The intercommunication between the two countries, brought on by this connection, caused Wyclif's ideas to be spread in Bohemia. They were eagerly caught up by one of the professors in the university of the capital, *Jerome of Prague,* and through him they passed to *John Hus.* Both had been working seriously for a much needed reform of the clergy and people but like Wyclif they overshot the mark. Hus exaggerated Wyclif's doctrine by teaching, as some of the Lollards did, that secular magistrates as well as spiritual lose all their power by mortal sins. Many of the Bohemian nobility were delighted to hear that the Church must be deprived of all

her possessions. Christ, these heretics taught, is not present in the Blessed Sacrament under each separate species; hence communion must be received by the faithful under both species.

The University had forty-five theses extracted from Wyclif's books. These theses were solemnly condemned through the influence of the German and Polish professors. Thereupon John Hus, already an extremely popular preacher, posed as the champion of Bohemian nationality. By royal mandate the non-Bohemian professors and students were forcibly deprived of the rights which they had enjoyed since the establishment of the institution; 20,000 students, it is said, directly left the university. Hus became the hero of a strong and influential party. By temporizing for quite a while and using ambiguous terms he evaded removal and punishment. In the meantime, his errors began to take root in the neighboring countries.[1]

333. The End of the Schism: The Council of Constance.[2]— In Germany Sigismund, brother of the King of Bohemia and son of Charles IV (§ 311), was recognized as Roman King. Fully realizing the greatness of his vocation, he resolved to spare no efforts and expense to end the pernicious schism. He adhered, like many other excellent men, to the Pisan pope, John XXIII.

Sigismund prevailed upon John XXIII, whose "obedience," as a matter of fact, was the largest, to summon a Council to Constance, a German city on the Rhine. The eyes of Europe now hopefully turned to that little town beyond the Alps where assembled one of the most brilliant gatherings the Middle Ages had seen. The Council of Constance lasted four years, 1414–1418.

John XXIII soon found that grave charges against him were circulated among the members of the Council. He hoped to break up the assembly by secretly leaving the city. But King Sigismund had him brought back a prisoner, and by his firmness prevented the dissolution of the Synod. John XXIII was now

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 27, 28. [2] *Ibid.*, §§ 38–46.

expected to abdicate. This he did, and of his own accord added the protestation that it was his free resolution to renounce the papal dignity. To prevent any untoward influence upon him Sigismund ordered him to be kept in confinement. While the Council continued its sessions the Roman King set out on a journey to the kings of France, England, and Spain, to secure them for the cause of unity. In this matter his endeavors were successful, though he failed to reëstablish peace between France and England (§ 294).[1]

Gregory XII, the Roman pope, who, as we now know, was the real Vicar of Christ, sent an ambassador to Constance, and through him first convoked the Council on his part and ordered his own followers, bishops as well as cardinals, to join it. He then declared through the same legate that for the good of the Church he resigned his office as pope. The third claimant, *Benedict XIII*, whose " obedience " had shrunk to his ancestral castle, might be safely ignored. St. Vincent Ferrer, who had been his confessor, left him when the " pope " refused to abdicate for the welfare of Christianity.

The papal throne now being evidently vacant a new pope was elected by unanimous vote, and he assumed the name of Martin V. When the Christian world learned that there was once more a universally recognized pope and that *the unity of Christianity was restored,* " men could scarcely speak for joy."

With reference to the Great Western Schism a bitterly anti-Catholic historian, Gregorovius, says: " Every temporal power would have perished therein. But so wonderful was the organization of the spiritual empire, and so indestructible the very idea of the papacy, that this widest of schisms only demonstrated its indivisibility."

In 1431 Pope Eugene IV called another Council at *Basel.* It soon became openly schismatic, but finally consisted almost

[1] One of the greatest secular events which took place during the Council of Constance was the solemn investiture of *Frederick of Hohenzollern* with the Electorate (" Mark ") of Brandenburg (§§ 200, 312). He was the ancestor of the dynasty of that name.

entirely of priests and laymen. It went, however, to the farce of setting up an antipope. In 1447 Emperor Frederick III ordered the " Fathers " to disperse. Meanwhile the legitimate Council of *Florence*, 1437–1439, effected the temporary reunion with the Greek Church mentioned in § 319.

334. The Execution of John Hus. — Before the election of *Martin V* the Council had proceeded against John Hus, the Bohemian heretic. Sigismund wished him to appear, but Hus was in no way forced to do so. On his arrival he was treated with the utmost forbearance. The excommunication into which he had fallen was temporarily lifted. He was forbidden only to say Mass and to preach, before the Council had passed upon his doctrine. But accustomed to disregard his superiors, Hus said Mass privately, admitted numerous visitors, and inveighed in sermons against pope and cardinals and the whole Church. Under the very eyes of the Council he sanctioned by letter the practice of receiving communion under both species because, as he said, it was enjoined by the Bible. Hus considered the Council as something like a debating society, where all are of equal authority, whereas a Council, as successor to the College of the Apostles, must demand submission. After much patience, and literally exhausting all means of kindness and persuasion, the Council declared Hus an incorrigible heretic and handed him over to the secular authority. According to the law of the time he was burned at the stake. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine.[1] Jerome of Prague suffered the same fate.

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[1] King Sigismund had given Hus a "safe conduct." It is often alleged that his execution was a violation of this guarantee of safety. But this was meant merely as a protection against unlawful aggressions, not against the just verdict of his judges. It was not a grant of impunity for whatever he might have committed or was going to commit. On his way to Constance Hus himself boasted in public manifestoes that he would testify for his faith unto death. That the Council declared a promise given to a heretic unbinding is a lie pure and simple.

" With more moderation and less pride John Hus, instead of suffering the death of fire, could have become an ornament in the august assembly. By his learning and eloquence he could have contributed a large share to the solution of the greatest problems of Europe." John Hus, a master of the Bohemian language, poisoned a large part of the Bohemian nation against that Church to which it owed its civilization and splendor.

335. The Hussite Wars. — The execution of Hus was represented in Bohemia as an attack at once upon the new religion and upon Bohemian nationality. Long years of fanatical party strife began, which devastated the whole of Bohemia and the adjoining German provinces. Five crusades were preached against the Hussites, but their hordes proved unconquerable. At last an agreement with the Council of Basel allowed them to receive communion under both species provided they believed in the presence of Jesus Christ under each species. But Bohemia's agriculture and commerce was ruined, and her intellectual ascendency was practically gone (§ 311).[1]

Exercises. — (1) Dates: 1254–1273 (Interregnum in Germany), 1281, 1315, 1338–1453, 1346, 1410, 1414–1418, 1429, 1453 (Fall of Constantinople), 1454–1485.

(2) List of terms for brief explanation: Black Prince, Edward III, Black Rent, Netherlands, Morgarten, etc., etc.

Other exercises as suggested after § 218.

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[1] On the condemnation of Hus and the Hussite Wars see Guggenberger, II, §§ 44, 45, 47–49.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE

This period concludes the era of religious unity. Its name is taken from one of its most remarkable features, the "Renaissance," revival, of ancient classic literature. It partly overlaps the preceding and the following periods and even begins and closes at different times in the different countries. Nor does it show the same characteristics in all lands. Its religious aspect we must reserve for the next *Part* of this textbook.

A. The Renaissance Proper; the Revival of Classical Literature

336. Origin. — About the middle of the fourteenth century there arose in Italy, where the recollection of the old political and literary glory had never died out, a new fervor in the appreciation of the ancient classic works of the Roman authors. During the Middle Ages the Latin language had undergone some changes, and on the whole it disregarded many of the rules which had been carefully observed by the writers of the classic period of Roman literature. The Scholastics, moreover, to express the thoughts of theology and Christianized philosophy, had created a system of new terms which are not to be found in the ancient classics. They laid stress almost exclusively upon the correctness of *thought* and not so much upon the dress in which it was to appear. Now, however, the old Roman masters were studied again with enthusiasm, and more attention was paid to elegance of language. Hand in hand with this went a greater interest in the beauties of nature, not new indeed but greatly increased in comparison with the attitude of the scholastic mind.

Francis Petrarch was the father and chief promoter of this new movement. His host of followers grew larger from year to year. Classic Latin became the everyday language of these enthusiasts. They employed it in public productions and private letters. With eagerness they searched for manuscripts of the classics. They found them chiefly in the ancient monasteries, where formerly they had been the object of more devoted care and study.

PETRARCH

Humanism — this is the name frequently given to the new study — spread fast through the various countries of Christendom and took hold of all classes of people who could afford to give time to such pursuits. The laity now vied with the clergy in literary and scientific endeavor. The possession of libraries was no longer confined to ecclesiastics; no palace was thought to be complete unless it could boast of a goodly collection of books. Moreover, "In the general interest in classical learning . . . *woman* took a significant part. From the beginning of the revival we find the record of her literary tastes and accomplishments side by side with those of the leading men of her time." [1]

[1] On the Renaissance see Guggenberger, II, §§ 163–169.

337. Attitude toward Religion. — In its best representatives Humanism was far from being opposed to the Church. Petrarch himself says: "Let us admire their [the ancient writers'] intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without any merit of our own, we have been favored above our forefathers by Him who has hidden his secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. . . . The real wisdom of God is Christ."

Not all the humanists harbored the same sentiments. There were not lacking those who would gladly throw everything overboard that was not in full accord with the views of the pagans whose writings they admired. They imitated not only the elegance of diction to be found in the works of these pagan writers, but also the immorality of their lives. Humanists of this stamp we call *Radicals*, those who remained faithful Christians, *Conservatives*. The Radicals, as well as others who did not go quite so far, often made the Church and all her ministers the butt of their ridicule.

Scholasticism was a pet subject of abuse for radically inclined humanists. It was indeed no longer what it had been under St. Thomas Aquinas and his disciples. To acquire notoriety many professors — not all or by any means most of them — devoted much time to the discussion of out-of-the-way topics and neglected the more necessary subjects. But this did not touch the doctrine itself held by the schools. Then, too, their language was capable of improvement as far as grammatical construction was concerned. But pedantic conceit and ignorance alone could insist upon the abandonment of the well-chosen and definite philosophical and theological terminology which the Schoolmen had worked out.

The Church as such never antagonized humanism. True, a few popes did not positively favor it, because, as was thought, other interests of the Church demanded attention more urgently. Most of the popes, however, were its most liberal

promoters. In Rome brilliant minds were sure of finding every kind of encouragement. In fact without the active support and generous assistance of ecclesiastical dignitaries humanism could never have obtained so general a hold upon the nations of Western Christendom.

338. Humanism in Various Countries. — In *Italy* humanists of both classes were strongly represented. Some of the Radicals, in addition to leading the loosest kind of life, went so far as even to plan the death of such persons as seemed opposed to their revolutionary projects. Boccaccio, one of the originators of the humanistic movement, gave literature some of the vilest productions. He died, however, in union with the Church, and in his last hours besought his friends to prevent as much as possible the spread and reading of his works.

Two monks, William Snelling and William Hadley, who had made their studies in Italy, introduced Humanism into *England*. It found a liberal protector in Cardinal Wolsey. Thomas More, sometime the king's chancellor, a devout Catholic, encouraged famous humanists and was no mean scholar himself. Bishop Fisher of Rochester, Dean Colet, and others, were not only ardent humanists but thorough and practical churchmen.

The first *German* humanists harmoniously combined great linguistic abilities with humble submission to the doctrines and laws of their religion. Some of their successors, however, indulged in violent attacks, chiefly by means of satire, upon scholasticism, the religious Orders, the priesthood and papacy, and upon sacred ceremonies and pious customs.

339. Two facts contributed greatly to the further development and rapid spread of the humanistic tendencies. The first was the *influx of Greek scholars* from the East. They came to participate in the Council of Constance and still more in that of Florence (1437), in which the Byzantine Church was again united — though only for a few years — with that of Rome (§ 319). The constant attacks of the Turks caused many to flee to the West in search of new homes. This was still more the case in the first years after the conquest of Constantinople (1453). These visitors and refugees acquainted the Italian

humanists, and through them those of other countries, with the Greek language and the works of the Greek poets, orators, and historians, all of which had been very little known so far. The soil was well prepared for the new seed. The masterpieces of Hellas were added to the humanistic program, and enthusiastically studied. It was a new impetus for the progress of the classical revival. Greek, however, never became quite so generally known as Latin.

The other fact, which was of far greater importance still, was the *invention of printing*, which reduced the cost of books enormously and thus facilitated the efforts of teachers and students (§ 341).

340. One great result of the humanistic movement was a gradual change in the curriculum of the "Faculty of Arts" in the universities (§ 262). This faculty now began to aim primarily at training the young student to a proficiency in classical Latin and Greek and to a certain degree of familiarity with the literature of both these languages. For several centuries this proficiency in the classics remained the indispensable condition for the study of all the higher branches, and is still so, the world over, for the study of theology.

Humanism was, however, not narrowed down to Latin and Greek. It included Hebrew and other idioms useful for the understanding of the Bible. In fact it created a new branch of study, philology, which strives for a deeper insight into the nature of languages.

For Further Reading. — Pastor's *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. I, has a comprehensive chapter on the Renaissance as introduction, pp. 1–65; J. J. Walsh, in *The Century of Columbus*, pp. 427–544, discusses both the Latin and the vernacular literatures of the period. A very instructive book is Miss M. A. Cannon's *The Education of Women During the Renaissance*. See also "On the Italian Renaissance" in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*.

B. Inventions, Discoveries, Arts

341. The Invention of Printing. — All the books so far used in the world had been handwritten, and were, consequently, very expensive. A tome of moderate size was a precious possession. A library of a few hundred volumes represented an almost princely fortune. This scarcity of books had ever proved the greatest obstacle to general education. This was now to be changed. *About the middle of the fifteenth century John Gutenberg of Mayence invented the art of printing.*

The Chinese, it seems, had known the use of movable type for centuries. But it was of little advantage to them on account of the large number of characters in their language (see *Ancient World*, § 3). In Europe, too, the printing of pictures with short legends from entire plates was a regular trade at Gutenberg's time. His merit consists in devising an easy method for producing and multiplying metal type.

"This invention," says a great historian, "the mightiest and most important of civilization next to the art of writing, gave as it were wings to the human mind." "Most commendable," wrote Pope Innocent VIII in 1487, "is the art of printing, inasmuch as good and useful books are thereby easily multiplied."

The art spread rapidly. From the start it was most liberally patronized by ecclesiastics and monasteries.[1] The ancient Benedictine abbey of Subiaco was the first to set up a printing press in Italy and was followed by many convents in other countries. In 1474 William Caxton introduced printing into England. Next to Germany, Italy possessed the greatest number of presses. But by the end of the century nearly every large city in Europe had its printing establishments.

Naturally the printers produced the books that were in demand. Before the year 1500 there had appeared more than a hundred editions of the Latin Bible and dozens of translations of Holy Writ into the several vernacular languages. Alongside

[1] See "The Church and the Printing Press," in Casartelli's *Sketches in History*.

these were editions of the great ecclesiastical writers, "the Fathers of the Church," together with the Greek and Latin classics, grammars and other schoolbooks, catechisms and prayerbooks, and collections of religious and secular songs. This allows us to judge of the intellectual wants of the people. The trade in manuscripts, necessarily very limited, now gave way to a brisk international book trade with its centers in the prominent cities of Europe.

342. Other Important Inventions. — *The Mariner's Compass* seems to have received its present form from unknown hands about the beginning of the fourteenth century. It made possible the geographical discoveries which doubled the area of the accessible world (§ 344).

The Telescope, which brings within the reach of man's eye the distant stars, was invented by Galileo Galilei (§ 345) after he had heard of a curious optical toy constructed in Holland. With its aid Galileo saw the moons of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the rings of Saturn, the mountains on the moon, the stars of the Milky Way, and the sun-spots.

343. Renaissance Art. — In Italy, where there remained still many of the ancient edifices and monuments, — some in ruins, others in varying stages of preservation, — the new movement led to an imitation of the Roman manner of building. The Gothic was abandoned and another style of *architecture* grew up, called the *Renaissance Style*. Like the Romanesque (§ 277) it employed the round arch, and reintroduced many of the features found in the structures of the ancients. It often made use of the cupola. If we may deplore the passing of the graceful Gothic, we should remember that the mind of the people was no longer that of the thirteenth century. The new style easily adapted itself to all kinds of buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical. Its best productions are characterized by a majestic beauty. One of its greatest creations is the present church of St. Peter in Rome.

Painting had made great progress. The artists of the Renaissance are among the best the world has ever known. Per-

spective was now well observed (§ 279). An improved method of handling oil colors made it possible to paint on canvas, whereas up to 1450 paintings were mainly frescoes, that is, carried out upon the freshly plastered walls of ceilings of edifices. The art now became more independent of architecture.

Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470–1550. Between these dates came the work of Leonardo da Vinci, Michael

St. Peter's Church, Rome.

Angelo, Fra Angelico, Raphael, and scores of others. Many of these practiced more than one art; Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor, and he was not without fame as a poet. Germany had *Albert Dürer* and *Hans Holbein*. The great period of the Flemish and Dutch art was to come later, between 1600 and 1660, with *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, and *Rembrandt*. At the same time flourished the Spaniards *Velasquez* and *Murillo*. Neither France nor England produced much in this direction at this time. Several of the great artists, however, found liberal patronage in Paris and London.

344. Geographical Discoveries. — Though in the Middle Ages the common people entertained the most fantastic ideas concerning the shape of the earth, the greater minds well knew that our planet is a globe. They had no correct knowledge, however, of the distribution of land and water and of the configuration of the continents. Their world practically did not reach farther than the Mediterranean and its immediate surroundings. But in the thirteenth century Franciscan missionaries returning from the Far East (§ 250) reported that there was an ocean east of "Cathai" (China). Other travelers even returned by sea from Peking through the Asiatic straits and the Indian Ocean. It was therefore clear that this ocean, the existence of which had been known in some nebulous way, was not landlocked. Friar Bacon (§ 275) in his boldness now advanced the idea that possibly the Atlantic Ocean was the one side of a large sea which with its other side washed the shores of China. Parts of his writings on this subject were embodied in a work which in later centuries became a favorite book of Christopher Columbus.

These speculations assumed practical shape when the Turks extended their power over all those lands which lay in the direct route to India, and thus rendered much more difficult and dangerous the commerce which had sprung up with that far-off country during the Crusades.

In the fifteenth century the Portuguese entered upon a career of naval discoveries under their great *Prince Henry the Navigator*, and in a series of daring voyages explored the western coast of Africa. On one of these cruises *Bartholomeo Diaz*, after sailing far into the South, was carried away by a storm to the eastward and observed that in this new and unfamiliar position he had the coast of Africa on his left hand. He had rounded the southern point of the African continent, the Cape of Good Hope. It was not before 1498, however, that *Vasco da Gama actually reached India.* So this country of fabulous

riches became directly accessible by sea. These discoveries gave Portugal the monopoly of the Indian trade, and enabled her to build up a vast empire of colonies in the countries around the Indian Ocean.

Some ten years before this happened, *Christopher Columbus* approached the King of Portugal with a scheme for finding a more direct way to India by sailing due west into the Atlantic. This, he thought, must bring him to the eastern coast of India. His offers were rejected. But the high-minded Queen Isabella of Castile (§ 318) furnished him the little fleet with which, *on the memorable 12th of October of the year 1492, he discovered the New World*, thinking, however, that he had reached the outlying islands of India. In the course of the next fifty years Spain sent out hundreds of daring adventurers, the "Conquistadores," who conquered for her nearly all South and Central America with enormous treasures of gold and silver.

By these discoveries the Mediterranean lost much of its importance as a highway of trade. This was a hard blow for the Italian cities which so far had been the principal factors in the European commerce with India.

345. Copernicus. — While the educated knew that the earth is a globe, they thought that it was the center of the universe, and that the sun and the planets were moving around it. The first to express serious doubts about this was Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, usually called, from his birthplace, Nicholas of Cusa. Nearly a century later he was followed by the Polish astronomer Copernicus, whose book setting forth the new theory appeared in 1543 and was dedicated to Pope Paul III. According to Copernicus the sun is the center of the solar system, while the earth daily revolves upon its own axis, and, together with the other planets, moves around the sun in longer intervals.

The moment was inopportune for such a theory. Luther had just declared the Bible the sole source of Faith. *The new system seemed to be in open conflict with the way in which Holy Scripture speaks of the*

movements of the celestial bodies. Hence the "Reformer" and his friends staunchly opposed Copernicus' views, which found few adherents among the Protestants. The controversy lasted seventy years, before the Catholic Church felt obliged to take a stand in this matter. In Italy *Galileo Galilei* advanced Copernicus' system without, however, being able to give a single convincing proof for it. All the arguments which he adduced have since been abandoned. To save the traditional interpretation of the Bible the Church authorities in 1616 prohibited books advocating the idea of Copernicus, unless so altered as to represent it as an hypothesis and not as a fact. Scientific discussion was never forbidden and in 1758 the prohibition was withdrawn.[1]

EXERCISE. — List of terms for brief explanation: Radical humanists, Gutenberg, Diaz, etc.

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[1] See Guggenberger, II, §§ 651–654. Or: Conway, *Studies in Church History*, pp. 155 ff. Hull, *Galileo and His Condemnation* (pamphlet).

BOOK II

FROM THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY TO OUR OWN TIMES

(Later Modern History)

CHARACTER OF THE NEW TIMES. — During the Era of Religious Unity the heads of states had never been too much inclined to listen to the dictates of justice. But they at least admitted the power of Church and Pope to speak to them authoritatively on whatever matters involved questions of moral right or wrong. During the last period of that Era, however, various causes, in particular the growth of absolutism and the degradation of the papacy, brought about an ever growing estrangement between the secular and the spiritual power. This estrangement will now increase. The Reformation will even tear away a number of European states from Christian Unity.

Now the Church has always been the professional champion of justice and charity. Hence with the Church relegated to the background of European politics, or completely ignored, the greatest moral force will be partly or wholly eliminated from international relations. In political dissensions the question of justice will be more neglected, and might alone will decide. True, the pope will continue to be looked up to as the spiritual head of the Catholic world. Occasionally his voice will be heard in the councils of the potentates. Some important public action will be prompted and guided by the dictates of morality. *But an increasing preponderance of might over right will be the general character of the history of Europe during the coming centuries.*

PART I. THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER XX

NEED AND POSSIBILITY OF TRUE REFORM[1]

346. The Evils in the Church. — It cannot be denied that *towards the end of the fifteenth century the Church stood in need of a general reform.* The number of those of the *faithful* who grossly violated their moral duties was alarmingly great. Divine worship was indeed celebrated with becoming splendor and regularity. But there was a tendency to overdo certain religious practices, such as pilgrimages, or to attach to them an efficacy which savored of superstition. In the private lives of vast numbers, there was not only ample room but a crying need for a thoroughgoing improvement. Considering, on the other hand, the numerous acts of piety and devotion, and the general liberality practiced towards charitable institutions, it is not at all likely that very many refused on their deathbed to be sincerely reconciled with God. (See § 219.)

347. Still more ominous than the foregoing evils was a deplorable relaxation of morals in the higher and lower *clergy*, and a sad lack of religious discipline in many *monasteries*. Thus the very circles from which a reform should have come were largely unfit and unwilling to undertake it or to coöperate with it.

There were in particular two abuses which helped to increase and perpetuate the unsound state of the clergy.

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[1] Review § 219.

(1) *The plurality of benefices.* The number of ecclesiastical positions was very great and many of them were lavishly endowed. Now it had become rather common to confer several such "benefices" upon one person. One man, for instance, was made bishop of two dioceses, or bishop of one diocese and at the same time "canon" (§ 142, note) of the cathedral of another; or canon of the cathedral and parish priest of one or more opulent parishes. It was supposed that he would in person perform the duties of one of these offices and employ a competent priest to take his place in the others.[1]

In some cases, however, even this abuse might be tolerated, because there were many ecclesiastical endowments, to which hardly any actual duties were attached. Such benefices were frequently given to university professors whose regular salary was often very meager, or to poor clerics who wished to pursue higher studies in the universities.

(2) *The bestowal of responsible ecclesiastical positions upon mere boys,* commonly the scions of noble families. In such cases a priest was intrusted with the duties of the office, while the father of the young incumbent attended to the administration of the property. Often youngsters of sixteen years and less were the possessors of several benefices, which put rich revenues at the disposal of their parents.

These evils were rife in all countries and cities, Rome included; and their pernicious character was so little realized that the best families were not free from them. As a boy of twelve years, St. Charles Borromeo, the child of very pious parents, was the abbot of a rich Benedictine monastery. When, later on, he was made Archbishop of Milan, he found that his predecessors had not been residing in the city for eighty years, and that their principal occupation had been to draw the revenues. His own first act was to abdicate twelve abbeys which had been granted to him merely on account of his family connections, in the course of several years.

[1] Thus Albrecht of Brandenburg, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg (of the Hohenzollern family, § 333, note), was Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence, administrator of the Bishopric of Halberstadt, and held at the same time canonicates in several other places.

348. Most disastrous, however, was the *sad condition of the papacy*, just at a time when zealous and energetic popes should have devoted all their power to a far-reaching reform. The best among the popes of the period had their attention engaged in warding off the Turkish danger from Europe; or in frustrating the French projects for a conquest of all Italy. Too many of the *cardinals*, too, were simply rich grandees with ecclesiastical titles and revenues but with little ecclesiastical spirit. An evil, rampant in other places also but nowhere so pernicious as in the capital of Christendom, was *nepotism*, that is, the promotion to high offices of near relatives of the pope and other influential dignitaries. While this cannot be objected to as long as the persons thus promoted possess the necessary qualifications, it was in fact a chief cause of the worldliness which was conspicuous among the highest prelates of the Church. It reached its climax under the unfortunate Alexander VI (1492–1503).

Being the nephew of Pope Calixtus III (1455–1458) he had risen, in spite of the scandals of his life, to the cardinalate, and had obtained important positions in the government of the Church. When pope his private conduct improved somewhat, but his court was not much different from that of profligate secular princes. He conceived the suicidal plan of changing the Papal States into a secular kingdom in favor of his relatives. The Divine character of the papacy, however, appeared even in a man like Alexander VI. He took some steps to encourage monastic life, to spread devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and to safeguard the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine. He did not forget the propagation of the Faith in foreign lands. The fine arts found in him a liberal patron. But no project of general and thorough reform could count upon the support of such a pope.

With gross exaggerations the deplorable conditions at the Roman court were heralded throughout the world. They gave color to all kinds of charges not only against the morals of the highest Church officials but also against the methods of papal administration. Louder than ever grew the clamor against the various *ecclesiastical taxes* (§ 328) which on certain occasions

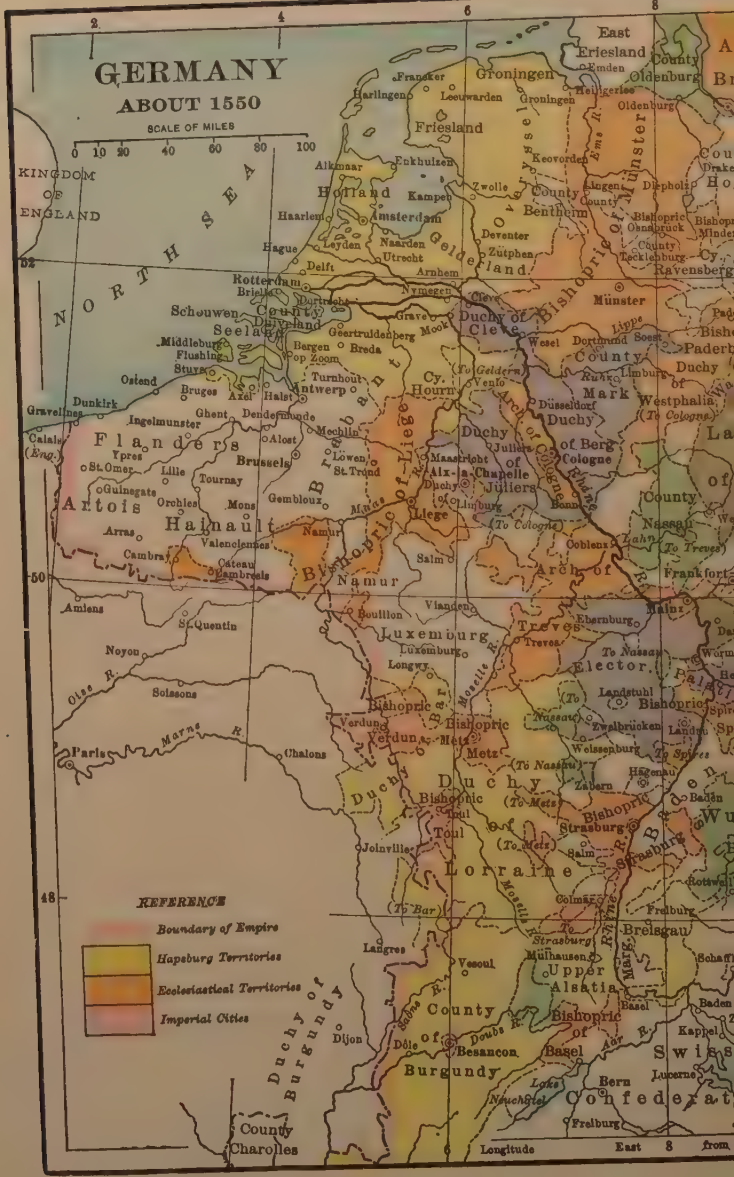
the bishops and other prelates were obliged to send to Rome as contributions to the expenses of the government of the Church. The prelates showed unwillingness to pay them, and the secular rulers protested against the constant flow of money to Rome as too severe a drain upon their territories.

The bad example thus given by the very men who were rightly expected to be the light of the world sadly reacted upon the lives of the laity. *The respect for ecclesiastical offices*, for that of the Sovereign Pontiff in particular, suffered greatly. This was noticeable in all countries, but more so in Germany, where the consequences of the Avignon period, and the Great Schism, the ideas spread by the half-revolutionary Council of Basel, and the effects of the Hussite agitation had left a ferment of dissatisfaction. (See §§ 328–335.)

349. Possibility of a True Reform. — Reform again became the watchword of serious and honest as well as of shallow minds. But none raised the cry more noisily than those who were the least willing to suffer any restraint upon their passions, and those who expected some material emolument from the restrictions to be imposed upon others. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that even the worst, as a rule, understood their demand in a revolutionary sense.

Nor were the persons wanting, who used all their influence, great or modest according to their station, to work zealously for a genuine reform. We must point at least to a few of them.

350. True Reformers. — The kingdom of Spain (§ 318) found a reformer of the first rank in *Cardinal Ximenes*, a member of the Franciscan Order. Austere in his private life, a lover of humanistic as well as scholastic studies, and an able administrator, he was eminently qualified for his task. Pope and monarchs gave him their hearty support. He succeeded in inspiring the priests of Spain with love of both virtue and learning. He undertook a general visitation of the monasteries, and in carrying out reforms he went so far as even to banish dissolute monks from the kingdom. At his death, 1517, Spain possessed a pious, zealous, and well-educated clergy.


GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
Longitude East 8 from
Friesland
Groningen
Holland
Amsterdam
Hague
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam
Schouwen
Duiveland
Seeland
Middleburg
Flushing
Stuys
Ostend
Bruges
Axel
Halst
Antwerp
Turnhout
Bergen op Zoom
Breda
Geertruidenberg
Dortrecht
Grave
Nymegen
Arnhem
Zutphen
Deventer
Zwolle
Kampen
Enkhuizen
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Naarden
Utrecht
Gelderland
Cleve
Mook
Duchy of Cleve
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
Münster
Bishopric of Münster
Emden
East Friesland
Oldenburg
County Oldenburg
Heiligerlee
Leeuwarden
Harlingen
Francker
Keoverden
Lingen
Diepholz
Bishopric Osnabrück
County Tecklenburg
Ravensberg
Cy. Hourn
Venlo
Düsseldorf
Duchy of Berg
Cologne
Mark
Westphalia
Limburg
Duchy of Juliers
Chapelle
Aix-la-Chapelle
Maastricht
Liege
Bonn
Coblenz
Nassau
Frankfort
Mainz
Ebernburg
Trevos
Elector.
Landstuhl
Bishopric
Zweibrücken
Weissenburg
Hagenau
Zabern
Strasburg
Baden
Rotwell
Freiburg
Breisgau
Mülhausen
Upper Alsatia
Basel
Bishopric of Basel
Bern
Lucerne
Lake Neuchâtel
Confederat
Frelburg
Besancon
Dôle
County of Burgundy
Dijon
Vesoul
Langres
Joinville
Toul
Bishopric of Toul
Duchy of Lorraine
Verdun
Bishopric of Metz
Metz
Bishopric of Verdun
Bishopric of Liege
Namur
Salm
Vianden
Luxemburg
Boulillon
Longwy
Mosselle R.
Sabre R.
Doubs R.
Aar R.
Marg. R.
Rhine R.
Lahn R.
Ems R.
Lippe
Ruhr
Maas
Brabant
Brussels
Mechlin
Alost
Dendermonde
Ghent
Ingelmunster
Flanders
Ypres
St. Omer
Lille
Tournay
Guinegate
Artois
Orchies
Mons
Hainault
Arras
Valenciennes
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
Gembloux
Namur
Lowen
St. Trond
Calais (Eng.)
Gravelines
Dunkirk
Amiens
St. Quentin
Noyon
Soissons
Paris
Chalons
Olse R.
Marne R.
Bar
Duchy of Burgundy
County Charolles
Longitude East 8 from

Duchy of Mecklenburg
Pomerania
Uckermark
Prignitz
County Ruppin
Duchy of Brunswick
Altmark
Brandenburg
Margraviate of
Neumark
KINGDOM OF
Arch. of Magdeburg
Mittlemark
Lower Lusatia
POLAND
Halberstadt
Duchy of Saxony
Upper Lusatia
Duchy of Silesia
Prin. of Liegnitz
Prin. of Brieg
Electorate of Saxony
County of Glatz
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Saxony
Reuss
Bayreuth
Margraviate of Moravia
Upper Palatinate
Ansbach
Bishopric of Passau
Arch. of Austria
Duchy of Bavaria
Augsburg
Munich
Salzburg
Arch. of Salzburg
Duchy of Styria
County of Tyrol
Duchy of Carinthia
VENICE
HUNGARY
Berlin
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
Linz
Ratisbon
Innsbruck
Brixen (Bishopric)
Klagenfurt
Graz
Leoben
Bruck
Neustadt
Radkersburg
Frankfort
Posen
Breslau
Glogau
Sagan
Lobau
Görlitz
Zittau
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Leipzig
Halle
Wittenberg
Torgau
Dessau
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Stettin
Stendal
Küstrin
Schwiebus
Obornik
Pilsen
Tabor
Budweis
Passau
Salzburg
Gastein
Hall
Tyrol
Etsch R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Danube R.
Moldau R.
Eger R.
Saale R.
Inn R.
Drave R.
Mur R.
Enns R.
Traun R.
Thaya R.
March R.
Netze R.
Warthe R.
Spree R.
Havel R.
Weser R.
Main R.
Rhine R.
Lech R.
Isar R.
Brenner
Ehrenberger Pass
Pinzgau
Lienz
(To Salzburg)
(To Bamberg)
(To Gorz)
Klagenfurt
Villach
Gratz
Radkersburg
Bruck
Leoben
Neustadt
Pressburg
Mölk
Enns
Steyer
Passau
Landau
Ingolstadt
Landshut
Altdorf
Munich
Augsburg
Kempten
Eichstadt
Nuremburg
Rothenburg
Schwabach
Ansbach
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Kulmbach
Hof
Plauen
Adorf
Zeitz
Weimar
Jena
Erfurt
Gotha
Eisenach
Mühlberg
Mersburg
Naumburg
Frankenhausen
Mansfeld
Eisleben
Sondershausen
Arnstadt
Ilmenau
Meiningen
Coburg
Hildburghausen
Saalfeld
Lobenstein
Schleiz
Gera
Zeitz
Merseburg
Wittenberg
Zerbst
Cöthen
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Halberstadt
Wolfenbüttel
Brunswick
Celle
Lüneburg
Lauenburg
Schwerin
Ludwigslust
Parchim
Güstrow
Rostock
Wismar
Stralsund
Greifswald
Anklam
Pasewalk
Prenzlau
Angermünde
Eberswalde
Potsdam
Brandenburg
Rathenow
Havelberg
Perleberg
Ruppin
Neustrelitz
Templin
Oderberg
Fürstenwalde
Frankfort
Lebus
Crossen
Züllichau
Sorau
Guben
Cottbus
Spremberg
Hoyerswerda
Bautzen
Görlitz
Lauban
Sprottau
Glogau
Fraustadt
Lissa
Rawicz
Krotoschin
Ostrowo
Schrimm
Posen
Meseritz
Bomst
Grünberg
Sagan
Sprottau
Liegnitz
Brieg
Oppeln
Neisse
Ratibor
Troppau
Jägerndorf
Leobschütz
Neustadt
Prerau
Hradisch
Olmütz
Zwittau
Mährisch Trübau
Brünn
Iglau
Znaim
Nikolsburg
Feldsberg
Hollabrunn
Korneuburg
Vienna
Baden
Wiener Neustadt
Neunkirchen
Mariazell
Leoben
Bruck
Neustadt
Pressburg
Raab
Gratz
Radkersburg
Marburg
Cilli
Windischgratz
Leibnitz
Fürstenfeld
Hartberg
Neuhaus
Friedberg
Mureck
Luttenberg
Pettau
Ptuj
Varasdin
Warasdin Creutz
Kanizsa
Canischa
Stuhlweissenburg
Raab
Comorn
Gran
Neutra
Tyrnau
Skalitz
Trentschin
Sillein
Kremnitz
Neusohl
Schemnitz
Leutschau
Kaschau
Eperies
Tokay
Miskolcz
Erlau
Szegedin
Debreczin
Grosswardein
Arad
Temesvar
Karansebes
Mehadia
Orsova
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Fogaras
Klausenburg
Maros Vasarhely
Bistritz
Deva
Hatzeg
Szamos R.
Maros R.
Aluta R.
Theiss R.
Save R.
Drave R.
Danube R.
Etsch R.
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Isar R.
Lech R.
Iller R.
Rhine R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Moldau R.
Eger R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Netze R.
Warthe R.
Spree R.
Havel R.
Weser R.
Saale R.
Mulde R.
Pruth R.
Sereth R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Vistula R.
Narew R.
Bobr R.
Niemen R.
Pregel R.
Memel R.
Dwina R.
Duna R.
Dnieper R.
Pripet R.
Beresina R.
Sozh R.
Ingul R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Kamenetz
Podolia
Volhynia
Lutzk
Dubno
Rovno
Zaslavl
Ostrog
Zhitomir
Kiev
Tchernigov
Novgorod Severski
Starodub
Mstislavl
Mohilev
Orsha
Vitebsk
Polotsk
Dwinsk
Kovno
Wilna
Grodno
Bialystok
Brest Litovsk
Pinsk
Mozyr
Rechitza
Gomel
Bobruisk
Minsk
Slutsk
Nesvizh
Novogrudok
Slonim
Pruzhany
Kobrin
Kamenetz
Podolia
Volhynia
Lutzk
Dubno
Rovno
Zaslavl
Ostrog
Zhitomir
Kiev
Tchernigov
Novgorod Severski
Starodub
Mstislavl
Mohilev
Orsha
Vitebsk
Polotsk
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Kovno
Wilna
Grodno
Bialystok
Brest Litovsk
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Rechitza
Gomel
Bobruisk
Minsk
Slutsk
Nesvizh
Novogrudok
Slonim
Pruzhany
Kobrin

Cardinal Ximenes had the revenues of a king and the personal wants of a hermit. Much of his fortune went to the establishment of the University of Alcala, which by the attention given to theology, Biblical studies, classic and Oriental languages, and the secular branches, soon rivaled the best institutions in Europe. It was endowed with numerous scholarships to make the pursuit of academic studies possible for the poor. To render easier the scientific study of Holy Scriptures, the cardinal engaged a number of scholars to bring out a polyglot Bible, which gave in parallel columns the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Chaldaic texts, with dictionaries and grammars of Hebrew and Chaldaic. It was the first printed polyglot. The books these learned men needed were bought irrespective of cost. Once the cardinal paid 4000 ducats for six Hebrew manuscripts.

351. About the same time that Ximenes began to reform Spain, Germany was the scene of the activity of another great reformer, Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, commonly called *Nicholas of Cusa* (§ 345). Like Ximenes " he was first and foremost a reformer of his own person. His life was a very mirror of all priestly virtue." " His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men." In 1552 Pope Nicholas V sent him as legate to Germany, where reformation was badly needed. He assembled the German bishops in the metropolitan cities for the celebration of Provincial Councils and took vigorous measures to insure the observance of ecclesiastical laws. About a hundred and fifty Benedictine monasteries, not to mention those of other Orders, were visited and, if necessary, reformed. Everywhere he insisted above all upon the active union with Rome, which had suffered greatly. (See end of § 348.) If not all the good seed he sowed brought forth good fruit, it was partly due to the shortness of his activity, as the pope soon employed him on other missions.

On a smaller scale labored the eloquent *John Geiler*, for many years preacher at the cathedral of Strassburg, a virtuous, charitable, and highly educated priest, whose many-sided and powerful influence for true reform extended over a great part of Southern Germany.

A corporate movement of reform was begun by the *Society of the Brethren of Common Life*. In order to serve God more perfectly several ecclesiastics under the leadership of *Gerard Groot*, Canon of Deventer, Holland, resolved to lead a community life and to follow most of the practices of Religious, without, however, binding themselves by vows. Their peculiar activity was preaching, teaching, and the writing and

disseminating of good literature. They also made it their special object to befriend poor students. A part of them, however, soon formed a real religious Order, the "Congregation of Windesheim," which worked in the same spirit and served as a support and backing of the Brethren of the Common Life. Both communities exerted a far-reaching influence, chiefly through the students of their many higher schools, and their reformatory efforts among the secular and regular clergy were fruitful of astonishing results. They were the teachers of Cardinal Nicholas Cusa and of Nicholas Copernicus (§ 345). Thomas à Kempis, author of the famous booklet, "The Imitation of Christ," was a member of the Congregation of Windesheim.

352. The foregoing remarks about true reformers are not meant to do full justice to this consoling subject. They serve, however, in some degree to counteract a wrong impression which the exposition of the evils in the Church is apt to produce. **The Church was not to be despaired of.** Her old vitality was by no means gone. These very times brought forth more than eighty Saints in Italy alone. This same period saw the appearance of many excellent books on Christian morals and on the reception of the sacraments. And the disciples of Gerard Groot and the writers set to work by Cardinal Ximenes were only a few of the many authors who issued useful works. There was shown, moreover, a lavish liberality in the establishment of new hospitals and schools and towards charitable institutions in general. It was not the fault of the immortal Church that the blameworthy life of many of her members and ministers became the pretext for a revolution which tore away large countries from ecclesiastical unity.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REFORMATION PERIOD ON THE CONTINENT

A. The Protestant Reformation in Germany

353. The Indulgence. — About the end of the fifteenth century the venerable Basilica of St. Peter, which had been built by Constantine the Great (§ 40), was threatened with destruction. The pope had therefore resolved to take it down, and erect a new structure, magnificently planned in accordance with Renaissance ideals (§ 343). To facilitate the collection of funds, Pope Leo X, in 1514, promised a *plenary indulgence* to those who would, according to their means, contribute to so praiseworthy an undertaking — besides of course fulfilling the conditions usual in the case of a plenary indulgence, namely, the reception of the sacraments.

An indulgence was then what it is now: a remission, outside of the sacrament of penance, of temporal punishment due to sins which are already forgiven. The Church attaches indulgences to certain good works, which she wishes to encourage, as prayers, pilgrimages, acts of mercy. Sometimes the good work is almsgiving, or contribution towards the building of a church, or toward other charitable or pious enterprises.

354. *Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence* (§ 347, note) *was commissioned by Pope Leo X* to publish the indulgence in a large part of Germany and send the money thus gathered to Rome. He in turn appointed subcommissioners. The latter, commonly learned, pious, and eloquent preachers, went from place to place, sought by appropriate sermons to rouse the people to genuine contrition and a good confession, and collected the alms that were offered.

It is evident that this procedure, though correct in itself, was open to serious abuses. The commissioners might lay more stress on liberal donations than on the necessity of contrition and confession. On handing in his alms a person received an indulgence certificate, by which ample faculties were granted to any confessor whom the holder of the certificate might choose. This feature in particular was apt to leave on superficial minds the impression of a mere business transaction, the more so as the commissioner was allowed to raise or lower the amount according to his estimation of the applicant's wealth.[1]

355. Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence Appointed John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, as his chief subcommissioner. This much maligned priest, personally of blameless character, undoubtedly went too far in his endeavors to procure financial success. He insisted indeed on the necessity of contrition and confession for all those who wished to obtain the remission of temporal punishment for themselves; but his teaching concerning the indulgence for the dead was not free from serious errors. To secure this benefit for a soul which has, of course, departed this life in the state of Grace, nothing, according to him, is required but the alms. He who wishes to apply it to the soul of a deceased person need not be in the state of Grace or have any contrition for his sins. This doctrine, though at his time actually taught by some irresponsible preachers, has never been supported by ecclesiastical authority. Tetzel's own brethren in religion openly reproached him for his ill-advised tactics, which soon became the talk of the whole country.[2]

[1] The earliest case on record of a pope granting an indulgence for the purpose of raising money occurred in 1394, when the Great Schism had obstructed many of the ordinary sources of papal revenue. Charges of abuses became loud at once. In fact, whenever the same means was resorted to in the course of the next century, the same complaints, founded or unfounded, were sure to follow. Great men, as Cardinal Ximenes, openly expressed the opinion that such indulgences ought to be granted less frequently and then only with better precautions against abuses. In the case of the indulgence proclaimed by Leo X, the matter was aggravated by the reports of the scandalous way in which the proceeds of the jubilee indulgence of 1500 had been disposed of under Alexander VI.

[2] It is without the slightest reason that Tetzel's opponents accuse him of

They furnished another element of discontent to those who sincerely or hypocritically lamented the evils of the Church.

356. Martin Luther. — At this time there lived in Wittenberg, in the Electorate of Saxony, as a professor in the university of that city, an Augustinian friar, already famous for his vigorous popular eloquence and his great ability in teaching. Martin Luther was born in 1483. After entering the Order, he was for many years looked upon as an edifying religious. But the question whether his sins were really forgiven began to worry and torment him. Being of a headstrong and self-willed disposition, he refused to listen to the advice of his confessors and superiors, and endeavored to settle his troubles by his own reasoning and studies. At the same time he became more and more remiss in the observance of his Rules and the practices of piety.

At last he imagined he had made the discovery that the doctrine of the Church concerning the remission of sins was altogether wrong. He thereby implied that Christ, contrary to His solemn promise, had allowed the Church to fall into a most disastrous error. The new system, which gradually developed in Luther's mind, confused the nature of sin with concupiscence, which is a consequence of original sin, and while it makes man inclined to sin is no sin in itself. By the sin of Adam, he thought, human nature was corrupted beyond recovery; man's acts can only be bad; but Jesus Christ covers the soul with His infinite merits, which, as it were, conceal all trespasses from the eye of the just God; if sinful man expresses his firm "belief" in this merciful dispensation, God will not punish him, though the sin is not taken away, but merely covered; the sinner therefore ever remains a sinner; the sins committed by St. Paul before his

an immoral life or ascribe to him such silly statements as that indulgences remit sins without contrition and confession, or the duty of restitution, or that they are even pardons for future sins. The saying, however, that the soul jumps out of purgatory as soon as the money tinkles in the box, may not be literally his, but is in keeping with his erroneous doctrine.

conversion were never truly forgiven. It is evident that such a justification is no justification at all, and it will always remain a riddle how Luther could maintain that he had found such a monstrous doctrine in the Bible.

He had already begun to propound these ideas in the pulpit as well as in the lecture room. It was rumored abroad that a strange kind of theology was being taught at Wittenberg. So far, however, Luther did not think of separating himself from the organization of the Church.

357. The Beginning of Hostilities. — When Tetzel on his preaching and collecting tour arrived in the neighborhood of Wittenberg and people flocked to him, Luther at once took up the subject of indulgences. In his lectures, sermons, and in the confessional he inveighed against Tetzel. On the Eve of All Saints' Day, that is, on **Oct. 31, 1517**, he posted a set of 95 theses on the door of the principal church. These propositions he offered to defend in public disputation against all comers.

The greater number of these theses treated of indulgences, but attacked rather the doctrine itself than the abuses connected with it. Nearly half of the theses impugned other points of ecclesiastical teaching, particularly the power of the Church relative to the remission of sins. Though the theses were written in Latin, the language was less scientific than calculated to catch the popular mind by appealing to prejudices and passions.

Such challenges were by no means uncommon in the universities (§ 267). But Luther's theses created a sensation far beyond the circles of the university and the confines of the city. Within a short time they were the talk of the whole country. Luther saw his advantage and followed up his success with other writings, both popular and scientific. Opposition arose, and soon a brisk literary warfare was going on. Many serious-minded men sided with the bold monk, in whom as yet they hailed a courageous champion of their own just complaints. The radical humanists, of whom there was a great number in

Germany at that time, took up his cause enthusiastically. His religious superiors and the bishop of the diocese left him at liberty. The prince in whose territory he lived, the Elector of Saxony, was rather pleased to notice that the university which he himself had founded attracted so much attention.

Luther became more and more audacious. In the struggle with his adversaries, the dogmas of the Church were thrown overboard one by one, and his own system grew more definite and radical.[1]

358. The Final Break with the Church. — When Pope Leo X sent a legate to Germany to investigate the causes of the disturbance, Luther first appealed to the pope himself, later from the ill-informed pope to a better-informed one, — a step which was revolution pure and simple, — then from any pope to a General Council, next from all Councils to the Bible, and lastly from the Bible to himself as the supreme judge of the right interpretation of the Bible. Several of the books of Holy Writ were pointed out to him as being in the most glaring contrast to his self-made teachings. He boldly declared they did not belong to the Bible at all. He still wrote most submissive letters to the Roman Pontiff, while in his works he reviled him as the Antichrist and worse than the Turk. Since 1519 he appears resolved to break completely with the Church.

By this time he had rejected the supernatural efficacy of the sacraments; had declared void the religious vows, and the duty of celibacy in priests; had deprived matrimony of its supernatural character as sacrament and of its indissolubility; had denied the dignity and jurisdiction of pope and bishops; and had invited the emperor and other temporal rulers to seize upon the rich ecclesiastical possessions, including the Papal States.

Several attempts to win back the talented man by kindness had failed. At last the pope solemnly condemned forty-one of Luther's theses and expressly threatened excommunication

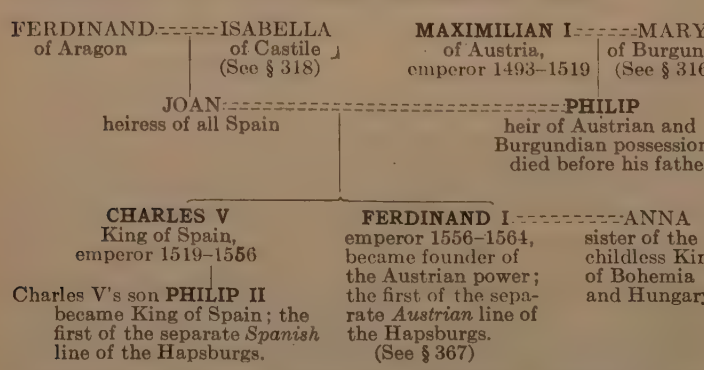
[1] On Luther see the pamphlet, *The Facts about Luther*, by P. O'Hare.

against him if he would not recant within sixty days. Counting upon the support of his humanist friends and of all the dissatisfied elements in clergy and laity, on the protection of his prince, the Elector of Saxony, and on the assistance of a widespread party of disgruntled knights, Luther defied the papal verdict. He secured a copy of the bull and in view of a large crowd of students and people threw it into a bonfire before the gates of Wittenberg, Dec. 10, 1520. Thus the break with the Church and the whole Christian past was finally sealed.

359. Luther before the Diet of Worms. — In 1519 Emperor Maximilian had died. One of his last acts had been an earnest and rather gloomy letter to the Roman authorities to bring to their notice the innovations that were taking place in the empire. He was succeeded by his grandson *Charles, king of the vast Spanish dominions* in both hemispheres.[1]

The young *Emperor Charles V* saw himself confronted with the religious complications in Germany. The numerous and powerful adherents of the apostate monk demanded that the emperor take the matter in hand. Since the highest ecclesiastical authority had meanwhile given a final verdict, Charles V consistently refused to allow a

[1] The following table will help to clear up the family connections which led to this accumulation of power and its subsequent division.


FERDINAND of Aragon
ISABELLA of Castile (See § 318)
MAXIMILIAN I of Austria, emperor 1493–1519
MARY of Burgundy (See § 316)
JOAN heiress of all Spain
PHILIP heir of Austrian and Burgundian possessions; died before his father
CHARLES V King of Spain, emperor 1519–1556
Charles V's son PHILIP II became King of Spain; the first of the separate Spanish line of the Hapsburgs.
FERDINAND I emperor 1556–1564, became founder of the Austrian power; the first of the separate Austrian line of the Hapsburgs. (See § 367)
ANNA sister of the childless King of Bohemia and Hungary.

The symbol ----- means "married." The names of Hapsburg princes are printed in heavy capitals.

formal judicial proceeding. But he consented that Luther be given another chance to declare his submission, and promised to intercede for him with the Supreme Pontiff.

With an imperial safe-conduct Luther came to the Diet at Worms, 1521, the first which Charles held. But the monk's obstinacy destroyed every hope of reconciliation. The emperor pronounced against him the "Edict of Worms," which was to take effect after sixty days. It declared Luther an outlaw, ordered his books to be burned, and forbade all Germans to profess his doctrines or give him any assistance or encouragement. The Elector of Saxony and other princes, however, refused to allow the Edict to be carried out in their territories and were too powerful to be forced into obedience.[1]

360. The Rebellion of the Lower Nobility. — When Luther defied the pope, he counted on a revolutionary movement which was spreading in the empire. It proceeded from two strata of the population, the lower nobility and the peasants.

The ascendency of the foot soldier (§§ 208, 315) had deprived the lower nobility of their natural occupation. The English knights had found another field of usefulness, but the German knights had not. This numerous class consisted of men who owned each a castle with some land which, in many cases, did not yield enough to allow them the expensive style of living which they thought was the privilege of their station. Moreover, the old national laws were gradually supplanted by the Justinian Code, which greatly favored the power of territorial rulers (§ 63). Though exemplary in many ways it was after all a foreign law, grown out of different circumstances. It did away with

[1] Luther possessed a perfect control of his native tongue and knew how to talk to the common people. This, together with an incredible capacity for work, is one of the many causes of his success. Pamphlets and leaflets were his favorite weapons, and they always appeared at the right moment. In 1521 he began his German translation of the Bible, which is recognized to be more genuinely German than any of the eighteen that preceded him. (He did not make the language, as is often claimed; but he devoted much time and study to mastering it more thoroughly.) He did not scruple to manipulate the sacred text so as to suit his own new doctrines. One of his Catholic opponents stated that he had counted not less than 1400 false or inaccurate renderings. Luther's Bible had an enormous sale and incidentally contributed much to fix and generalize the language. It was soon, however, successfully rivaled by good Catholic translations.

the old popular courts and introduced new ones presided over by trained jurists, who managed to draw out the proceedings in order to get larger fees. For poorer people, including the lower nobility, it was very difficult to obtain redress. There was, therefore, a general state of discontent, which drove many knights into the ranks of the highway robbers.

One Francis von Sickingen had made himself the champion of the "oppressed" knights. By the promise of unlimited plunder he gathered large bands around him, harassed the cities and princes, extorted large sums of money, and tormented and killed the helpless inhabitants of villages and monasteries. For a change he served as a French general. Luther's declamations and writings against pope and bishops made Sickingen a soldier of the "Gospel." Ulric von Hutten, a profligate of the same stamp, but also a writer of elegant Latin verse, had helped to gain him for the cause of Luther.

After the Diet of Worms, Sickingen conceived the plan of building up a kingdom for the new religion. He even thought of dislodging the emperor and driving the pope out of Italy. He secretly gathered thousands of knights and marched, in 1522, against the Archbishop of Treves, an uncompromising opponent of Luther's "Gospel." But the attack upon the city failed. Sickingen retired, devastating the country fearfully. He soon fell mortally wounded while defending his own castle.[1] — This was the first war waged in the name of the new religion.

361. The Rebellion of the Peasants. — During the preceding century the German peasants, whether serfs or not, had, on the whole, been prosperous. But this prosperity rapidly declined.

The rise of commerce had caused the formation of merchants' companies, or trusts, which artificially raised the price of all commodities. The peasants themselves had become involved in debts by their extravagance. But historians mention above all the introduction of the

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 197, 198. Janssen, *History of the German People*, III, pp. 276–308.

Roman law as one of the chief causes of the deterioration of their condition. Then came the "Gospel" of Luther. "His pamphlets were full of appeals to the worst human passions. The burning of convents, the plundering and slaying of priests and bishops, was declared to be not only pleasing to God but necessary under pain of damnation. He heaped calumnies and insults on the princes who closed their countries to his 'Gospel,' and hurled invectives even against the emperor himself." The peasants drew their own conclusions from this gospel of hate. They formulated their demands, some of which, however, were fully justified, in what they called the Peasants' Articles. Large sections of these they had taken from Luther's writings. Their banner was the "Bundschuh," a coarse peasant's clog, raised upon a pole.

Thus began the frightful revolution called the Peasants' War, which involved about one fifth of Germany. It took armies of ten and twenty thousand soldiers to put it down. There had been other peasants' risings in Germany before this, but never had such acts of fiendish cruelty been committed. It was the effect of the preaching of Luther and the Lutherans. The soldiers on their part retaliated with equal ferocity. When Luther perceived that the cause of the peasants was lost, he savagely turned around and hounded on the princes to inflict the most terrible punishments.[1]

As a result of this war, more than a thousand castles and monasteries lay in ashes on a territory smaller than the State of Ohio. Contemporary writers estimate the number of the slain at 150,000. The country swarmed with beggared widows and orphans. As the original records were destroyed, the peasants had to consent to new terms or were refused definite contracts.[2] In the seventeenth century the Thirty Years' War completed the degradation of most of the German peasantry. It was long before they rose again to the prosperity they had possessed in the fifteenth century.

[1] See Husslein and Reville, *What Luther Taught*, pp. 48–55; Guggenberger, II, §§ 199–203; Janssen, *History of the German People*, IV, pp. 121–369.

[2] While the horrible carnage was going on, Martin Luther celebrated his wedding with Catharine Bora, an escaped nun.

362. Lutheranism and the Temporal Rulers. — By his attitude during and after the Peasants' War, Luther had forfeited the adherence of the lower classes. The new doctrine had put an end to the episcopal jurisdiction in the territories of certain princes. Hence Luther now turned to these temporal rulers and made them heads of their respective "churches." There were now as many "popes" as Lutheran princes. In these principalities the "Church" became the servant of the state, a kind of spiritual police department.[1]

In former centuries the people could appeal from a tyrannical Henry IV of Germany, or a Henry II of England, or a Philip II of France to a higher judge, the Roman pontiff. The very presence of an independent priesthood was a check on princely despotism. The new religion rendered the subject helpless. There was already a strong tendency in all rulers, great and small, to make themselves absolute. Luther and the movement he started enormously furthered these endeavors. It is now that princely absolutism really begins. Catholic rulers also succumbed to this contagious disease.

B. Emperor Charles V (1519–1556)

363. Charles V and the Religious Question. — Charles V was sincerely attached to the Church and resolved to preserve Germany in the Catholic religion. But his difficulties were great. He had many troubles in his kingdom of Spain. His

[1] In a Diet held at Spires (Speyer), 1529, the Catholic party, still in the majority, had an imperial edict passed which forbade the Lutheran princes to molest their Catholic subjects. Against this fair enactment the Lutherans "protested," and henceforth they, as well as all those sects that arose later, were designated as *Protestants*. This merely negative term strikingly expresses the fact that the new religion has not produced any positive element for the betterment of mankind. The following year, at Augsburg, the Protestant princes presented to the emperor a lengthy document, which set forth their belief. It is called the *Augsburg Confession* and is recognized by the Lutherans as their "Creed." It was, however, opposed by some of their own number from the beginning.

almost continuous wars kept him away very frequently from the empire and made him dependent on the good will of his subjects. Hence his ill-advised policy of reconciliation, which led him to expect too much from concessions to the innovators. Had he shown more firmness, no doubt the losses of the Church would have been smaller. Toward the end of his reign he even meddled in doctrinal matters. He had set his hope upon a General Council to be celebrated on German soil. But the means he used to bring it about and his attempts at interfering with its workings cannot but be severely condemned. On the other hand he certainly was instrumental in saving at least one half of Germany for the true faith.

His brother Ferdinand, who commonly represented the absent emperor, though personally a devout Catholic, shared his too conciliatory views.

364. The Foreign Wars of Charles V. — Francis I, King of France, carried on four wars against the emperor. In the second, which the French king began contrary to his sworn promise, even Pope Clement VII was on his side, because it seemed the emperor might become too powerful in Italy. The pope, however, soon wished to withdraw, and in fact an armistice had already been arranged for. But the imperial army, consisting of German Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, demanded the arrears of their pay. When this was not forthcoming, they marched against Rome. Their most popular leader fell while scaling the walls; and thus Rome, the most cultured city of the world, was for a whole month at the mercy of some 40,000 troopers who had nobody to control them. Deeds of unspeakable cruelty and destruction were perpetrated. The peace which concluded this war is called the *Ladies' Peace*, because its conditions were fixed by the mother of Francis and the aunt of Charles.

In 1530 Charles V was crowned by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, — the last coronation of an emperor of the Holy

Roman Empire. All his successors were merely "Emperors Elect." (See § 312.)

365. Meanwhile the *Turks* under Sultan Soleyman (§ 320) had overrun all Hungary, and with an army of 200,000 men laid siege to Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, 1529. The garrison of not more than 12,000, under their aged commander, Count Salm, held out heroically, until the approach of the winter forced the Turks to retreat. Two years later an army of Germans and Hungarians, partly equipped at the expense of Pope Clement VII, saved the Northwest of Hungary from Turkish domination. (See §§ 319, 320.)

In 1535 Charles carried out a successful expedition against the *Mohammedans in Tunis* and freed 20,000 Christian captives.

This victory brought on another war between *Francis I and the emperor.* Francis even entered into an alliance with Soleyman. Combined French and Turkish ships preyed upon the commerce of Christians in the Mediterranean. In the French wars, the emperor held his own quite well against all aggressions.

366. The Rebellion of the Protestant Princes. — A number of Lutheran princes of the empire formed the "League of Smalkald" for the protection of Protestantism and to prevent the Catholics from regaining the ecclesiastical possessions which the Protestants had seized by various methods of fraud and force. When the emperor ordered them to dissolve the revolutionary league, they refused, but were signally defeated. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, though a Lutheran, had sided with the emperor, and as a reward was made Elector. To regain his lost prestige among the Protestants he dastardly turned against the unsuspecting emperor, and began a series of horrible depredations against Catholic territories. The emperor, completely unprepared, barely escaped captivity.

Broken and discouraged Charles V concluded with the Protestants the "*Religious Peace of Augsburg,*" 1555. This agreement established the principle, *Cujus Regio, Illius Religio*

EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH
Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finns
LIVONIA
DENMARK
Moscow
Tartars
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
Volga R.
KHANATE OF CRIM (CRIMEA)
Circassians
GEORGIA
BLACK SEA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
POLAND
Kief
Dneiper R.
Warsaw
Krakow
Vienna
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Danube R.
TURKISH EMPIRE
THE EMPIRE (GERMANY)
Elbe R.
NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMPTE
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
MILAN
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
SARDINIA
SICILY
TUNIS
NAVARRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

(whose is the country, his is the religion), that is, the prince determines what religion the subjects are to profess; and if they refuse to do so they must emigrate. Of course this principle might be applied and was actually resorted to by Catholic princes as well. It was another strengthening of autocracy.

To secure the aid of the French king for his purpose, Maurice the rebel had entered into an alliance with him and played the three German cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun into his hands. This was the first beginning of the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine by France (§ 412, 2).

367. Charles V's Successors. — A year after the Peace of Augsburg Charles V abdicated his dignities both as emperor and as King of Spain. His brother Ferdinand, who had already been chosen King of the Romans (§ 312), followed him as Emperor (Elect) and possessor of the Austrian dominions. His son Philip II became King of Spain and its dependencies which included the Netherlands, Milan, and Naples. Charles withdrew to a Spanish monastery, where he devoted his time to works of piety and study. He died in 1558.

Supported by the claims of his wife, Ferdinand had been elected hereditary king by the Hungarians after the Bohemians had chosen him to the same position in their own country. He thus became the founder of the power of Austria.

By this division of the Hapsburg possessions, there were established two branches of the family, the Austrian line beginning with Ferdinand, and the Spanish line beginning with Philip. (See § 359, note.)

The religious troubles had enormously increased the weakness of Germany. Hence the French kings turned their aggressiveness from Italy to their northeastern neighbor. Here neither Alps nor Pyrenees stood in the way, while domestic dissensions and the lack of a strong central power furnished many opportunities for conquest. For the next hundred years we find the French kings nearly always in alliance with the Protestant German princes against the Catholic emperor.[1]

C. Further Extension of Protestantism

368. Ulric Zwingli, a priest in *Switzerland*, started a similar "reformation" in his own country, in 1519, two years after

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 215–235. See also "The Dutch Pope," in Casartelli's *Sketches in History*.

Luther. He, too, rejected the authority of pope and bishops, the celibacy of the priests, the religious vows, the necessity of good works. The usual plundering of monasteries and confiscation of Church property followed and was one of the motives that induced several cantons to accept the innovation. Others, however, the three original "Forest Cantons" (§ 314) among them, remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Like their German brethren the Swiss reformers were soon at war with their Catholic fellow citizens. Zwingli himself fell in one of the civil strifes (1531). There was a deadly hatred between Zwingli and Luther, because the former took the liberty of explaining Holy Scripture in a different way. Zwinglianism was subsequently merged into Calvinism.

369. John Calvin, a Frenchman, entered upon his public career as heretic in 1534. The most characteristic doctrine of his system is that every man has been predestined beforehand by God to either Heaven or hell, so that it is not in his power to change his final fate. Calvin gave to his "church" a strictly democratic mode of government. There are no bishops; the highest officials are the priests or rather ministers elected by the congregation. Hence the name of *Presbyterianism* from *Presbyter,* priest.

Calvinism spread through parts of France, Germany, Holland, and to Scotland. From the latter country it came to England under the name of *Puritanism,* so called from its tendency to "purify" the divine service of every trace of the old Roman rites. But its real home is the city of *Geneva,* now belonging to Switzerland. Here Calvin himself ruled with Draconic severity. The churches were stripped of altars, pictures, statues, and every kind of ornamentation. The most rigorous laws regulated the minutest details in the life of the people. The whole city rose at four o'clock. Recreations were severely restricted. A dressmaker was put in jail for three days for making the dress of a bride too beautiful. Within four years there were more than 800 cases of imprisonment, 76 decrees of exile, and 58 executions among the 15,000 inhabitants. A Spanish physician, Servetus, who denied the Blessed Trinity, happened to come to Geneva. He was arrested, found guilty

of heresy, and burned at the stake [1] — with the approval of the authorities of the Swiss and German Protestants. Calvin kept himself in power by the assistance of the numerous foreigners who went to Geneva to study theology under him, and who all became citizens directly upon their arrival. (See Guggenberger, II, 211–213.)

Calvinism is the most aggressive and intolerant of the new "religions." None tends more relentlessly toward complete civic control and political influence.

370. Protestantism in Other Countries of the Continent. *The Land of the Teutonic Order* (§ 321). — Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach, a relative of the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg (§ 333, note), had become Grand-Master of the Order. Like his predecessors he tried to rid himself of Polish sovereignty. But left without assistance by the disunited empire, he at last forsook his religious vows. With the consent of the Polish king he changed East-Prussia into a secular vassal state of Poland, and forcibly introduced Lutheranism. Those of the Knights who remained faithful to their religion withdrew to their possessions in central Germany, where the Order existed until 1803.

The family of "Duke" Albrecht died out with his own children. But he had made an agreement with the Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg that in this eventuality the dukedom of (East-) Prussia should be united with the Electorate of Brandenburg. The annexation, which made (East-) Prussia a province of Brandenburg, took place in 1618.

Livonia, the northeastern part of the Order's dominions, preserved the Catholic religion some thirty years longer. Then

[1] Servetus was an investigator of rare ability. He had discovered the circulation of the blood. It was a misfortune for him and for the science of medicine, that he did not refrain from dabbling in theology. His theory was embodied in the theological work which cost him his life, and of which only two copies survived him. The important discovery was made again fifty years later by the English physician Harvey. See Walsh, *The Century of Columbus*, pp. 369, 370.

its " Army-Master " took the same step as Albrecht of Prussia, and the land became a Polish fief. Later on the Swedes and finally the Russians occupied Livonia (§ 490).

In *Poland* the spread of Protestantism was pretty well checked, though its few adherents obtained bare toleration. *Transylvania*, a vassal state of Hungary, became entirely Lutheran. In *Hungary* the Calvinists grew so numerous that they could successfully demand freedom of public worship. But the country as such remained Catholic.

In *Sweden* Gustavus Wasa, justly admired as the hero of Swedish liberty (§ 322), turned traitor to his better self and by all manner of deceit and violence forced Lutheranism upon the country. In *Denmark* and *Norway*, the new religion was introduced by the same means. Everywhere the change of religion brought with it a considerable diminution of popular liberty. The Republic of Iceland (§ 102) lost both liberty and religion and became a Danish province.[1]

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 209, 210.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD

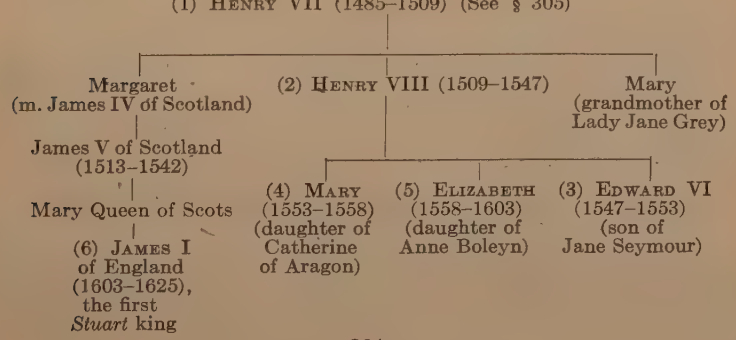
A. England

I. HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI (1509–1547–1553)

371. Henry VIII's Revolt from the Church. — In Germany the Protestant Reformation was chiefly the work of the princes. But great religious abuses and still more serious economic evils had prepared the way for it. This is much less the case in England. The setting up of a separate English "Church" is the achievement of one man, King Henry VIII, the second of the Tudor kings.[1]

Henry VIII was married to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (§ 318) and aunt of Charles V. She had, however, been the wife of Henry's deceased brother Arthur. There is an ecclesiastical impediment against the marriage with

[1] The following table of Tudor rulers (§ 300) shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family.


(1) Henry VII (1485–1509) (See § 305)
Margaret (m. James IV of Scotland)
(2) Henry VIII (1509–1547)
Mary (grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V of Scotland (1513–1542)
Mary Queen of Scots
(6) James I of England (1603–1625), the first Stuart king
(4) Mary (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) Elizabeth (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) Edward VI (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

a brother's widow. But in Henry's case this impediment had been removed by papal dispensation. The union was blessed with five children, all of whom died in their infancy except the Princess Mary.

When the Lutheran revolution broke out in Germany, Henry VIII opposed it with might and main, and had the English laws against heretics carried out in full severity. He even wrote a Latin book against Luther in defense of the Seven Sacraments. For this work Pope Leo X gave him the title of "Defensor Fidei" (Defender of the Faith), which, strange to say, the present kings of England still retain.

372. Apostasy. — But the king became the slave of a low passion for another woman, Anne Boleyn. Soon he feigned scruples of conscience concerning his marriage with Catherine, and began to think of a separation from her. He knew that there is a law in the Church which withdraws all marriage questions of rulers from the Jurisdiction of the bishops and reserves them exclusively to the Sovereign Pontiff. So he tried all the means in his power to obtain from the pope a declaration of the nullity of his union with Catherine. But in vain. All the pope ever granted was the appointment of a commission to investigate the case in England. Cardinal Wolsey, the king's favorite, was made a member of it. But this effort, too, came to naught. In great rage Henry VIII dismissed Cardinal Wolsey from his service and was on the point of having him executed for treason, when, happily, the humiliated prelate died of grief. All hope of obtaining satisfaction from Rome had to be given up.

The king now resolved to throw off allegiance to the pope. He required the English bishops to recognize him as the head of the Church in England, which they did, in the face of his threats, though not without a weak protest. At this juncture Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Henry intruded into the primatial see one of his creatures, Thomas Cranmer, who had imbibed Lutheran heresies in Germany and was secretly married to a niece of one of the German reformers. Without the

slightest hesitation Cranmer granted the desired divorce. Henry VIII at once banished Catherine and Princess Mary from his court, married Anne Boleyn, and had her crowned with unusual solemnity. In **1534** a servile parliament passed the "Act of Supremacy," which declared that "*the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken and accepted and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia.*"

Was there in England, asks a Protestant writer, any general dislike of the jurisdiction of Rome in Church matters? and his answer is: "I fail to see any evidence of such a feeling in the copious correspondence of the twenty years preceding. . . . Moreover, if any such general desire for the abolition of his (the pope's) authority existed, I cannot, for my part, understand why there never was any attempt to throw off papal jurisdiction before the days of Henry VIII." (Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, Vol. I, p. 4.)

373. It should be noted that Henry VIII did not make England Lutheran or Calvinistic. — Catholic dogma remained practically intact — with the exception of the dogma of the Roman Primacy. Mass continued to be said; the seven sacraments were administered; clerical celibacy was not abolished; the services in the churches were held with the same ceremonies. A visit of Protestant divines from Germany, arranged for by Cranmer for the purpose of injecting some more advanced ideas into the English Church, was a complete failure. The archbishop was obliged to repress his Lutheran propensities until the death of this king.[1]

[1] The antics gone through with the Bible are amusing. Before his apostasy the king prohibited the use of an English translation of the New Testament by Tyndall, which was full of glaring errors. In 1537, that is, three years after his revolt, an English edition of Holy Writ containing this same New Testament was officially introduced and ordered to be placed publicly in all the parish churches and made accessible to everybody. In 1543 a royal decree withdrew this Bible and prescribed a new one in its stead. But henceforward the Word of God was not to be read in public by any laymen; all persons of nobility, however, might peruse it privately and read it to their families. Of the lower classes the householders only were allowed to peruse it privately, while their wives, children, and employees must neither read nor hear it under pain of a month's imprisonment for each offense. "The King's Book," a volume of popular instruction, now replaced the Bible for the bulk of the nation.

374. Persecutions. — The new "pope" of England brooked no resistance. Most of the bishops and prominent laymen took the prescribed Oath of Supremacy. But the number of those who had the courage of their conviction was great. Several hundred friars and monks were either executed or banished or died in foul dungeons. The most illustrious victims of Henry's wrath were *John Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Thomas More*, Chancellor of England, both renowned as accomplished scholars far beyond the boundaries of their country. While imprisoned in the Tower Bishop Fisher was made cardinal by the pope, whereupon the king cynically remarked, "The pope may send him the Red Hat, but I shall take care that there will be no head to put it on."

Sir Thomas More. — After a portrait painted by Holbein, copied by Rubens. (§ 343.)

375. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. — England was covered with hundreds of abbeys and other monastic institutions, many of which had grown very rich. The king and his greedy partisans among the nobility coveted all these possessions. But a pretext had to be found. So a commission was sent out to examine into the spiritual condition of the monasteries. It

reported that in *the smaller houses*, which had less than two hundred pounds revenue a year, monastic discipline lay prostrate, while " in the honorable and solemn monasteries of this realm . . . religion is right well kept and observed." The reports were woefully garbled or, as some maintain, simply forged. Parliament, though, on the whole, servile to the royal will, at first recoiled from giving its consent to so unheard-of a scheme of robbery. But it was frightened by threats, and after some hesitation passed the bill, which granted to the king all the estates and movable property of some 270 houses.

This robbery roused the people in the northern counties. They banded together and marched upon London. They were armed but committed no excesses. Wherever they came they restored the monasteries to the former owners. They did not mean to rebel, but hoped by this armed demonstration, which they called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," to change the mind of the king. By promises and double dealing Henry VIII prevailed on them to return to their homes. When they saw that no promises were kept, revolts broke out in some places. Now the king sent an armed force with orders to cause " a dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet, . . . as well by the hanging of them up in the trees as by quartering them. . . . You shall also without pity or circumstance . . . cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony."

376. The Pilgrimage of Grace furnished a welcome plea for *the suppression of the large monasteries*. This work of destruction began without any previous decree of parliament. Upon the most flimsy charges, by threats and manufactured evidence, the heads of the houses were either carried to prison and executed, or forced to surrender their possessions " voluntarily." Later on it was thought desirable to secure an act of parliament, which in due formality transferred to the king all the movable and immovable property of these and all similar institutions, including the sacred vessels and vestments of their churches. Several hundred *hospitals* went into the bar-

gain without any provision being made for the numerous indigent patients. The schools connected with the convents disappeared. Finally came the *destruction of the shrines* of Saints in all the churches. The tombs of Sts. Augustine and Thomas à Becket and even that of Alfred the Great were not spared. (§§ 112, 115, 169.) Whole *libraries* consisting of priceless manuscripts were disposed of to grocers and soapsellers. The estates were sold, or donated to noblemen and other royal favorites and parasites.

"The noble buildings (of the abbeys), raised in the view of lasting for countless ages, must not be suffered to stand. In most instances gunpowder was resorted to, and thus, in a few hours, the most magnificent structures, which it had required ages to bring to perfection, were made heaps of ruins. The whole country was thus disfigured; it had the appearance of a land recently invaded by the most brutal barbarians." (Extracts from Wm. Cobbett (Prot.), *History of the Protestant Reformation*, §§ 181, 182.)

377. Economic Consequences of the Suppression of the Monasteries.—It should be stated right here that Henry VIII's successor, Edward VI, completed the work of destruction by sweeping away all charitable institutions which had survived his father, and at the same time confiscating the property of some 30,000 *gilds* (§ 258) which in great part served for the encouragement of thrift and for mutual assistance.

The rural population was already suffering under the effects of a change in agricultural methods. The rich landlords saw fit to betake themselves in larger measure to sheep-raising, because they could sell the wool at high prices in Flanders. Hence fruit-fields were changed into meadows, and with the fields disappeared the cultivators. Whole villages were razed to the ground; and large numbers of peasants lost their homes and occupations.

But it was the destruction of the monastic institutions that struck the heaviest blow at the happiness of a considerable part

of the rural population. The monks had been easy landlords. They had acted at the same time as the protectors and supporters of the indigent. The new owners were vastly different men, bound to the tenants by no ties of conscience or tradition. Rackrents replaced the fair terms, and drove many tenants away from holdings where their forefathers had lived contentedly for centuries. In many cases tenants were no longer wanted. It is estimated that by the suppression of the monasteries about a hundred thousand persons lost their means of livelihood, not counting the monks and nuns themselves, who were now poorer than their former dependents.

"A multitude of able-bodied men were consequently without employment or property; and the law treated them without discrimination as rogues and vagabonds. Indeed the laws against vagrancy were sharpened in this iron age, and a second or third lapse into vagrancy was punished from 1536 onward with a felon's death." [1] (Charles S. Devas, *Political Economy*, p. 537.)

With the monasteries ended also their splendid patronage of poor *students*. The destruction of the convent schools and the general decline of prosperity among the lower classes made it almost impossible for the less wealthy parents to give their sons the education preparatory to university studies. The number of university students dwindled down, though it is a surprise for us to hear even from a Protestant bishop, Latimer, that in 1550 the students in these abodes of learning numbered less by 20,000 than in 1530.

"*Viewed merely from its social aspect,*" says Cardinal Gasquet, "*the English Reformation is the rising of the rich against the poor.*" (In Preface to Cobbett's *History of the Reformation.*)

[1] It was at any rate a progress, if under later reigns the numerous poor were no longer treated as criminals. Under Elizabeth (§§ 385 ff.) the so-called *poor-laws* began to be passed, which obliged the municipalities to support the impotent poor and find work for the able-bodied. These laws, however, well-nigh made the poor the slaves of the civil community and placed them in a separate and despised class as "paupers." England had no poor-laws as long as the monasteries existed.

378. The Wives and Children of Henry VIII. — After his "divorce" from Catherine of Aragon, Henry lived fourteen years, during which time he married five "wives." Anne Boleyn gave him a daughter, Elizabeth, later queen, but soon fell under suspicion and was beheaded; Cranmer now declared that she had never been Henry's wife. The day after her execution the king married her maid of honor, Jane Seymour, who died the following year in giving birth to a son, the later King Edward. The next wife, Anne of Cleves, was divorced and parted without a quarrel. The same year Catherine Howard became the king's consort, but died two years later on the scaffold. Catherine Parr, the sixth "queen," had the good luck to survive her husband.

A law of succession secured the crown first to Edward, and should he die without children, then to Mary, and finally to Elizabeth.

379. ***Edward VI*** **(1547–1553)** came to the throne as a child of ten years. The men who constituted the Regency favored a more thoroughgoing "reformation." Archbishop Cranmer saw his chance and knew how to utilize it. The property of the *gilds* (§ 377) and of other charitable institutions was swept into the royal treasury or the coffers of the ruling party. The Anglican "creed" was radically changed. The sacrifice of the Mass, the belief in the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, purgatory, the veneration of the Saints, ceremonies, vows, the celibacy of priests, were rejected. As a consequence, altars, sacred vestments and vessels, the statues and pictures of the churches, were now destroyed or confiscated. A commission under the presidency of Cranmer compiled the *Book of Common Prayer* in English. It takes the place of our missals and similar books. It received its finishing touches under Elizabeth.

II. MARY THE CATHOLIC

380. Mary the Catholic (1553–1558) [1] considered it the task of her life to reëstablish in England the religion of her forefathers. England was still overwhelmingly Catholic. A great

[1] In spite of the rule of succession made by Henry VIII with the consent of parliament a strong Protestant party tried to raise the young Jane Grey,

obstacle to a Catholic restoration was found in the fact that the immense ecclesiastical property could not be demanded back from the present possessors without causing a widespread confusion, because many parcels of this property had changed hands repeatedly. Not to disturb the state of the country, the pope, making use of his power as supreme administrator of all possessions of the Church, dispensed all the owners from the duty of restitution. *England was solemnly reunited with the Catholic world.*

Mary began to encourage again the *studies in the national universities,* and her noble example evoked the liberality of several rich men, who established "colleges" in these institutions. To her is due the first commercial *treaty between England and Russia,* and the suppression of the privileges of the *Hansa Towns* (§ 261). Both these measures gave a great stimulus to English commerce. She was, besides, the first English ruler that emphasized the duty of judges to admit *evidence against the crown* in lawsuits, and to decide against a royal suitor if justice required it. Almost immediately upon her accession she restored the *currency,* which had been greatly depreciated under her father, to its original value, and remitted an extra tax which the late parliament had granted to the crown.

381. The Spanish Marriage. — When it became known that the queen had resolved to marry Philip, the son of Emperor Charles V, who was to succeed his father as King of Spain, there arose a strong and noisy opposition. This opposition was to a certain extent national; but to a great extent, too, it was the work of French emissaries who wished to create trouble for the queen, and of the English Protestants who feared for their

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a distant relative of the royal family, to the throne. But by a bold appeal to all loyal Englishmen Mary foiled the attempt. When poor Jane Grey was used a second time for the pretext of a revolt, she had to die with the real instigators. (See § 371, note.)

threatened religion. Mary, however, obtained the consent of parliament. The marriage contract provided that the government of England should remain vested in the queen alone; that no offices be given to foreigners; and that the issue of this union should inherit the Netherlands. No settlement for the marriage of any member of the English Royal family had ever been so exclusively favorable to England.[1]

382. The Persecution of Heretics. — Although the bulk of the nation was Catholic, Mary thought it her duty to hasten the religious unification of England by proceeding with greater vigor against the heretics. This is decried by many as a blot upon her otherwise kind and lovable character. But she simply did what her advisers suggested, what the spirit of the times approved, and what had been practiced with the utmost severity by her predecessors in the opposite direction. In fact she introduced nothing new. A committee of English bishops tried the cases of heresy and surrendered obstinate transgressors to the " secular arm " to be dealt with according to English secular laws. But before this last step was taken, all the means of persuasion and kindness had been exhausted.

About 280 persons were executed in this way during Mary's reign. A Protestant writer, however, calls attention to the fact that in those times heresy and rebellion were almost convertible terms. Many of the victims had been implicated several times in risings or seditious attempts against the queen. Another Protestant historian says: " Mary and her advisers honestly believed themselves to be applying the only remedy for the removal of a mortal disease from the body politic. What they did was on an unprecedented scale in England, because heresy existed on an unprecedented scale." (Innes, *England under the Tudors*. Quoted from *Cath. Enc.*) Moreover, in the one winter of 1569 nearly three times as many Catholics were executed under Elizabeth, as Protestants during the whole reign of Mary — not to speak of the butcheries ordered by Henry VIII after the Pilgrimage of Grace (§ 376).

[1] On this matrimonial contract see Cobbett, *History of the Protestant Reformation*, §§ 239-244.

383. The Five Years of Mary's Reign Were Full of Sorrows. — Failure of crops caused great hardships and exerted a paralyzing influence upon industry and commerce. There was a terrible pestilence in her last year. Though there were causes enough for a war with France,[1] it was Mary's union with Philip that brought on a clash with that country. In this war, the city of *Calais*, the last English possession on the continent, fell into the hands of the French. The loss of Calais was a very hard blow for the queen. "The word Calais," she said, "will be found written in my heart." It furnished her enemies with a welcome weapon to undermine her popularity. The protracted absence of her husband aggravated her long-standing illness. One of her severest trials was a misunderstanding with Pope Paul IV, who favored the French cause in the war.

384. Her Character. — Queen Mary the Catholic was a model Christian, sincerely pious, very charitable, ready to make any sacrifice for her religion and her country. She certainly took no step without the conviction that it was either demanded or at least permitted by the law of God, and that it would be beneficial to her country. Her marriage with Philip is often deemed a political mistake. But a just verdict is difficult. It is highly probable that, had her reign lasted several decades, she would have succeeded in giving to her beloved country peace and prosperity together with the blessings of the true religion.[2]

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[1] Secret agitation was ever increasing during her short reign. Defamatory libels against king and queen, printed on the continent, were found in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue, had determined to settle the crown on her husband after her decease. It was chiefly the French minister to England that was responsible for this incrimination. It led to a desperate attempt — the second — to place Elizabeth on the throne. (Lingard, Vol. V, pp. 496 ff.)

[2] As a result of systematic slandering carried on during the reign of her successors, Mary has been stigmatized as the "Bloody Mary." The injustice of this epithet is now generally recognized. One of the worst instruments of slander was the lying *Book of Martyrs* by John Foxe, which

III. ELIZABETH

385. Elizabeth (1558–1603) and Religion. — Elizabeth was crowned with the usual Catholic ceremonies and took the solemn oath to maintain the Catholic religion. But she immediately began undoing the work of Queen Mary. She had the Act of Supremacy repassed by parliament and reintroduced the Book of Common Prayer in a somewhat revised edition.[1] As a standard of Anglican orthodoxy *The Thirty-Nine Articles* were drawn up. Assistance, on certain days, at the Anglican services was enjoined under pain of exorbitant fines. Another law extended the obligation of taking the Oath of Supremacy much wider than it had been under Edward VI, and made the refusal punishable as an act of treason.

386. Persecution. — Had not the reign of Mary the Catholic given the Church a respite to recover new strength, it is not improbable that the *fierce persecution* which now broke upon the adherents of the old religion would have wiped out Catholicism altogether. But the bishops appointed under Mary refused to submit to Elizabeth. They were removed from their sees and most of them died in prison. The worst consequence of the persecution was the dearth of priests. The campaign of slander against everything Catholic discredited the ancient institutions in the eyes of the rising generation. The heavy fines reduced numerous prominent families to beggary and resulted in lowering the social standing of the Catholic body.

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pretended to give authentic reports of the non-Catholics executed under Mary. See Miss J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister*, pp. 272–276.

[1] With the Book of Common Prayer was introduced again the "Ordinal" of Edward VI, which prescribes the Anglican mode of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops. In it the Catholic ceremonies have been so curtailed and altered as to exclude most carefully the idea of real priesthood. Consequently the Anglican bishops, all of whom were consecrated according to this book, cannot claim the true power of Christian bishops and successors of the Apostles; and, furthermore, the Anglican clergymen are no priests. For references on Anglican Ordinations see footnote on next page. On the rise of *Puritanism* see § 420.

An unrelenting war of half a century was thus waged against the Church. Yet even at the end of this frightful period one third of the population still clung to the Faith which St. Augustine had brought to England (§ 112).

Priests and all those who had given them hospitality were subject to the indescribably cruel punishment inflicted for treason. Among those whose execution attracted the widest attention was Father Edmund Campion, before his conversion to the Catholic Faith one of the most renowned university men of England. The queen herself had in person made an attempt to win him back to the Anglican creed. The Catholics of means suffered not only by imprisonment and fines but also by endless domiciliary visits. On such occasions a sheriff at the head of an eager crowd broke into the house, generally by night. Every bed and box and cupboard was searched, the stored provisions scattered about, the wainscoting and floors torn up, and holes made in the walls, to discover priests or their hiding places or at least some sign of their presence. Unspeakable personal insults commonly accompanied this work of destruction. The trial was always for treason. But everybody knew that denial of the Catholic Faith would immediately evoke a liberating sentence.

The most distinguished lay person that suffered death under Elizabeth was *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*. Her execution struck a fatal blow at the prospects of the old religion in both countries (§ 394).[1]

387. Elizabeth's Character. — Elizabeth was one of the most talented women of her time and had received a brilliant education. She spoke several languages and read with ease Latin and Greek. Like all great rulers she knew how to surround herself with able and devoted men and to profit by their advice. She was at the same time a shrewd observer of circumstances and a

[1] Special Reports: Cardinal Allen and the foundation of English Catholic Colleges on the continent. See Conway, *Studies in Church History*. On Pope Leo XIII's decision concerning Anglican ordinations, see "Anglican Ordinations" in *Cath. Encyclopedia*, or *Cath. Dictionary;* or the booklet, *Anglican Ordinations; Theology of Rome and of Canterbury in a Nutshell*, by H. C. Semple, S.J.

keen judge of men. But her private life was dissolute and her court a hotbed of frivolity. She was essentially selfish and sought the glory of England for her own personal glory. The feelings of true friendship or chaste womanly attachment she either never possessed or lost very early in her reign. Her speech was always sprinkled with oaths, and when opposed she was liable to utter the most terrible imprecations. To her a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty. Vanity was perhaps her most prominent weakness. She yearned for praise, and even in her old age accepted as genuine the most absurd flatteries. Disgusting is the hypocrisy with which she flaunted her "virginity" in her speeches and proclamations, and expected to be extolled above all rulers of all ages.

388. Material Prosperity. — Elizabeth's administration was marked by great economy. The enormous fines wrung from the Catholics, the income drawn from licensed freebooting (§ 403), the monopolies which she sold, and the presents which she extorted from the nobility supplied her for the greater part of her reign with revenue and enabled her to forego more general forms of taxation. From motives of economy she avoided wars and preferred to obtain her ends by means of an unscrupulous diplomacy. The short victorious war with Spain (§ 404) only heightened the appreciation of the long peace. Peculiar circumstances caused the landowners to return from the practice of sheep raising (§ 377) to real agriculture; a change which gave work to an increased number of rural laborers. The Revolution of the Netherlands, besides, drove the commerce of the flourishing towns of Flanders over to England, which at this time began to be the mart of Europe. The immigration of Flemish weavers in England started an important branch of industry. The channels of commerce opened under Mary the Catholic (§ 380) were utilized and extended, and the beginning was made of the English trade with India. Thus Elizabeth's reign was, for the Protestant portion of the population, at least,

an age of growing prosperity, "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

During these spacious days the movement of the Renaissance, which had been stifled in England since the beginning of the religious innovation, seemed to awaken. The latter part of Elizabeth's reign saw a brilliant period of discovery and literature. Harvey discovered afresh the way in which the blood circulates (§ 379 note), and so helped to lay the foundation for true study of medicine. *Francis Bacon* called the world's attention to the necessity for scientific observation and experiment. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakspere* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe* and *Ben Jonson*.

389. Elizabeth's Popularity. — The queen industriously catered to the love of the lower classes which made up the bulk of the population. She kept her courtiers and the nobility in slavish subjection. The ceremonial in her palaces would have met with the approval of any Oriental despot. Only with innumerable genuflections were her servants allowed to approach her adorable person. But on the many pompous progresses through the country, which gratified her vanity and caught the public fancy, she gave unlimited access to the common people, listened to their complaints and chatted with them familiarly. The people did not see the vices, the profligacy, and the intrigues of her court, nor the duplicity of her diplomatic transactions with other powers. All they noticed was the blessings of half a century of peace and other happy events associated with the time of her reign. These are the sources of the popularity which she enjoyed. It grieved her exceedingly when, in the very last years of her government, the usual enthusiastic acclamations which had always greeted her at her appearance in public were no longer heard.

B. Ireland in the Reformation Period

390. Henry VIII resolved to make the nominal rule of England (§ 306) more real. He assumed the more pretentious title of "King of Ireland" instead of Lord of Ireland. For the first time Irish chiefs participated in the Irish parliament, in which, so far, only the noblemen of the Pale had been represented. This parliament passed an Act of Supremacy and declared the dissolution of 400 Irish abbeys. The property of the latter "was confiscated to the king and his courtiers, or used as a corruption fund to bribe greedy chiefs into submission." But many of the chiefs who were present may not have fully understood what the whole matter meant, because they did not know a word of English. The measure had little effect upon the religious life of the country. The people remained in communion with their clergy and these were faithful to Rome. Under Mary the Catholic, of course, the religious issue disappeared, to come up the more fiercely under Elizabeth. From now on the Irishman strove to save not only his nationality, but above all the religion which had ever been Ireland's glory.

391. Insurrections and Their Suppression. — The mighty family of the Fitzgeralds had revolted against England's rule under Henry VIII. By trusting English promises six of the prominent members of the family allowed themselves to be seized, and ended their lives upon the scaffold. During the reign of Elizabeth three more insurrections followed under Shane O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, and others. In spite of the most admirable bravery and some brilliant successes these insurrections ended disastrously, largely through lack of unity among the Irish leaders. *A few years after Elizabeth's death the principal chiefs, despairing of Ireland's future, fled to the continent, to return should prospects become more favorable.*

IRELAND
Approximate boundary of the PALE in 1500.
Western and Southern boundary of the "Ulsterite" counties.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
CLARE CO.
Londonderry
Antrim
Donegal
Lough Neagh
Bangor
Belfast
L. Erne
Enniskillen
Downpatrick
Armagh
Newry
Ballina
Sligo
Ballymote
ACHILL
Dundalk
Castlebar
Roscommon
Keils
Trim
R. Drogheda
Tara
Clonard
Athlone
Maynooth
Dublin
Lough Corrib
Galway
Clonmacnoise
Shannon R.
Kildare
Glendalough
Wicklow
Ennis
Arklow
Limerick
Cashel
Kilkenny
Barrow R.
Tipperary
Wexford
Waterford
Blackwater R.
Killarney
Barney
Cork
Queenstown
Kinsale
Bantry
10
9
8
7
6
55
54
53
52

392. The Plantations. — Under Henry VIII a new form of occupation had been inaugurated: the plantations. When an Irish chief had rebelled, all the land belonging to his clan — though commonly not more than one tenth of the clan had taken any part in the rising — was declared forfeit to the crown and allotted to English "undertakers" who engaged to "plant" it with English or Scottish settlers. But the Irish holders did not give up their homes good-naturedly. Hence a warfare of destruction ensued. The invaders with the help of English soldiery sought not merely to drive the owners of the soil away but to exterminate them with their whole kin, and they employed all the means which the most unbridled brutality could suggest. History does not record deeds more atrocious than those perpetrated on thousands of unoffending Irish people during the next century and a half. The barbarities provoked risings, the risings were punished with plantations, and these led to new and more horrible cruelties. This savagery became the general character of all the English wars against the Irish. It goes without saying that under such provocation the natives often retaliated by similar outrages.

The plantation system was resorted to by all the Tudors, chiefly by Elizabeth. But it assumed the largest proportions in the plantations under Oliver Cromwell (§ 450). The flight of the earls (§ 391) furnished the pretext for the confiscation of half a million acres of the best land in Ulster. A great part of it went to Scotch Presbyterians.[1]

The question may rightly be asked, how it was possible that the whole race did not perish in such a flood of devastation. But very frequently the "undertakers" failed to obtain a sufficient number of non-Irish settlers. Most of those who actually took up land were not inclined to work with their own hands but wanted to "get rich quick" by the labor of others. Hence the Irish were retained as tenants. Moreover the English officials were by no means impervious to bribes. As a

[1] See Guggenberger, II, § 521, or histories of Ireland, for more details.

matter of fact the Irish everywhere, except, perhaps, in some parts of Ulster, by far outnumbered the English and Scots.

The plantations account for the presence in Ireland of numerous *Protestants*, though the native population, the descendants of the original Celts as well as of the Anglo-Irish, remained Catholic to the core. The plantations, too, established the abominable system of *Absentee Landlordism*, as the new "owners" of vast tracts of Irish lands commonly did not live in Ireland. The money which their agents wrung from their starving Irish tenants was spent in England or on the continent.

C. The Reformation in Scotland

393. Introduction of the New Faith. — The kings of Scotland were of the royal *family of the Stuarts*. James IV had married Margaret, daughter of Henry Tudor (§ 300 and note to § 371) of England. Under their son, James V (1513–1542), Lutheran doctrines began to spread in the country. They found favor with a part of the nobility, which, as in other lands, was hankering after the possessions of the Church. To weaken Scotland and prepare her for annexation Henry VIII gave every kind of encouragement to the heretical party.

"The Scottish reformation unquestionably took rise in highly treasonable intercourse with a foreign power that played on Scottish greed. The principles of the English reformation flowed into the neighboring state on a stream of gold." (Power, S.J., *History of Religions*, "Presbyterianism," pp. 10, 11.)

For a long time both king and people, ably advised by the clergy under Cardinal Beaton, offered firm resistance. But after the death of James V and during the minority of his daughter Mary, who still lived in France, the influx of heretical ideas went on unchecked. The arch-promoter of the "reform" was *John Knox*, who had studied in Geneva under Calvin. Hence it is that Calvinism (Presbyterianism) became the most generally accepted form of Protestantism in Scotland. In 1560

a rebellious parliament declared the old religion abolished; and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, the destruction of monasteries and of the ornaments of the churches, were commenced. But for years Mass continued to be said in the burnt and blackened ruins of the monasteries. Lack of priests caused the Catholic religion to die out in the realm as by starvation.

394. Mary Stuart, the heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, had been educated in France, where she married King Francis II. A year after the early death of her husband, the girl-widow of nineteen years returned to Scotland (1561) to mount the throne of her fathers. Her position was very precarious. Those whom she found in actual power were fierce Protestants, and the persecution of the Catholics, inaugurated the year before, was in full swing. With difficulty the queen maintained her right to have Catholic services undisturbed in her own chapel. John Knox thundered away against everything Catholic, and powerful nobles instigated revolution after revolution against their lawful sovereign. From a marriage with Lord Darnley, an ambitious nobleman, she had a child, the later King James. The mysterious murder of her husband helped to complicate matters for her. Her position grew desperate, and, in 1568, she resorted to the fatal step of fleeing into England and imploring the protection of Queen Elizabeth.

Lord Darnley proved a bad husband. He was unkind and brutal, a drunkard and profligate, and fond of low company. During a period of estrangement between him and Mary, the mighty earl of Bothwell had supported her with his political influence and his military power. After Darnley's death Bothwell was accused of being the instigator of the deed, but was acquitted by his peers — his accomplices in the crime it is said. A month later he seized the person of the queen, obtained a "divorce" from his wife, to whom he was legally married, and forced the queen to consent to a union with him. Notwithstanding the fact that violence was resorted to, this affair gave plausibility to the charge of complicity in her husband's murder. This matter is not sufficiently cleared up. However it may be, she abundantly atoned for her shortcomings by her heroic death and by the patience shown in long im-

prisonment.[1] But all serious historians grant that her virtue is above suspicion.

The Queen of England rejoiced. Mary Stuart, being the legitimate descendant of Henry VII, had a much better claim to the English crown than the daughter of Anne Boleyn. She would in any case be the next after Elizabeth on the English throne; and the Protestants dreaded a Catholic succession. Hence the fugitive queen saw herself treated as a captive, and was for nineteen years dragged from prison to prison. Several risings in her favor resulted only in aggravating her captivity. She was finally tried on the charge of having conspired for the murder of Elizabeth. The trial was a farce. Mary was denied the most elementary privileges which are otherwise granted to the worst criminal. No witness, no original document, was produced against her. But her condemnation had been resolved upon. *Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded, 1587, in the hall of the castle of Fotheringhay.*

The Earl of Kent, when announcing to her the hour of her execution, betrayed the real cause of her death. "Madam," he said, "your life would have been the death of our new religion, while your death — God grant it — will be its life."

395. The Church of Scotland. — While in the power of her enemies in Scotland, less than a year before her flight across the border, Mary Stuart had, under protest, resigned the crown in favor of her infant son, James, for whom a regency was

[1] The following facts will show in what kind of society the friendless queen found herself in her capital, Edinburgh. When her intention to marry Darnley became known, a number of prominent Protestant noblemen, headed by her own half-brother, entered into a conspiracy for the purpose of dethroning the queen. Not long after the marriage was concluded, the same men combined with Darnley for the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary. Practically the same persons hatched the plot which resulted in the death of Darnley. They next helped Bothwell to get the queen into his power, and after this marriage conspired against both the queen and Bothwell. All this happened in the space of less than three years (1565–1568).

appointed. There were, for years after, two parties at daggers drawn, the "King's men" and the "Queen's men." English influence helped to keep the country in a state of unrest. After James had become of age, the new "Church" — the *Kirk*, as it is often styled in Scotland — fared ill at his hands. The innovators were chiefly Calvinists, who hated bishops and prelates (§ 369). But James retained, or rather reintroduced, the episcopal system after the English pattern, because he saw in it a prop of the throne. His "bishops" were consecrated in England (§ 385, note). But true-blue Calvinism retained its hold upon the bulk of the Scotch Protestants. Not until 1688, that is, after the revolution against James II (§ 460), was "prelacy" definitely abolished in Scotland.

For Further Readings. — Guggenberger, II, §§ 267–269, 283–287, 379–388, 392–395.

Maxwell-Scott, *The Tragedy of Fotheringhay*, is a description, from original sources, of Queen Mary's prison life and execution. John Morris, S. J., *Mary Queen of Scots* (biography).

CHAPTER XXIII

FALSE AND TRUE REFORMATION

396. Character of Protestantism. — The period we treat of is called the Reformation. But we must remember that "Reformation" is a misnomer, perhaps the worst mankind has ever hit upon. It is based on the wrong supposition that the activity of Luther and the other innovators was a reform at all. It certainly was not. **It was a revolution pure and simple.** The so-called reformers did not insist upon the observance of the existing laws, but tried to subvert the authority which had given them. Under their hands, and as far as their power reached, the organization given by Christ to His Church (§ 20) disappeared. The beautiful system of the sacraments with their consoling and elevating influence no longer existed. No rays of sacredness shone around matrimony; it was declared a "worldly thing," and its bonds were no longer indissoluble. We know how matrimony fared under Henry VIII. Luther went a step farther by declaring that even polygamy was not prohibited to Christians. The "faith in Christ" was an easy means to obtain forgiveness of sins; confession with contrition and purpose of amendment did not trouble people any more. And why should they worry about good works? "Faith" made all Christians equal in sanctity anyhow.

397. No wonder that the **effects** of such a "gospel" were deplorable. The *economic* consequences we have seen in the case of England (§ 377). They were the same everywhere, though perhaps not so glaring. Let the great German reformers tell us about the *moral* results of the innovation.

"As soon as our gospel began," writes Luther, "decency and modesty were done away with, and everybody wished to be perfectly

free to do what he liked." "The people are like pigs, so to speak; dead and buried in constant drunkenness."[1] And one of his followers complains that "those who have received God's Word and the Gospel are lawless, insensible to instruction, hardened in their old sinful life, as is evident from the adultery, usury, avarice, lying, cheating, and manifold wickedness which prevails."[2]

398. The True Reformation. — Meanwhile the forces making for a true reformation were preparing to come to the front. About the middle of the sixteenth century popes with genuine zeal for the welfare of the Church promoted every endeavor of bishops and other able men for the betterment of clergy and laity. The greatest act in this reform work, however, was the *Council of Trent.* With several interruptions it lasted from 1545 to 1563. It was composed of nearly three hundred bishops.

The Council clearly defined all the doctrines which had been the object of so many attacks. Had the defenders of the Church been able, from the beginning of the Wittenberg troubles, to appeal to such precise and authoritative statements of Christian truth, they would no doubt have been more successful.

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[1] Happily the specific teachings of Protestantism, which made such sad conditions inevitable, did not always receive the attention they naturally attracted in the beginning. Lutherans of to-day, for instance, do not know the real Luther nor his real teachings. Luther himself, forgetful of his fundamental principles, wrote some popular books full of sound advice. After the first zeal for the new doctrines had spent itself and the heat of the combat subsided, common sense returned by way of fact to the old moral teachings of Christianity. Protestants who observe the commandments of God, Protestant families which never omit their common devotions, do not thereby show approval of the specific doctrines of Protestantism but bear testimony to the teachings and principles of the Catholic Church to which their ancestors have belonged. May the Good Shepherd keep all such good persons under his Divine Protection.

[2] Let the student find out which of the elements of civilization given to the world by Christianity were destroyed by Protestantism (§ 95). Compare also § 362. The religious confusion of these troublous times was one of the several causes of the appalling increase of *witchcraft trials.* Thousands of innocent persons, chiefly old women, suffered horrible tortures and death at the stake in Catholic as well as Protestant districts. Guggenberger, II, §§ 291, 292; also §§ 288, 289.

At the same time the Council enacted wise reform laws calculated to prevent the recurrence of the conditions set forth in § 346 ff. To secure a better education of the priests it prescribed the establishment of *clerical seminaries*.

A principal factor for reformation outside the Council was the revival of discipline in the older *religious Orders*, as far as it was needed, and the foundation of new ones. Among the latter are the *Capuchin Fathers*, who devoted themselves to the instruction of the faithful by means of missions; the *Ursuline Nuns*, founded for the education of girls; *the Piarists* for the education of boys. The most prominent of the new Orders, however, was the *Society of Jesus*, which owes its origin to St. Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard.

Its purpose is work for the GREATER GLORY OF GOD in whatever place the Holy Father may see fit to employ its members. Practically, there are four purposes to which the Order has chiefly devoted its energies; namely, missions among the faithful in the Christian countries, missions for the conversion of pagans, the direction of spiritual retreats, and the education of the young in higher schools. Within a short time the Order grew into one of the greatest educational powers in the Catholic Church. Higher schools alone could supply the crying need for more laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.

One of the first members of the Order, *St. Francis Xavier*, opened new fields for the Church by his missionary labors in India and Japan. He died while attempting the Christianization of China, 1552. Thirty years later the Christians in *Japan* numbered about 200,000 and after another fifty years, it is claimed, nearly two millions. But two fierce persecutions, in which thousands suffered unheard-of torments for their Faith, destroyed, as it seemed for the time being, the flourishing young Church.[1]

Blessed *Peter Canisius*, the first German Jesuit, became the second apostle of his country. It was principally through his activity as preacher, writer, and founder of colleges, that the progress of Protestantism was checked, and that provinces already lost were regained for the Catholic religion.[2]

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[1] See "The Catholic Church in Japan" in Casartelli's *Sketches in History*, especially the touching story of the "Discovery of the Christians."

[2] There is an instructive chapter, "The Catholic Reformation in Germany," in J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister*.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS WARS

There were a number of bloody wars of long duration in Europe from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. These are called the Religious Wars; but hardly any of them fully deserves the name. With the people indeed religious motives were not lacking. Certainly in no war before or after, with the exception of the crusades, was so much emphasis laid upon the idea of defending the one religion or the other. The result of these wars, too, was of great religious consequence. Yet the prime movers as a rule were not animated by religious zeal. They rather used religion as a pretext for their attacks and as a means of rallying followers around their standards.

A. The Revolution of the Netherlands

399. The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands (§ 317) were one of the richest Spanish possessions. They were liberally governed. Each province had its own diet, and there was a kind of *common parliament, called the States General,* which enjoyed extensive powers. A Regent General represented the Spanish king. The connection with the empire was little more than in name.

The brisk commercial intercourse with foreign lands could not but result in an influx of *Lutheran ideas* from Germany and *Calvinistic errors* from France. Charles V as King of Spain had, with the consent of the States General, enacted some severe laws against religious innovations, and had introduced the Papal — not the Spanish — Inquisition. It is certain, too, that executions took place, though on the whole the religious laws do not seem to have been enforced very strictly. Religious difficulties alone could never have caused serious troubles.

THE NETHERLANDS
at the Truce of 1609
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
The Seven United Provinces
The Provinces still Retained by Spain
NORTH SEA
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
Jemmingen
WEST FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
Groningen
Heiligerlee
R. Ems
Enkhuisen
Alkmaar
Zuyder Zee
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
Deventer
Leyden
The Hague
Utrecht
Zutphen
Delft
R. Rhine
Brill
Rotterdam
Doesburg
R. Waal
Dort
Nimwegen
Grave
Mook
D. of CLEVE
SCHOUWEN
Zierickzee
I. OF WALCHEREN
Middleburg
Flushing
Goes
Breda
Venlo
Sluys
Scheldt
Hulst
Turnhout
Ostende
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Neuss
Rhine
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ingelmunster
Den Iern
Mechlin
Mosel
Cologne
FLANDERS
Ypres
R. Lys
Brussels
Maastricht
St. Trond
Waterloo
Ramillies
Liege
St. Omer
Lille
Gembloux
Namur
Orchies
Mons
ARTOIS
Valenciennes
R. Sambre
NAMUR
Arras
Douai
HAINAULT
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
LIMBURG
DUCHY OF JULICH
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF COLOGNE
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TREVES
PICARDY
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
R. Meuse
R. Oise
R. Aisne
CHAMPANGE
R. Marne
Paris
BISHOPRIC OF VERDUN
BISHOPRIC OF METZ
LORRAINE

400. *One of the* **causes of the revolution** *was the character of Philip II.* — He was personally without reproach in most important respects, devoted to the Catholic Church, frugal in his habits, fully conscious of his duties as ruler, and capable of an enormous amount of work. But his greatest weakness was distrust of others, which often induced him to thwart the efforts of his most faithful servants. He moreover lacked resoluteness; important measures were frequently postponed for years. Though not at all of a proud mind, he showed coldness and reserve in dealing with his subjects. During his short stay in the Netherlands the natives could not but notice the great difference between him and Charles V, who had been born and bred among them, spoke their language, participated in their popular sports, and mingled with ease among all classes. In complete opposition to his father, Philip appointed Spanish nobles exclusively to posts in his wider empire and even to the highest offices in the Netherlands, as far as the choice rested with him. This, a very impolitic practice, lost him the affection of a powerful class, the nobles of the Netherlands. But before the revolution broke out, the government was carried on in strictest accordance with the privileges of the cities, nobles, and provinces.

401. *The principal reason of the disturbances* which were to distract the fair country *was the ambitious and treacherous course of William of Orange,* called *William the Silent.*

Born a Lutheran, William was a Catholic at the court of Charles V, his greatest benefactor; acted as a Lutheran when dealing with Lutheran princes; and finally fought, or rather pretended to fight, for the victory of Calvinism. He deeply offended Philip II by marrying the daughter of Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, the man who had in so dastardly a manner betrayed Charles V (§ 401). On this occasion he pledged himself to Philip that his wife would live as a Catholic, and to Maurice, that he himself would live as a Lutheran.

Philip II provoked William's undying hatred by making him governor of Holland, and of two more of the richest provinces,

instead of giving him the coveted post of Regent General. It was William who directed the first revolutionary move, and though at times absent from the country, remained, through his extraordinary capacity for intriguing, the soul of the revolting minority. Under his guidance this party grew from year to year. Several attempts at composing the difficulties would have succeeded but for his secret machinations. His aim was full sovereignty over the entire Spanish Netherlands or at least a considerable part of them.

402. The Revolution. — On account of the increased spread of heresies, some of which were of a very pernicious character,[1] Philip II caused the Regent General to renew the religious decrees and urge their strict enforcement. By a public demonstration the dissatisfied party, a small minority of nobles, demanded their withdrawal, and the Regent General thought it best to suspend them for a time. At once Calvinistic preachers crossed the French border in large numbers, followed by Huguenot fugitives. Assisted by the mob of the cities they began a terrible devastation of churches and convents, and a destruction of statues and paintings and other works of Flemish art. Philip II now committed the blunder of sending Duke Alva, a stern soldier, as his representative to the Netherlands (1567). Alva inaugurated a reign of terror. There were numerous executions. Thousands of useful citizens fled the country (§ 388). The Spanish soldiers, who were irregularly paid, committed outrages on friend and foe alike. But all this was child's play in comparison with the cruel persecution of Catholics with which the Calvinists retaliated, wherever they had the power. When Alva was recalled, the breach was by no means irreparable. On this as on later occasions the intrigues of William the Silent frustrated the reconciliation.

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[1] For a description of one of them, Anabaptism, see Guggenberger, II, § 356.

In the further course of the struggle, Philip more than once left his Regents without the necessary support or recalled them when they were on the point of victory or pacification. At times all the provinces united against the Spanish power. As yet, however, no province aimed or pretended to aim at independence from Spain. But the northern provinces, foremost those under the governorship of William of Orange, more and more became the chief seat of the rebellion. There, too, Calvinism was propagated with all means of violence. Both sides performed deeds of heroic valor. Queen Elizabeth of England, the King of France, and other potentates, repeatedly found it in their interest to support the rebels.

In 1578 Holland and the other northern provinces concluded the *Union of Utrecht*, which made Calvinism their official religion and expelled or executed the Catholics. These provinces soon abjured their allegiance to the King of Spain, and established themselves as *The United Netherlands*. William the Silent, however, had fallen the victim of a fanatical assassin, just when he thought he had reached his goal, the position of an independent sovereign. His son Maurice became his successor with the limited power of "Stadholder" (president) of the republic.

This is the beginning of the Dutch republic, also styled *Holland* from the most influential member of the little confederation. For a long time, the position of Stadholder passed from father to son in the family of William of Orange. In 1815 his descendants became hereditary kings of the Netherlands.

During the war the little republic had enriched itself by plundering the Spanish fleets and colonies, and it soon built up a large colonial empire in the Indies.[1] Its extensive trade for a while outstripped both English and Spanish commerce. It is greatly to its honor that even in the midst of its struggle

[1] In 1582 Philip II had taken possession of Portugal and all its colonies, basing his claim upon close relationship with the kings whose line had died out. It was chiefly the former Portuguese colonies that the Dutch seized upon. In 1640 an almost bloodless revolution again separated the two countries and placed a native Portuguese family upon the throne.

for political liberty it created, in the university of Leyden, a center of intellectual life. Here existed an intense scientific and literary activity, which, however, was marred by bitter religious feuds between two rival wings of Calvinism. For some time the Dutch were the best agriculturists and florists of Europe.

The southern provinces remained faithful to Spain. In the course of time they became more generally known as *Belgium*. After many vicissitudes Belgium, since 1830, has formed an independent kingdom.

B. Other Spanish Affairs

403. The Battle of Lepanto. — After the expedition of Charles V to Tunis (§ 365) the Turks had resumed their depredations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean. They burned villages far inland, and swept away thousands of Christians into slavery. While the Protestants of Germany, England, and other countries cursed the head of the Catholic Church as Anti-Christ, *Pope St. Pius V* brought about an alliance between himself, Spain, and the Republic of Venice against the common foes of Christendom. With a large fleet John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, sailed out, and, Oct. 7, 1571, almost annihilated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Twelve thousand Christian rowers were freed from horrible slavery at the oar.

The battle of Lepanto was the greatest naval battle the world had seen for fifteen hundred years. In importance it can be compared only with Salamis, Chalons, Constantinople, and Tours. It destroyed forever Turkish supremacy on the Mediterranean.[1]

404. The Spanish Armada. — The support given by Elizabeth to the revolting provinces in the Netherlands, depredations

[1] See the brilliant description of this battle in E. K. Rawson, *Twenty Famous Naval Battles* or in Drane's *Knights of St. John.*

upon Spanish shipping and Spanish colonies, and the execution of Mary Stuart finally moved Philip II, after much hesitation, to decide on a war with England. But *Francis Drake*, the ablest of the band of Elizabeth's licensed freebooters, ruined the first preparations by daringly sailing into the harbor of Cadiz and burning a large number of unprotected warships and vast stores of provisions. In 1588, however, Philip had fitted out an immense fleet, the "Invincible Armada," for an invasion of England. To the surprise of the world this gigantic effort came to naught — partly through terrible storms; partly because the Spanish army in the Netherlands failed to coöperate with it; partly and chiefly through the desperate attacks of the English craft which though much smaller in size were better manned and more dextrously handled. The scattered Spaniards — the encounters had taken place in the Channel — returned around Scotland and Ireland, strewing the coasts of these countries with the wrecks of their ships.

With the defeat of the Armada begins the decline of the Spanish naval power. The way was prepared for the English colonization of America.

405. The Expulsion of the Moriscos — Spain's Colonial Policy. — The numerous Moriscos, — descendants of the Moors, — living chiefly into the South of the peninsula, had remained Mohammedans at heart though they professed Christianity outwardly. Their close connection with Mohammedan powers made them, besides, a political danger. So Philip II finally resolved to force them to give up their national peculiarities, their dress, customs, and above all their language. This demand drove them into a revolution, in which they had reason to count upon the support of the sultan and that of France. In a fearful war they were overpowered and removed to other localities. Under Philip III they were finally expelled from Spain entirely. The economic consequences for the country were disastrous. It was impossible to replace this

industrious though small part of the population which had brought agriculture and manufacture to a high degree of perfection. Even to-day the districts abandoned by them have not recovered their ancient flourishing state.

An ill-advised *colonial policy*, however, had a great deal to do with this deplorable result. Like all the countries of that time which possessed colonies, Spain aimed at extorting as much as possible from her rich provinces in America, and cut them off entirely from the rest of the world. Whatever the colonists desired they had to buy from the mother country. Hence all products of Spain, however inferior in quality, were sure to find a purchaser in the colonies. There was, therefore, no incentive to improve the methods of production. On the other hand, enterprising Spaniards were seized by the emigration fever and preferred, as they thought, "getting rich quick" in the colonies to extending the productive area in their native land. In general the rich colonies and the silver fleets which they sent year after year to fill the king's exchequer much more harmed than benefited the land. Mismanagement and the strictly autocratic government which resisted every check did the rest to keep Spain upon the downward path. In European politics this country never again played the part as under Philip II.

This decline was not caused by the Catholic religion but by the erroneous theories, to which all the states of those times were more or less addicted. If the result of these theories was more disastrous for Spain than it was for other nations, England, for instance, we should remember that the colonies of Spain were so much larger and also richer in useful and desirable products, and that in consequence their influence upon the mother country was bound to be more general and thoroughgoing. At the same time, however, *Spain never forgot that she was Catholic.* The Christianization of the natives in her colonies was never lost sight of in her legislation. Her colonial laws,

it is true, were frequently disobeyed by the higher and lower officials in the far-distant countries, and the natives were occasionally treated with cruelty. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there is now, to mention one striking example, a Catholic population of seven million native Filipinos as a result of her colonial policy. And even in the vast extent of the countries of South America with its tens of millions of natives, the number of pagan Indians is small in proportion with those Christianized.[1]

C. Religious Wars in France

406. The Huguenot Wars in France. — In France the Protestants, chiefly Calvinists, were called *Huguenots*, a word of uncertain origin and meaning. At no time was their number larger than a small minority of the population; they were, however, proportionately very numerous among the higher and highest nobility, including members of the royal family. These saw in the new faith an opportunity for enriching themselves and a pretext for embarrassing the actual rulers. Thus began a series of eight bloody wars (1562–1598) in which fair France was frightfully devastated. For many of the participants these wars were truly religious wars, while most of the leaders generally were actuated by political motives.

One of the most talked of incidents in history, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night, took place after the third of these wars. The king's mother, the unscrupulous Catherine of Medici, who had been siding alternately with the Catholics and the Huguenots, noticed with dismay that Admiral Coligny, the chief leader of the latter, was rapidly dislodging her in the favor of her son, King Charles IX. She hired an assassin to kill the admiral. On the occasion of a solemn princely wedding, celebrated at Paris, he was fired upon (Aug. 22) but was merely

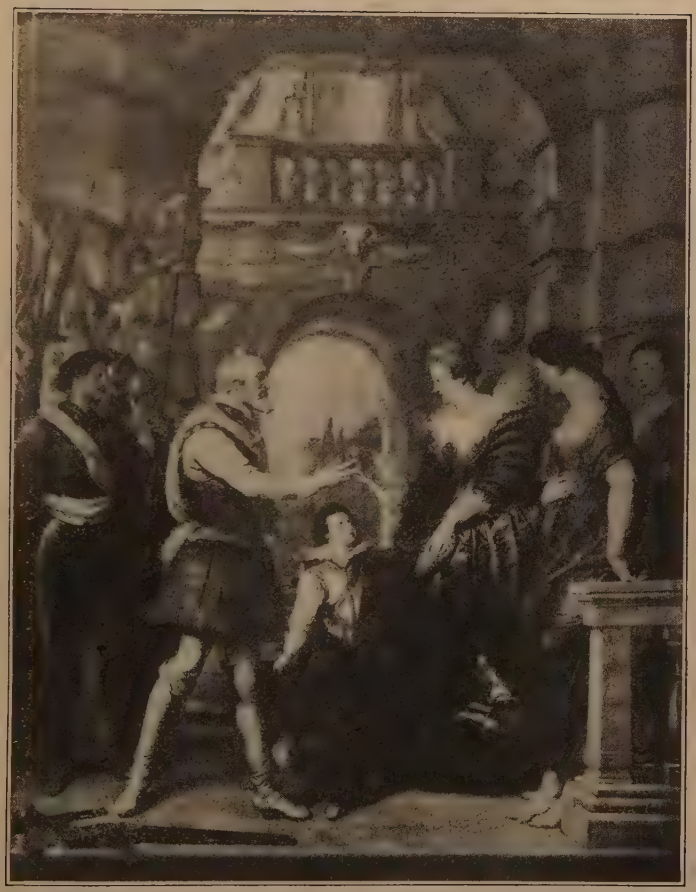
[1] On the Spanish colonial policy see Guggenberger, II, §§ 405–424. Do not fail to read § 423, which briefly treats of the *Indian Reductions*, a kind of Indian Reservations, in which in the course of about a century and a half more than a million Indians were Christianized and civilized. Or see the article "Reductions of Paraguay" in *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

wounded in the wrist. This roused the fury of the Huguenot chieftains to the highest pitch. They threatened that "Coligny's arm was to cost 40,000 other arms." Terrified to the utmost the queen mother convinced the king that neither his nor her life was safe, and that only a sudden blow could avert the gravest danger from the royal family. Very reluctantly the king consented to a general massacre of the leading Huguenots. Thus, on the 24th of August, more than a thousand Huguenots fell in Paris, and later on a large number in the provinces. No religious motives had suggested this hastily planned and precipitately carried out butchery. — For more details and a fuller explanation consult Guggenberger, II, §§ 323–329.

407. Henry IV. — The eighth war was practically a contest for the succession to the French crown. Henry of Bourbon had the best claim.[1] But he was a Huguenot, and he saw that for this reason he could never hope to gain the adherence of Catholic France. His religious convictions were not very deep, though he cannot be said to have been a hypocrite. Once before he had already, under pressure, professed himself a Catholic. He now took pains to have himself instructed, and, in 1593, was received back into the Catholic Church. Soon he was generally recognized as *Henry IV. With him the House of Bourbon* ascended the throne of France, to which all the French kings have belonged until the end of royalty in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1598 Henry IV issued the *Edict of Nantes*, by which he granted to his former coreligionists liberty of conscience, a limited right of public worship, and many political privileges. Though in his private life he was no credit to the Church, the French nation has reason to look upon him as one of its great kings. During the protracted civil wars many of the great

[1] The *House of Valois* (§ 281, note) had furnished the rulers of France until the accession of Henry IV. The House of Bourbon was another side line of the Capetians, descending from Robert, a son of St. Louis IX. Henry Bourbon was already king of the little realms of Navarre and Béarn, which under him became parts of France. On the Huguenot Wars see Guggenberger, II, §§ 308–340.



HENRY IV CONFIDING THE GOVERNMENT TO THE QUEEN. — From the painting by Rubens in the Louvre. Between the royal pair is seen the future king, Louis XIII.

feudatories had regained much of their medieval ascendency to the detriment of the central power. France was on the point of breaking up into small states, like Germany. This danger was averted by Henry IV's accession. The serious endeavors of Philip II, too, to unite France with Spain were thus frustrated. With the assistance of his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, Henry IV set himself to restore prosperity to the desolated country. Roads were built; new trades were fostered. As far as he could help it, he used to say, the poorest peasant should have a fowl in the pot every Sunday.

His great plans of conquest, however, were not destined to be realized. He had concluded an alliance with England and with the Protestants of Holland and Germany for a war against the Hapsburg emperor. When just setting out to join his army, he was assassinated by a half-witted Catholic fanatic.

408. Richelieu. — Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne as a boy of nine years. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who became the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu's statesmanship was guided solely by political motives. Within the kingdom he crushed the great nobles and essentially promoted the absolutism of the crown. In the Thirty Years' War he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, and so secured a chance to seize German territory (§§ 410, 412), while in France he curtailed by force of arms the privileges of the Huguenots, because they obstructed his plans of centralization.

D. The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

409. The Period before the War. — The Religious Peace at Augsburg (§ 366) did not settle the differences between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. The successors of Charles V in the empire were unable to prevent the Protestant princes from encroaching upon the possessions of the Catholics. The territories of two archbishops and fifteen bishops and those of hundreds of abbeys and similar institutions fell into their hands.

Meanwhile the Council of Trent came to a close (§ 398). But it was with difficulty that the Hapsburg emperors kept Protestantism from overrunning their own hereditary dominions. The number of defections from the Catholic religion in the Austrian dominions, above all in Bohemia, increased from year to year.

In 1608 a number of Protestant princes, chiefly Calvinists, concluded the aggressive "Evangelical Union" with Frederick, the Count Palatine, as their head and King Henry IV of France as protector. The following year most of the Catholics opposed to it the "Catholic League" under Maximilian of Bavaria. The Catholic League of course sided with the emperor. Between these two alliances the war broke out, though in the course of the thirty years they gradually disappeared from the scene. The emperors, Ferdinand II (1619–1637) and Ferdinand III (1637–1657), were able men, and though sincerely Catholic meant to respect the privileges which the Protestants had wrested from Charles V. Had there been no foreign interference, the war would most probably have ended in a complete victory of the Catholic party, and Protestantism would have practically been reduced to the extent it had in 1555.

410. The War Began in Bohemia. — Its first period, the *Bohemian War*, may be said in some sense to have been exclusively German, though the Protestant party was liberally subsidized by France, England, and Holland. The other periods show by their very names which powers openly entered the field against the Catholic emperor. They are known as the *Danish*, *Swedish*, and *Franco-Swedish Wars*.

The pious and honest *Tilly*, "conqueror in twenty-two battles," and the resourceful, ingenious, but ambitious *Wallenstein*, who turned traitor to his sovereign, were the most prominent generals on the emperor's side. But unquestionably the greatest military genius of the time was *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden. Within two years he had nearly all Germany at his feet. He fell in battle when at the height of his power.

It should be noted that the armies which fought this war consisted largely of mercenaries, who did not necessarily belong to the nation they represented. He who paid best and permitted the most unlimited plunderings had the largest number of soldiers. The struggle more and more degenerated into a ruthless destruction of life and property. The principle that "war must support itself" was openly recognized and acted upon by several of the most successful leaders.

411. The calamities the war brought upon Germany were monstrous. — Season by season, for a generation of human life, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany* were swept away. In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Wurtemberg had fifty thousand people left out of five hundred thousand. Populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs.

Even more destructive was the result upon industry and character. Whole trades, with their long-inherited skill, passed from the memory of men.[1] Land tilled for centuries became wilderness. Large parts of the population that survived the war came to manhood without schools or churches or law or orderly industry.

412. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, which ended the war, was concluded after five years' deliberation at Münster, the principal city of Westphalia. Almost all the states of Europe were represented.

(1) It reaffirmed, with some restrictions, the *Religious Peace* of Augsburg, and constituted a Germany which was almost equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. On the

[1] An instance of this is the wonderful old German wood carving. A genuine old piece of German cabinetwork is easily placed before 1618, because the war simply wiped out the skill and the industry.

THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES
EFFECTED BY THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Danzig
Königsberg
Memel R.
PRUSSIA
Danzig
RÜGEN I.
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
HELGOLAND
Glückstadt
RATZEBERG
Wismar
Rostock
Hamburg
BREMEN
Bremen
Neubrandenburg
Muritz L.
Wittstock
Werben
BRANDENBURG
BERLIN
Brandenburg
MAGDEBURG
Frankfort
Oder
Warsaw
R. Vistula
R. Bug
R. Warthe
R. Nevre
R. Elbe
R. Spree
R. Weser
R. Aller
R. Ems
R. Meuse
R. Rhine
R. Mosel
R. Main
R. Danube
R. Lech
R. Isar
R. Inn
R. Moldau
R. Bartsch
R. Pilicia
R. Oder
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
UNITED PROVINCES
OSNABRÜCK
MINDEN
RAVENSBERG
CLEVE
MARK
Lutter
HALBERSTADT
Dessau
LUSATIA
POLAND
Silesia
Erfurt
Breitenfeld
Lützen
SAXONY
DRESDEN
Eisenach
Cologne
Liege
Namur
Aix-la-Chapelle
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Frankfort
Mainz
Rocroi
Treves
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
ALSACE
Heidelberg
Philipsburg
Würzburg
Bamberg
UPPER PALATINATE
Nüremburg
Nördlingen
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Ulm
Augsburg
MUNICH
BAVARIA
Passau
Eger
Prague
Bohemia
Jankow
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Budweis
VIENNA
Breisach
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Lake Constance
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland, Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces. Independence acknowledged, 1648.

whole, Catholicity was better off now than it had been before the war.

(2) *The United Netherlands and Switzerland* were recognized as independent states. *France* had her acquisition of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (§ 366) sanctioned, and, besides, acquired the greater part of Alsace. *Sweden*, whose power already extended around the entire northern and most of the eastern Baltic Sea, obtained possessions in northern Germany which controlled the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers, — the mouths of the Rhine were in the power of Holland.

(3) *Within the empire* there were many territorial adjustments, mostly in favor of Protestant princes. In the districts thus acquired, however, the religious status was not to be altered. The empire itself, although retaining the *forms* of an elective monarchy, was changed into a mere *confederacy under the presidency of the emperor*. There were some three hundred states. The diet, described in § 313, soon came to remain in session perpetually. Questions of war and peace, of armaments and fortifications, were henceforward to be decided by this clumsy assembly.

It is indeed remarkable that even in this distracted condition Germany was still a factor to be counted with, that she exerted some power in resisting the attacks of Louis XIV, and that, under Austrian leadership, she succeeded, sixty years later, in winning back Hungary and Transylvania from Turkish subjugation. Of the former imperial power over Italy, however, there was not even a trace left, with the exception of certain districts which, at times, belonged directly to Austria.

Exercises. (1) Dates: 1517, 1534 (Calvin, Apostasy of Henry VIII), 1545–1563, 1558–1603 (Elizabeth), 1588, 1648.

(2) List of terms for brief explanation: Nepotism, Tetzel, Geneva, Armada, Pilgrimage of Grace, etc.

(3) Describe the extent of each of the greater European powers at the end of the Religious Wars.

THE RUINS OF MELROSE ABBEY

This beautiful abbey near Edinburgh in Scotland was burned by soldiers of Henry VIII in 1544. See Scott's lines in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel:* "If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright, go visit it by the pale moonlight;" etc.

PART II. ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER XXV

REVIEW OF THE CHANGES BETWEEN 1450 AND 1600

413. The century and a half from 1450 to 1600 was filled, in England, by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor reigns. It was a period of tremendous change, intellectual, religious, political, and economic.

(1) The Renaissance produced a great revival of literary activity, which grew out of the consciousness of England's greatness, the boundless ambition of those stirring times, and the comfort and leisure afforded by the ever increasing prosperity. We associate this literary revival with the names of the immortal Shakspere, of Spencer, Hooker, Francis Bacon, and a host of minor writers.

(2) The religious revolution, begun by Henry VIII and completed by Elizabeth, separated England from the Holy See and destroyed the religious unity of the English nation.

(3) On the ruins of the Catholic Church and of the old feudal state the Tudors built up the "New Monarchy" (§ 301).

(4) Lastly, industry was revolutionized both in town and in country.

The first three changes have been treated. The economic change has been referred to several times, and we will now look at it as a whole.

414. The golden age for the English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of serfdom. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even

the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry:

"They [the English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things to make life easy and happy."

The great landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while, under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small.

415. But by 1500 a change had begun which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the peasants. — This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep-raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets (§ 317), and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by few hands, so that the high wages mattered less than before; and profits were so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the large landholders; *and even they were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields."* Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures." They also inclosed woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture.

Thomas More (§ 374) in his *Utopia* lamented these conditions bitterly:

"A careless and insatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they are so worried that they be compelled to sell. . . .

They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Then he gives this piteous picture of the peasants who have been driven from their homes: —

"By one means or another, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor wretched souls — men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with young babes. . . . All their household stuff . . . suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or else go about begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, — whom no man will set to work though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Other statesmen bewailed the fact that sheep should take the place of the peasantry who had won Crécy and Poitiers, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing. Nor did the peasants' risings and riots help (§ 375). On the other hand, *Henry VIII's transfer of monastery lands (at least one fifth of England) to greedy private landlords increased the inclosure movement tremendously;* and it went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising had found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of the town population raised the price of grain. These towns, as we shall explain later (§ 417), became the basis of a new sort of prosperity for England, and the land changes described above created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics.

But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages of England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of peasants, driven from their homes, became tramps; and laborers were

forced to adopt a lower standard of living, because the cost of food and clothing rose much faster than wages.

More than even formerly, rural England had become a landlord's country. One reason why wages remained so low was that the "justices of peace," generally taken from the gentry and appointed by the crown, were given the power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the "glorious" days of Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed. *These conditions explain in part why so many Englishmen from the rural districts were eager to go to America in order to escape the hated landlord.*

416. Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. — Ever since 1450 the English sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth gladly welcomed the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by measures taken against the Huguenots.

Colonies of these foreign artisans were given special quarters in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Raw wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

417. This manufacturing fostered commerce. — By 1600 England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products to distant markets. Merchants increased in wealth and numbers, so as to form a new class of society. In 1350 a census showed only 169 important merchants in England. In 1601 more than twenty times that number were engaged in the trade with Holland alone. By purchase of land and by "royal gifts" from the confiscated church property, the members of this class rose into the new gentry,

and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

418. The rapid growth of manufactures brought with it a revolution in the position of the workers. — *The old gild system broke down and was replaced by the "domestic system" of manufacturing.* The work was still carried on by hand, and mostly in the master's house; but the masters demanded liberty from the old gild control. This greater freedom permitted the more rapid introduction of improved methods; but on the other hand, the gap between master and journeymen grew wider now that they were no longer members of a common self-governing union.

419. The growth of the towns had much to do with the other great changes named in § 413. They gave victory to the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses, and then brought about the final overthrow of feudalism. They were the centers of the literary activity of the Renaissance, but also the strongholds of the religious revolution. And now, in the seventeenth century, they became the chief home of Puritanism, the strongest factor in the religious and political life of England during the period we are next to study.

420. Rise of Puritanism. — At Elizabeth's accession a number of Protestant clergymen, who had fled to Switzerland during the reign of Mary, returned to England, eager to spread the Calvinistic teachings and practices which they had embraced (§ 369). They held that the Church of England had retained too many features of the Catholic Church, and at once set to work to "*purify*" *it from* "*Romish idolatry.*" Hence their name, "*Puritans.*" But Elizabeth had no mind to follow their advice, and the government soon checked their agitation. For the time being the Church of England[1] seemed securely estab-

[1] The Church of England, the Anglican Church, the Established Church, the Episcopal Church, designate the same body, the church set up by Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

lished, but the strife between Puritanism and the crown was to have tremendous consequences under Elizabeth's successors.

421. In the matter of church government the Puritans were for an extension of the movement which had torn England from the Catholic Church. Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition, — an influential *" Low-Church " element within the established Church* and the fanatical *Separatists outside of it.*

422. It is the *Low-Church Puritans* with whom we are chiefly concerned for the next fifty years. As a body they had no wish to separate themselves from the Anglican Church. They held that there should be one national church to which all Englishmen should be obliged to conform. But this national church, in their estimation, had so far retained too many practices that reminded the people of the old Catholic services. There was to be more preaching and less ceremony. The surplice, the use of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (with some of them) the official Book of Common Prayer were to be abolished. Gradually they went farther. About 1570 bold attacks were launched against the *constitution of the Anglican Church.* Though ineffectual at the time, they were resumed with greater vigor after the death of Elizabeth. *The very existence of bishops,* it was declared, and their claim to be divinely instituted have no foundation in Scripture. Likewise, *the royal supremacy* in the government of the English church was said to be antichristian. But as to who should exercise supreme authority in that church there was considerable difference of opinion. One party would have given to *parliament* the last word in all religious matters, while others preferred the Scotch system which vested all authority in a *synod or permanent committee of clergymen.*

423. The Independents (or *" Puritans of the Separation "*) held that there should be *no national church,* but that each *local church,* or parish, should be wholly *separate from the civil*

power and *independent of other churches*. This party tolerated the most extreme opinions on religious questions, while at the same time it bore a deadly hatred against King, Prelates, and Catholics. To the others they appeared as a lawless element. Elizabeth persecuted them, and her successor continued that policy. Some of these independent congregations fled to Holland; and *one of them, from Scrooby in northern England*, after staying several years at Leyden, *founded Plymouth in America* (the "Pilgrims").

The *Low-Church Puritans* of the milder type had their *strength in the parliament* and in the *city of London;* those who inclined towards Scotch Presbyterianism were numerous among the lower ranks of the Anglican clergy, while the Independents recruited their followers chiefly among the poorer classes in eastern counties. Later, *Oliver Cromwell became their acknowledged leader.*

424. Political liberty had fallen low under the Tudors. — True, no law could be made without consent of parliament, and that body controlled all grants of money. But the monarch (or his ministers) prepared nearly all measures that came before parliament; he could veto any act of parliament, and, after a law had been made, he sometimes nullified it by special proclamations. This last privilege was later made use of by the Stuart kings, but with disastrous consequences. Moreover, the king had so many ways of injuring a private man that it was extremely hazardous for any one persistently to oppose him.

But after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely only because they made use of constitutional forms (§ 302), and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them how far they might safely proceed. Moreover, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils (Spanish or French aggression) were past, *the tone of parliament began to rise again.* Men spoke boldly of checks upon the royal power; parliament

and courts even extorted a promise from the aged queen to give up her practice of granting trade monopolies to her favorites. It was plain to keen observers that only the reverence for Elizabeth's age and the gratitude for her real or imaginary services to the realm held off an open clash between sovereign and parliament. Upon her death the clash began, — to last eighty-five years. It cost the life of one king and the exile of another.

CHAPTER XXVI

ENGLAND UNDER THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

A. James I

425. Elizabeth in 1603 was succeeded by James I (son of Mary Stuart), already King of Scotland since 1567 (see note to § 371). James was shrewd and quick of apprehension, but ungainly in appearance and slovenly in his habits. His natural indolence made him leave the details of government to his favorites, while he preferred for himself the pleasures of the chase and the table. He, like his predecessors, entertained a very high idea of kingly power and armed himself against opponents with his doctrine of the "*Divine Right of Kings.*" According to this theory *the king, by the will of God, is the only source of all political power.* Hence opposition to the royal will is sinful. "As it is atheism and blasphemy in creatures to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what the king can do, or to say that the king cannot do this or that."[1]

In this attitude James and his successors found *loyal support* from that humble handmaid of the state, *the Established Church.* As it was the creature of royal absolutism, it naturally turned to its makers for favor, and the king considered it the firmest prop of his authority. On the other side, the parliament in its opposition against the royal prerogatives and the Puritans

[1] It is God's will that there be in every state a government to whose lawful commands all owe obedience. In this sense every legitimate ruler rules by "Divine Right." But from that it does not follow that the ruler can do no wrong and that resistance to the government is *always* sinful.

in their hatred against episcopacy joined hands in defense of their common interests. Hence we find that in the civil strife that followed the death of Elizabeth and lasted for the next eighty-five years, *the fortunes of the king and of the Established Church rise and fall together.* Only towards the end of that period the Church goes over to the camp of the enemies of the second James, the grandson of the first.

426. Both the Catholics and the Puritans hailed the coming of James with joy, and both were sadly disappointed. — The Catholics hoped for fairer treatment by the son of the unfortunate Queen of Scots (§ 394). In the beginning, indeed, James seemed inclined not to enforce the Penal Laws (§ 385) too strictly. But the fanatical taunt of "Popery" from the Puritans soon turned the weak and cowardly king into a persecutor. This embittered a few young and ardent spirits among the Catholics so much that they formed a plot to revenge themselves on their persecutors. They planned to blow up the parliament building on the day when the king would open the session in presence of the Lords and the Commons (November 5, 1605). The plot was betrayed, and only served to make the lot of the Catholics harder, although there was not the slightest evidence that any one, besides the conspirators, knew of the criminal enterprise.[1]

427. The Puritans on their part, knowing that James had been reared in the tenets of Scotch Calvinism, expected that he would purge the Established Church from the remnants of "Popish practices." But they, too, were soon disillusioned. James made no effort to conceal his dislike for the Presbyterian form of church government. He had forced bishops on the unwilling Scotch (§ 395), and he was not going to be deprived of these tools in England. "No bishops, no king," was his motto. He threatened that if the Puritans refused to

[1] Special Report: "The Gunpowder Plot." See Lingard-Birt, p. 422, or Gerard's *What was the Gunpowder Plot?*

conform he would "harry them out of the land, or even do worse."

428. Wrangling with Parliament. — James' relations with the House of Commons were marked by a *series of quarrels*. He seldom called parliaments, and only when he needed money. Whenever he did, there was a clash.

The regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of the government called for more funds. Besides, James was wasteful where Elizabeth had been miserly. At first he tried to obtain more money by *increasing the customs duties*. Parliament objected. The *monopolies* of the Crown were another source of income, but the Commons maintained — and rightly — that they were only a means to enrich ministers and other courtiers, and, accordingly, *they asserted their right to impeach ministers*. In 1621 James summoned a parliament to obtain subsidies for his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate. In the Thirty Years' War (§ 410) Frederick was one of the leading men on the Protestant side. His cause was, therefore, popular in England, especially since Spain, England's old enemy, supported the Catholic party. But in spite of English assistance Frederick was defeated and expelled from the Palatinate. James then conceived the idea of restoring him to his dominions through Spanish influence. For this purpose he planned a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess. The Commons, who cared very little for poor Frederick's personal losses but were eager for a war with Spain, expressed their dissatisfaction with these marriage plans. James told them bluntly not to discuss these "high mysteries of state," whereupon *the Commons drew up a protest insisting upon their right to discuss all matters of state* and asserted their right of freedom of speech. James tore out this page of the records and dissolved parliament. However, the project of the Spanish marriage failed, and the king opened negotiations for an alliance with Henrietta, sister

of Louis XIII of France. In the marriage contract James and Charles secretly pledged their word to grant relief to their Catholic subjects, although previously Charles had declared on oath that the Catholic marriage should be of "no advantage" to the recusants at home. During these negotiations parliament was again summoned; the Commons granted supplies to be spent on the defense of the realm and on a war with Spain. A force was landed in Holland to serve against the Spanish troops on the Rhine, but the expedition was utterly mismanaged, and amid the general outcry of indignation James died, leaving to his son Charles a heritage of trouble.

CHARLES I. — After a famous portrait by Van Dyck.

B. CHARLES I

429. Charles I (1625–1649) was a more kingly personage than his father, but he was also *more arbitrary* and more *self-willed*. His personal morals were above reproach and his *devotion to the Established Church was sincere*. He thought it his *solemn duty to preserve the royal rights* as they were exercised by the Tudors and by his father, not realizing that circumstances and the spirit of the nation had radically changed since that time. Hence it was that, even when he was compelled to yield, he did so with the intention of reasserting his rights as soon as altered circumstances would permit it. This

made it impossible for him to acquiesce honestly in any agreement which limited his power.

430. When Charles met his first parliament he quarreled with it at once. — The Commons voted an insufficient sum for the war with Spain and proposed to grant the tonnage and poundage (revenue from import and export duties) for one year only and not for life, as had been the custom in preceding reigns. Moreover, the favors shown to Catholics since his marriage with Henrietta aroused suspicion, and he had to put into force the Penal Laws in spite of the promise made to Louis XIII (§ 428).

In his second parliament Charles met still stronger opposition. The Commons were led by *Sir John Eliot*, a gentleman from Cornwall, who became the first "*Great Commoner*" of England. The anger of parliament was directed in particular against the *Duke of Buckingham*, the prime minister and a special favorite of the king. The duke had sent a fleet to Cadiz to capture the Spanish treasure ships, but the expedition proved an utter failure. Later some English ships were lent to Richelieu to help crush the Huguenots (§ 408). The Puritans in parliament were so incensed at this war against their co-religionists in France that they demanded the impeachment of Buckingham Then Charles promptly dismissed parliament.

431. But the king needed money, and that all the more because he now entered upon a war with France. Richelieu was determined to deprive the Huguenots of their political privileges, and Charles felt bound to come to their aid. To raise the necessary money without parliament he fell back upon the "*benevolences*" (§ 302). These "benevolences" were now asked of *all* taxpayers through the county courts. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for parliament.

Then Charles tried a "*forced loan.*" This was really a tax levied by the usual tax collector, and only thinly disguised by

the promise to repay at some future time. The king's party used both force and persuasion. The Anglican clergy preached from the pulpits that to resist the king was sinful and deserved eternal damnation.

Besides, poor freeholders who refused to pay were "*pressed*" *into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their homes.* Two hundred wealthy gentlemen were confined in prisons to subdue their obstinacy. Still, the forced loan raised little revenue; and with a fleet poorly fitted out Buckingham sailed against France. The expedition was another complete failure.

432. The Petition of Rights. — Charles, sunk in debt and shame, had to face his third parliament in 1628. The imprisoned gentlemen were released before the elections, and some seventy of them (all who "ran" for election) sat in the new parliament, in spite of the king's efforts to prevent their choice. Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security for the future. Finally they passed the *Petition of Rights, a document that ranks with the Magna Carta in the history of English liberties.* Charles, after vainly trying to evade it, had to give his assent in order to obtain money. It thus became the law of the land.

It provided:

(1) That no one should be required to give any loan, gift, or tax to the government, unless it was granted by act of parliament;

(2) That no one should be imprisoned contrary to the law of the land, not even by the king's orders;

(3) That soldiers and marines should not be quartered in private homes;

(4) That towns and districts should not be punished by putting them under martial law.

The Bill of Rights was the *first restriction of royal power* as assumed by the Tudors. Charles then adjourned the parlia-

ment. Before it met again, Buckingham, the "grievance of grievances," had been assassinated.

433. Eliot's "Resolutions." — When parliament assembled again it was in bitter humor. Charles during the recess had managed to get money by collecting the tonnage and poundage, claiming that these were not included in the restrictions of the Bill of Rights. The Commons were, however, determined to get the purse strings into their hands. Heedless of the king's plea for money they turned to punish the royal officers who had collected the customs. Then the Speaker stopped business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1] Instantly there was an uproar. Two of the members held the Speaker in his chair,[2] while the bulk of the others voted *three resolutions proposed by Eliot.* These resolutions denounced as traitors (1) any one who advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, (2) any one who paid them, (3) any one who supported Popery and Arminianism (§ 437). Charles at once dissolved parliament and sent Eliot and some others to the Tower. Eliot died there four years later.

434. "No Parliament." — During the next eleven years Charles tried to get along without parliament. He issued royal edicts in place of laws, and thus England was from 1629 to 1640 under the personal rule of the king. At first the people readily acquiesced in a situation which had obtained more than once since the days of the Tudors. Charles practiced rigid economy to avoid calling upon the Commons for supplies. He kept peace with the rest of Europe, but, as all foreign powers believed that Charles could not wage effective war, the prestige and authority of England sank to

[1] The King could *adjourn* the parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no new parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

a very low level and was not revived till after the death of Charles.

435. Ship-money. — In spite of all this the king soon found that the income of the crown fell far short of requirements. Hence he had to resort to various means of raising money, such as charges for conferring titles of nobility, monopolies, fines for the breach of the forest rights of the crown. *Finally his lawyers devised a new tax, the "ship-money."* It had long been the practice of English kings in time of war to demand from the seaport counties ships and crews, or, when it seemed more convenient, to accept money instead. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "ship-money tax" *from all England in time of peace.*

John Hampden, a wealthy merchant from Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his land, and the case went into the courts. The judges, who had long ago become tools of the king, decided for Charles, as had been expected. But the arguments of the lawyers on both sides attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of absolutism with perfect frankness. It declared that there was no power to check the king's authority over his subjects, "*For*," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of parliament makes any difference.*" The nature of the Stuart rule was now clear to all men.

436. The chief servants of the Crown during this period were *Sir Thomas Wentworth* (*Earl of Strafford*), *and Archbishop Laud.* Wentworth had been active in securing the Petition of Rights, but soon afterwards he passed over to the king's side, probably because he thought that the claims of the Commons would eventually destroy the very foundations of the English government. Wentworth was a man of uncommon ability and will power. He might have saved the Stuart monarchy, but Charles never gave him his entire confidence. He had been Lord Deputy in Ireland and as such had extorted large sums of

money from the Irish parliament for real or apparent royal favors. His ability to fill the treasury induced Charles to call him to his council.

437. Archbishop Laud, — The Religious Question. — In the beginning of the seventeenth century a reaction against Calvinism had set in on the Continent. The movement was led by a Dutch parson named *Arminius*, and soon found its way into England, where Laud, then bishop of London, became its chief supporter. Under Charles I Arminianism was the religion of the court and, of course, the staunch defender of the Divine Right theory. But as the Arminians gradually drew away from Calvinism they more and more approached Catholic doctrine and practice, and thereby aroused the fierce hostility of the Puritans. One of Eliot's Resolutions was directly aimed at them (§ 433). And since the Puritans formed the majority in parliament, *religion and politics became mixed up in inextricable confusion.*

In 1633 the king made Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, which gave him authority over the entire clergy. The new archbishop at once set to work to reform according to Arminian standards. Resistance on the part of the Puritan clergy led to petty vexations and persecutions. The Puritans, on their part, retaliated by raising the cry of "Popery" against Laud *and — indirectly — against Charles.* True, the Catholics, for quite a while, had been treated with unaccustomed leniency, but neither the king nor the archbishop had any thought of submitting to Rome.

A few years later *Laud tried to force his reforms on the Scots.*[1] James I had established episcopacy, and the Scots only murmured (§ 427). But now their pent-up anger burst into flames.

[1] Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament and church; the union was "personal," and consisted in the fact the two countries had the same king. This remained the theory until 1707 (§ 468).

When the clergyman in St. Giles Church at Edinburgh began to read the new English Prayer-book, a stool was hurled at his head, and the service broke up in wild disorder. In a short time hundreds of men had signed their names to a "*Solemn Oath and Covenant*" to preserve their form of religion. From the capital the movement spread like wildfire over lowland Scotland. Episcopacy was abolished, the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border. Charles was defeated and had to promise a heavy sum to the invaders. Not knowing where to get the money, and acting upon the advice of Wentworth, *he called the famous body known as the Long Parliament* (November, 1640).

438. The Long Parliament. — The position of the new parliamentarians was unprecedented in English history. The Scots had invaded the country and claimed from the king the payment of £850 a day. In order to get the money Charles had to keep parliament in session and to assent to its bills. The aim of the majority, *led by Pym and Hampden*, was to restore what they considered the true balance between king and Commons. To achieve this they thought it necessary to get rid of the chief agents of the king, Wentworth and Laud. Accordingly, both were impeached and condemned to death, though neither was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. The king, frightened by the threats of mob violence, gave his assent to the execution of Wentworth, and the head of the minister fell on May 12, 1641. "Put not your trust in princes," was his only comment on the cowardice of his royal master. The trial and execution of Laud came a few years later.

A series of acts was then passed sweeping away the system of government which had been in use since the days of the Tudors. The *Triennial Act* ordered that parliament should be elected every three years. Another act provided that the existing *parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent*, a measure which made it independent of the king. Then the Commons abolished the *Star Chamber and the High Commis-*

sion, — two rather new courts which worked without juries and were, therefore, subservient to the king. *Tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament were declared illegal*, and the ship-money tax was discontinued. After these and other measures the parliament adjourned. So far the Commons had been united, but now the split began.

439. The Royalist Reaction. — Charles had in the meantime gone to Scotland to win over that country to his side. During his absence a royalist reaction set in. There were many in the Commons who thought that the king had made every concession which could be reasonably demanded, and that to go further would mean revolution and lawlessness. Moreover, with many Presbyterianism found little favor, and, when Pym and Hampden came forward with a proposal to abolish episcopacy "root and branch," a large party under Hyde and Falkland opposed further changes. An Irish rebellion and an attempt to arrest a party of Scotch Presbyterians, for both of which incidents the king was blamed, only helped to increase the existing tension.

440. When parliament met again, Pym brought forward the Grand Remonstrance, a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in taking further measures against the king. In particular it proposed (1) that a synod of the clergy should be held to "reform" the church along Puritan lines, (2) that the *king's choice of ministers should be subject to the approval of parliament*. After an all-day and almost all-night debate, marked by bitter speeches on both sides, *the Remonstrance was adopted* by the narrow majority of eleven votes and amid scenes of wild confusion.

441. The Rupture between King and Parliament. — Charles now seemed able to control affairs, backed as he was by a large party. But he threw away his advantage by ordering the impeachment of Pym, Hampden, and of three others. They were accused of treason, — of having invited the Scots to invade England. The charge was probably true, but the Commons

paid no attention to it, and the king resolved on a bold stroke. He entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize the "*five members.*" But news of his coming had preceded him, and the five members had withdrawn. Charles did not know this and ordered the Speaker to point them out. The Speaker protested that "he had no eyes to see, no tongue to speak" but as the House should direct him. "Well, well!" said the king; "my eyes are as good as another's"; and standing in the Speaker's place he looked around the room. "I see the birds are flown," he added in a different tone, — and walked out, baffled and humiliated, and followed by angry shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!"[1]

This bold attempt and its disgraceful failure consolidated the opposition. London began to arm and sent trainbands to guard parliament. And parliament now demanded that the king give it control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes. Charles withdrew to the loyal North where, on August 22, 1642, *he unfurled the royal standard*, thus ending the battle of words and beginning the clash of arms.

For Further Reading. — For a more detailed account the student may consult Lingard-Birt, pp. 419 ff., or Wyatt-Davies, pp. 259 ff.

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[1] Referring to the privilege of members of parliament to be free from arrest, except on the order of the House itself.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

A. The Civil War

442. The Civil War (1642–1649). — The strength of the king's party lay in the North and West and that of the parliament in the southeastern counties, but there was no sharp dividing line. The struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king had on his side the majority of the nobility and country squires, and the adherents of the Anglican Church who feared the narrow Presbyterianism which parliament tried to establish. The Catholics loyally supported the king. The trading and manufacturing classes and the yeomanry, especially in the eastern counties, were for parliament, and London led the great towns in upholding the parliamentary cause. The navy, too, gave its assistance to the opponents of the king. The king's party took the name of "*Cavaliers*" from the large number of nobles fighting in its ranks; while the parliamentarians were called "*Roundheads*," the term being applied to them because many of them cropped their hair close to the head simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long flowing locks.

443. At first Charles was successful. — The untrained peasants and townsmen were no match for the habitual bravery and daring of the English gentlemen. The king's object was to take the capital. After a battle at *Edgehill* the way to London was open to him, but instead he retired to Oxford and thus lost his best chance to decide the war quickly.

Meantime parliament had been negotiating with the Scots.

They reached an agreement whereby the Scotch army was to come to the assistance of parliament and the latter pledged itself to establish a Presbyterian system of church government as nearly akin to the Scotch Kirk as possible. Charles, on the other hand, hoped for assistance from the Irish insurgents (§ 439), but his scheme failed completely.

444. In the meantime the parliamentary army had produced a leader who was destined to bring victory to its banner. Oliver Cromwell, a native of the eastern counties, had raised a body of cavalry known as the "*Ironsides*." These he trained and drilled and commanded so efficiently that they soon surpassed any other body of fighters, Cavalier as well as Roundhead. They were chiefly recruited from the *Independents* (§ 423), and Cromwell knew how to inspire them with a fanatical zeal and a stern devotion to their cause which effectively matched the chivalry and loyalty of the Cavaliers. In the battle of *Marston Moor* they showed the results of their training and inflicted a crushing defeat on the royalists. *Henceforth the North was lost to the king.* But Cromwell did not rest on his laurels. He realized that if the war must be ended it had to be fought by standing armies and not by contingents of raw recruits that melted away and went to their homes after every campaign. Moreover, he was thoroughly disgusted with the half-hearted way in which some of the parliamentarian generals conducted military operations. To mend matters he urged two measures upon parliament, the *Self-denying Ordinance* and the *remodeling of the army.* Both were passed. By the first a number of inefficient generals who were at the same time members of parliament had to resign. The second measure created a permanent army, the "*New Model*," with Cromwell in command. The troops, many of whom were veterans, received regular pay and were carefully trained. Soon after Cromwell's action was justified by the brilliant victory at *Naseby*, which virtually ended the war.

445. Dissensions. — When the war broke out many loyal members of the Established Church in parliament had withdrawn to join the king. This left the Presbyterians in control. They were further strengthened by the support of the Scots (§ 443), to whom they had promised to make the English Church Presbyterian. To redeem this promise parliament now began to compel all men to accept the Presbyterian system. On this point, however, a quarrel broke out between the parliament and the army.

A year after the defeat at Naseby, Charles went secretly to the North and surrendered to the Scots. He hoped to take advantage of the division among his enemies and to use the Scots against the New Model. But negotiations failed because the king absolutely refused to abandon the episcopal system, and shortly after the Scots handed him over to a *commission representing the English parliament.* From now on *he was a prisoner.*

446. For the moment the authority of the parliament seemed undisputed, but its real weakness soon showed itself. — The army, consisting mostly of Independents, was as much *opposed to the religious supremacy of parliament* as it had been to the religious supremacy of the king. When the parliament tried to interfere with the army and to disband part of it the soldiers of Cromwell organized a sort of independent government by appointing a *Council of Officers* with Cromwell at the head. Royalist and Presbyterian risings were soon stamped out, and besides, the *army got possession of the king's person.* Then, under orders from the Council of Officers, Colonel Pride carried what is known as "*Pride's Purge,*" that is, he entered the House of Commons with an armed force and expelled 143 Presbyterian members. The remaining members (rarely more than sixty were present) were subsequently nicknamed "*The Rump,*" and as such continued the Long Parliament. Almost at once it voted the appointment of a High Court of Justice, to *bring the captive king to trial.* As this appointment was rejected by the Lords,

the Commons voted that "legislative power resided solely with the Commons."

Charles was then brought to trial. He refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court and took the ground that not he but the parliament had broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom. But his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The unhappy monarch redeemed the errors of his life by the noble firmness with which he met his fate. On January 30, 1649, he was beheaded in front of the royal palace at Whitehall, London, amid groans of pity and horror from the hitherto silent multitude.

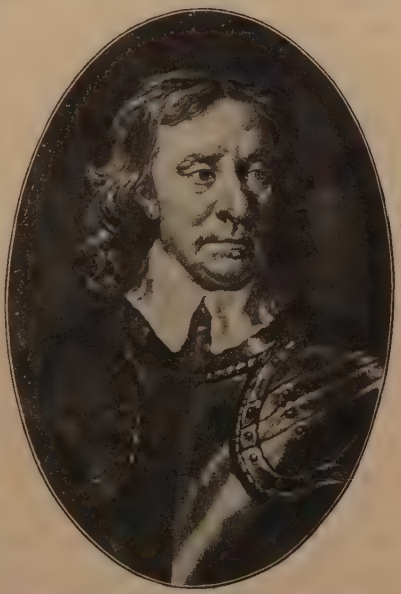
B. England under Cromwell

447. The Commonwealth (1648–1654). — The execution of Charles I had really been the *work of the army controlling the parliament.* Only a minority of the High Court had signed the death warrant (the others absenting themselves), and this High Court was appointed by the Rump, the insignificant remnant of the Long Parliament. The real power, therefore, had passed from the representatives of the nation into the hands of a few determined and unscrupulous men. Thus the attempt to restore the English constitution, as it had existed before the Tudors, had lamentably failed. England, instead of being governed by King, Lords, and Commons, was now ruled by the sword. But this condition of things was not destined to last. The army had proved itself powerful enough to destroy, but its attempt to govern against the will of the great majority of the nation was foredoomed to failure.

448. Shortly before the execution of Charles the council of the army proclaimed the so-called *Agreement of the People*, a scheme of a republican constitution, the first and only written constitution England ever had. There was to be a parliament of one House, and the executive power was vested in a council appointed by parliament. The Agreement recommended a

public profession of Christianity "reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline," but those who differed from it would not incur penalties. "Popery and prelacy" were, however, excluded from this toleration.

But for the time being it was impossible to carry out this scheme. *Troubles in Ireland* claimed the attention of the new government. To understand them *we have to survey Irish events of the last reign.*



CROMWELL. — After Lely's portrait.

449. Ireland under Charles I. — We have studied the sad story of Ireland under Elizabeth and James I (§ 392). The various plantations under the Tudors and especially the *Ulster Plantation* under James showed the Irish what was in store for them if they meekly submitted to English domination. True, James and Charles for a time mitigated the harsh measures of oppression. But during the administration of Wentworth (§ 436) confiscation of Irish soil and expulsion of Irish landowners were resumed on a large scale. Moreover, English officials in the island and the Puritans in parliament continually clamored for more confiscation and for the total suppression of the Catholic religion.

In 1641 an insurrection broke out in Ulster where the Catholics had suffered more grievously than elsewhere. The English

parliament at once voted the confiscation of two thirds of all Irish estates and the complete suppression of Catholic worship. Upon that the rest of Ireland threw all hesitation to the wind, joined their Ulster brothers, and, under their heroic leader *Owen Roe O'Neill*, began the war for faith and fatherland.

At the same time King Charles entered upon his life and death struggle with the parliament. As the latter had always been the chief enemy of Ireland, the Irish threw in their lot with that of the king. Charles was anxious to gain the support of the patriots in the island in order to offset the alliance of the parliamentarians with the Scots. He entered into negotiations with the Irish leaders and secretly promised redress of some of their grievances. But he lacked the courage publicly to stand by his friends for fear of losing the support of his Protestant followers.

At first the Irish patriots won a number of brilliant victories over the parliamentarian armies, but soon dissensions brought disaster to their ranks. Their evil genius was *Ormond*, a Protestant Irish gentleman, whom the king had named his representative in the island. By endeavoring to procure *political advantages* exclusively for his friends and relatives, he sowed discord between the leaders, and with that defeat overtook their brave soldiers. By this time the king's cause in England began to look hopeless. Now he regretted his half-hearted compliance with Irish demands. But it was too late. A new treaty between Charles and his Irish supporters had just been concluded, when the news of the execution of the king shattered the hopes of Ireland. Parliament now sent the formidable Cromwell to "pacify" the island. *It was to be the peace of the grave.*

450. Cromwell in Ireland. — In August, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin with a well-supplied army of his veterans. He first laid siege to *Drogheda* in the north, stormed the town, and put the garrison to the sword, though quarter had been promised. Nor were defenseless women and children spared. This bloody deed struck terror into many hearts, and a number of towns at

once surrendered. At *Wexford* and other fortified places the scenes of Drogheda were reënacted. After Cromwell's recall others finished the conquest with equal barbarism. *Plagues and famine* added to the misery of the unhappy island. Out of a million and a half 600,000 are said to have perished. Later the parliament ordered the *inhabitants of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster to leave their homes and move across the Shannon into Connaught*, where the land had been laid waste. The evacuated land was given to Cromwell's veterans and other English Protestant settlers. Many of the unfortunate victims died of starvation, others were sold as slaves to the West Indies, while large numbers went into exile or enlisted in the armies of France and Spain. The barbarism of Cromwell and his successors left behind it a legacy of bitterness which has never been forgotten. (See § 392.)

451. Cromwell had been recalled from Ireland because of the threatening attitude of the Scots. They were angry at the overthrow of Presbyterianism as the sole religion of England, and bitterly resented the execution of Charles, who was also their sovereign. The son of the late king was proclaimed ruler of Scotland as Charles II, and upon his landing in Scotland he accepted the Presbyterian system. At the head of a Scotch army he invaded England to recover the throne of his father. But Cromwell completely routed the Royalists at *Worcester*, the last battle of the civil war. The young prince escaped in disguise and after many romantic adventures landed safely on the Continent.

452. In 1652 a naval war with Holland broke out. — The parliament had proclaimed the famous *Navigation Act*, the first of many documents of this kind. It was the outcome of *trade rivalry* between the two countries, for the young Dutch republic had built up a considerable carrying trade. According to this Act foreign goods could be brought to England only in English ships or in ships of the country that produced the goods. After

a series of naval engagements the Dutch had to submit to the restriction on their commerce. A trade war with Spain was less successful and drove Cromwell into an alliance with France.

453. The Protectorate, 1654–1660. — In the Agreement of the People (§ 448) it was provided that the Rump should be dissolved in April, 1649. The war with Ireland and Scotland prevented this, but in 1651, after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell demanded that this clause should be carried out, and a new parliament elected. The Rump realized that the elections would certainly return a hostile majority and proposed that *only those seats which had become vacant by Pride's Purge* (§ 446) and other expulsions should be filled up. The present members were to continue without reëlection and were to form a committee with power to exclude any of the new members whose loyalty to the existing government was suspected. This roused fierce resentment in the army, and Cromwell resolved to take radical measures. He appeared in the House with a body of musketeers, ordered the soldiers to eject the Speaker from the chair, and drove the members out of the hall. Thus ended the Long Parliament after an existence of twelve years (April 20, 1653).

Shortly after this a convention of 140 persons was summoned and intrusted with the task of giving England a new constitution. But it consisted largely of unpractical fanatics, and accomplished nothing. One morning a minority, taking advantage of the absence of their opponents, resigned all power into the hands of Cromwell. He in turn announced that he would rule in accordance with the "Instrument of Government," a new scheme approved by the army which virtually united all power in one office, that of *Lord Protector*. That office was of course reserved to Cromwell. He now became practically a *dictator*, being more independent of the will of the nation than Charles ever had been. Several experiments with parliaments were made, but these parliaments, though "purified" by various

means, would not work in harmony with the Protector. The real difficulty was that neither side dared to appeal to the nation, because the majority of the nation was opposed to the republic and its schemes. The Independents, who alone were represented in parliaments of that period, formed only a small section of the nation. Cromwell would have wished to rule with the approval of the people if the people had accepted his views. As it was, the power which he wielded was won by the sword and could be maintained only by the sword. Fortunately for Cromwell, death released him in 1658 from a position which became every day more difficult. He was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary gifts, but a peculiar combination of pharisaical righteousness with unbounded selfishness makes him one of the most repulsive characters in English history. Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as Lord Protector, but resigned after eight months. Anarchy reigned for a while, *then the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II* (1660).

For Further Reading. — Besides the works mentioned in the previous chapter consult Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*, on Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. F. Murphy's *Cromwell in Ireland* is a carefully documented narrative. Guggenberger, Vol. II, §§ 487–544, covers this period adequately.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

A. England under the Last Two Stuarts

454. Charles II had been restored by a coalition of Royalists and Presbyterians, for every one preferred him to a government by soldiers. Before his arrival he sent a declaration to parliament promising extensive pardon for the past, assent to any acts of parliament touching upon the question of confiscated estates of Royalists, and toleration to all religions which would not disturb the public peace. The members welcomed this declaration and passed several acts on these points. But it proved impossible to solve the religious question to the satisfaction of all parties, and the king dissolved his first parliament.

455. Charles II was an indolent and extravagant monarch. He and his court indulged in a continuous round of pleasures and the country largely followed the example set by the higher circles. There is hardly a period in English history where the moral laws were so openly flouted in life as well as in literature. It was as if men wished to indemnify themselves for the restraint put upon them by the somber Puritan régime. In politics Charles II was just as desirous as his father to be independent of parliament. But, unlike Charles I, he took care not to arouse the nation against himself. As he put it, he had no wish "to go on his travels again."

456. Domestic Policy. — Charles' first parliament had been a moderate body, but his second one was made up almost entirely of Cavaliers and ultra-royalists. The king knew that he could never get another so much to his mind; so he shrewdly

kept it during most of his reign, — till 1679. In the religious question this parliament was episcopalian without compromise. Previous attempts to bring about some understanding with the Presbyterians were at once given up. A number of acts struck severe blows at the Puritans and all the other "*Dissenters*," as all Protestant bodies outside of the Established Church were called. They are of great importance for the understanding of future developments in English history. By the *Corporation Act* every office-holder in an incorporated town was bound to receive communion in the Established Church. The *Act of Uniformity* obliged every clergyman and every schoolmaster to declare his assent to all that was contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Any minister who was not ordained by a bishop of the Church of England had to receive ordination within three months. Two thousand ministers who had accepted office during the Puritan régime were ejected from their holdings. Charles II was not in sympathy with these harsh proceedings. He would have preferred to extend toleration and to make it wide enough to include even Catholics, for in spite of his dissolute habits he was secretly inclined towards Catholicism. The Catholics had stood loyally by his father, and Catholic princes had befriended him during his exile. He therefore asked parliament for power to dispense with the penalties of the Act of Uniformity. But that request aroused the suspicions of the members who divined the king's intention, and they passed the *Conventicle Act* which forbade religious meetings in private houses (1664).

The king, however, did not at once give up hope of securing toleration for Catholics and Dissenters. In 1668 his brother *James, Duke of York*, was converted to the Catholic Church, and Charles entertained similar thoughts. In fact, in a secret treaty with Louis XIV of France he agreed to declare himself a Catholic "when it was safe to do so." In order to prepare the way he issued the *Declaration of Indulgence*, suspending all

penal laws regarding Catholics and Dissenters. But parliament forced him to withdraw the declaration and followed up its victory by passing the *Test Act*. This measure was aimed directly at the Catholics. It ordered that every office-holder must declare on oath his disbelief in the Transubstantiation, that is, in the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Catholics, of course, could never take such an oath while the Dissenters were perfectly willing to do so. The anti-Catholic bias, strong as it was from the beginning of this reign, received a new impetus through the pretended revelations of a shameless impostor, named *Titus Oates*. He professed to be cognizant of a Catholic plot to overthrow the English government and to institute a general massacre of the Protestants. This " Popish Plot " was a vile fabrication, as it is now generally admitted, but at that time it cost the life of a large number of innocent victims. The *foreign policy* of the king was another source of the ever increasing fanaticism of the nation. Louis XIV of France roused the indignation of the English by his constant aggressions on the Continent. They identified, though without reason, the Catholic Church and French interests. And they knew that among the *allies* of the French monarch none was more faithful than *their own king*.

457. Foreign Policy. — The chief reason for Charles' constant support of France was the rich subsidies granted to him by Louis XIV, which enabled him to maintain his extravagant court without recourse to parliament. This alliance entangled Charles in several continental wars, of which we shall have to speak later (§ 479).

The old *war with Holland*, begun under Cromwell (§ 452), was renewed under Charles II, who was earnestly desirous of increasing English commerce and English colonial possessions. The two nations were nearly evenly matched at sea, but in 1664 the English seized some of the Dutch West Indian islands and also their colony on *Manhattan Island, which was renamed New York*

in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. Three years later a treaty was signed by England and Holland which confirmed these conquests.

458. Real political parties first appeared toward the close of Charles' reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic and suspected of planning the restoration of Catholicism in England. The more radical members of parliament introduced a bill to exclude James from the throne; their supporters throughout the country sent up petitions urging the passage of the bill. The royal party presented counter-petitions expressing their abhorrence of a change in the succession. These "Abhorrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the fanatical Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs called their opponents *Tories* (bog-trotters), a contemptuous term applied to the Irish supporters of the royalist cause in the Civil War.

The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. It was a long time before there was any regular organization or precise platform; but, in general, the *Whigs believed in the supremacy of parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories sustained the royal authority* and wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people.

459. Charles II died in 1685, having on his death bed the assistance of a Catholic priest. His brother succeeded him as **James II (1685–1688)**. Although superior to Charles in courage and energy, he was decidedly his inferior in prudence and statesmanship. He lacked insight into character and was unable to gauge the trend of public opinion. It was truly said of him that whereas Charles could see things if he would, James would see things if he could. Being a Catholic, he tried above all to secure to his fellow Catholics religious liberty and complete equality with their Protestant countrymen. *But in this he*

proceeded with undue haste. At first he tried to obtain from parliament the repeal of the Test Act (§ 456), but a small majority voted against him. Instead of patiently waiting for a more favorable opportunity, he at once invoked the royal *Dispensing Power*, that is, he claimed the right to exempt individual Catholics from the penalties of the law. An obsequious court of judges declared that the king really possessed such power, and the latter at once proceeded to appoint several Catholics to high offices. This only heightened the general suspicion of James' intentions. At the same time Louis XIV, the old ally of the Stuarts, had taken very severe measures against the Huguenots in France, and the arrival of fugitives from that country aroused universal indignation. Then came the climax. James issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* (§ 456), granting almost complete religious liberty to Catholics and Dissenters. Moreover, he forced the Anglican bishops to have the Declaration read in their churches. Several refused and were thrown into prison.

B. The Revolution of 1688

460. While the case of the bishops was being tried, an event happened which brought about the crisis. A son was born to James by his *second wife*, the Catholic princess *Mary of Modena.* Until now the hopes of the Protestant leaders had centered on the princess *Mary*, a daughter of James by his first wife. She was a Protestant and had married *William III, the stadtholder of Holland* and a descendant of William the Silent (§ 401). The enemies of James spread the rumor that the child was really not the son of the king but had been smuggled into the palace to deprive Mary of her right of succession. A number of influential leaders secretly invited William of Orange. He landed with a small force. James found himself deserted by all, even by those whom he thought most loyal. He was made prisoner, but soon after was allowed to escape to France (1688).

The story of the Revolution is not a noble one. Selfishness, treachery, and deceit marked every step. The term "*glorious*," which English historians generally have applied to it, must be taken to refer to results rather than to methods.

A convention parliament was summoned which declared the throne vacant. The crown was offered to *William and Mary jointly*, that is, if either survived the other, he or she was to be ruler of England. Parliament, then, drew up a *Bill of Rights* which laid down certain fundamental principles. It was accepted by William and Mary, whereupon they were proclaimed king and queen. The Bill of Rights contained the following points:

(1) It is illegal to suspend, or dispense with, the execution of laws by royal authority, "as it has been assumed and exercised lately," or to erect courts and levy money without consent of parliament.

(2) Protestant subjects have a right to carry arms; parliamentary elections ought to be free; parliament should be summoned frequently for the redress of grievances.

(3) On the death of William and Mary the crown was to go to their children, or in default of issue, to Anne and her children (see table); if these failed, it was to devolve upon any children of William, should he survive Mary and marry a second time. Any person who was a Catholic, or married to a Catholic, should be incapable of wearing the English crown.

A few years later (1701) an *Act of Settlement* declared the *granddaughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover*, and her children, heirs to the crown. In virtue of this law it passed to George I (1714) and to each English sovereign since.[1]

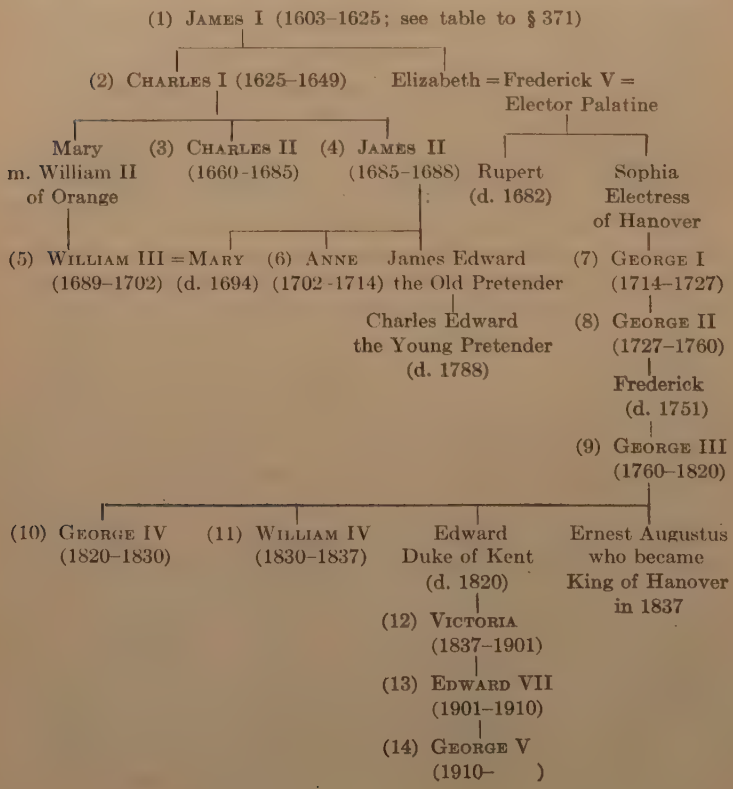
To understand the results of the revolution at the close of the seventeenth century, we must carry the political story in part into the eighteenth.

461. Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War." — William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent, under

[1] The table on following page shows the relationship of the Hanoverians to the Stuarts.

whom Holland had won its independence from Spain (§ 401). He ranks among England's most gifted kings. But being a foreigner, he was unpopular; and his reign (1688–1702) was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While only stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis' schemes; and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This formed the beginning of a series of wars between France


(1) James I (1603–1625; see table to § 371)
(2) Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth = Frederick V = Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
(3) Charles II (1660–1685)
(4) James II (1685–1688)
Rupert (d. 1682)
Sophia Electress of Hanover
(5) William III (1689–1702)
= Mary (d. 1694)
(6) Anne (1702–1714)
James Edward the Old Pretender
(7) George I (1714–1727)
Charles Edward the Young Pretender (d. 1788)
(8) George II (1727–1760)
Frederick (d. 1751)
(9) George III (1760–1820)
(10) George IV (1820–1830)
(11) William IV (1830–1837)
Edward Duke of Kent (d. 1820)
Ernest Augustus who became King of Hanover in 1837
(12) Victoria (1837–1901)
(13) Edward VII (1901–1910)
(14) George V (1910–)

and England. With slight intervals of peace, *the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815*, the downfall of Napoleon. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and progress at home. During the next century and a quarter there were great changes in England, especially in farming and manufactures, but they were changes made by the *people;* the *government* had nothing to do with them. These changes will be studied in a later chapter.

462. Just in the earlier years, however, some remarkable reforms were made by parliament, both in politics and religion. They properly form a part of the "Glorious Revolution." The religious reforms were embodied in the *Act of Toleration of 1689.* The Dissenters had united with the Anglicans to bring about the overthrow of the Catholic James II; and William, who as a Dutch Calvinist had no special sympathies for the English State Church, insisted that parliament should grant the Dissenters freedom of worship. This was done.

The law, however, did not apply to Catholics. They remained excluded under severe penalties from all right to worship in their own way, and from the right to hold office or to attend the universities. The two latter prohibitions applied also to the Dissenters. Still, for a country like England to permit by law the public exercise of more than one form of religion was a great step forward.

463. The chief gains in political liberty, connected with the "Glorious Revolution," come under four heads:

(1) The Stuart and Tudor kings had frequently interfered shamelessly with the independence of the courts. Now *judges were made removable only by parliament*, not by the king.

(2) A *Triennial Bill* ordered that a new parliament should be elected at least *once in three years.* This put an end to such abuses as the long life of the Cavalier Parliament (§ 456). In 1716 the term was changed to seven years. A parliament

may dissolve itself sooner than this, but it cannot last longer.

(3) Parliament hit upon a simple device which, indirectly, has put an end to the old way in which kings abused their power of dissolving parliament. After the Revolution parliament determined to pass "*revenue bills*" (furnishing money for government expenses) *only for a year at a time*, though the personal income of the king (civil list) was still granted for life. This secured the Commons a strong hold on the crown and the ministry, and rendered necessary the annual summons of parliament. In like fashion, the *Mutiny Act*, by which the army was legalized and placed under the jurisdiction of courts-martial, was henceforth *passed only for short periods*, thus providing another means of parliamentary control over the administration. Without the frequent passing of the Mutiny Act the army would legally cease to exist.

(4) The great problem of parliamentary government was to control the "king's ministers" and to make them really ministers of parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such an action could be secured only by a serious struggle and against notorious offenders. *What was wanted was a way of easily and regularly securing ministers acceptable to parliament.* The story of this change — a whole peaceful revolution — deserves a section to itself.

464. This desired "Cabinet Government" was secured indirectly through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to get *support from both parties*, the Whigs and the Tories, by keeping the leaders of both among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which parliament felt towards his measures, especially towards his foreign policy. Sometimes, too, there were dangerous deadlocks between king and parliament at critical times.

Then a shrewd political schemer (Sunderland) suggested to

the king that he should choose *all his advisers and assistants from the Whigs*, who had the majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support the proposals of the ministers instead of blocking them. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by filling his cabinet with leading Tories. This was the beginning of ministerial government, or cabinet government.

465. William, however, was a strong ruler. — He was not a tyrant, but he believed in a king's authority, and he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers — the "king's ministers" — in line with his policy. He died in 1702. As Mary had preceded him in death the crown passed to her younger sister, *Anne*, a woman of commonplace character and ability. Struggles between the Whigs and Tories filled her reign. Like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children, hence she was succeeded by the German *George I*, who was already Elector of Hanover (see table on page 466).

Neither George I nor his son George II exercised much influence on English affairs. They were interested in their German principality rather than in England and spent much of their time on the Continent. They did not even attend cabinet meetings. As a result this body became more and more *the real heart and soul of the English government.* During the reign of the first two Georges (1714–1760) the management of affairs was left to the ministers. For nearly half that time the leading man in the cabinet was *Sir Robert Walpole*, a Whig. He selected the other ministers, and put before parliament his own plans in the king's name. He is properly called "the first Prime Minister." Thus the reign of these two foreigners, George I and George II, gave a great impetus to true cabinet government. The "king's ministers" were fairly on the way to become the "ministers of parliament."

Unhappily, parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole sought earnestly, and on the whole wisely, to advance the material prosperity of England, and especially to build up her trade. Accordingly he clung tenaciously to a policy of peace. But he ruled largely by unblushing corruption. "Every man has his price," was one of his political maxims, and he certainly found it possible to buy members of parliament with gifts of lucrative offices — oftentimes offices with no duties attached to them. During his rule it was not the parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority. The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed parliament, and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.

466. The position of the Catholics was not improved by the revolution of 1688. They naturally gave their support to the Stuart kings, especially to James II, from whom they expected great relief. All their hopes were dashed to the ground by the accession of William III. William was personally not inclined to religious persecution, but popular feeling, which saw in the Catholics the secret allies of the exiled James, ran so high that a policy of toleration was well-nigh impossible. They were excluded from all rights granted to Dissenters, debarred from higher education and public offices, in fact from nearly all social intercourse with others of the same class. Priests of course were prohibited from the exercise of their office, and spies who secured the conviction of a priest reaped a rich reward. The persecution continued during Anne's reign. Under the Georges it gradually abated, but to the end of the eighteenth century the lot of the Catholics was that of despised outcasts.

467. The fate of the Irish Catholics was even worse. They, too, had enjoyed a period of relative tranquillity under the last two Stuarts. James especially made sincere attempts to procure redress for some Irish grievances. No wonder then that

Ireland supported the cause of the exiled king. In 1689 he landed on the Irish coast with a French force given to him by Louis XIV. The Irish welcomed him enthusiastically, but after the landing of an English army under William, James' hopes sank. William won a decisive victory on the *river Boyne* (1690) and James at once returned to France. The Irish continued the contest for a while with varying success. The peace treaty of *Limerick* (October, 1691) granted the country favorable terms, but was soon after shamefully violated.

Then followed the darkest century in Irish history. A *code of Penal Laws* was built up which reduced the unhappy isle to the most degrading servitude. All bishops and religious were exiled. The rest of the priests were required to take an oath of allegiance to which their conscience objected, and in case of refusal were banished. The Irish Catholic was excluded from the Irish parliament, — from the army, from every government office high and low. He could not bequeath his estate to any one, or buy or inherit land. He had no access to any educational institution nor could he establish schools of his own. Every conceivable inducement was held out to those who would abandon their faith, yet to the everlasting glory of the Irish race the vast majority of the nation remained unshaken in their loyal attachment to the religion of their fathers.

468. Meantime "England" was becoming "Great Britain." James I (1603) joined Scotland and England under one crown (§ 425). A century later (1707) this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by the "*Act of Union*," adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland *gave up her separate legislature* and became part of the "United Kingdom" with the right to send members to the English parliament and to keep her established Presbyterian church. The *Union Jack*, combining the cross of St. Andrew, the emblem of Scotland, with that of St. George, the standard of England, was adopted as the flag of Great Britain. Ireland, too, as we have seen, came under

the complete control of England. And the same seventeenth century which witnessed the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell saw another and vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, Vol. II, § 545 ff. It is desirable that the student should continue either Lingard-Birt or Wyatt-Davies. For a more extended treatment of religious matters see MacCaffrey, *From the Renaissance to the Revolution*, Vol. II, Chapters X and XI. For a brief summary of the Penal Laws see Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 9–14. Card. Moran's *The Catholics in Ireland under the Penal Laws* is perhaps the best account.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

A. Beginnings: Spain and Portugal

469. Discoveries. — We have studied several great phases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, the century of religious wars on the Continent, and, in England, the Puritan movement and the rise of political liberty. One other movement of those centuries, quite as important as any of these, is yet to be surveyed. *This is the expansion of Europe into New Worlds.*

The *beginnings* we noted (§ 344). Europe's growing commerce with the Orient was threatened in the fifteenth century by the Turks. To get into the rear of these barbarians, Europe, astir with the new life of the Renaissance, sought new routes to Asia. *Portugal* found one to the south around Africa. *Columbus* with the aid of Spain tried a still bolder western route and stumbled on America in his path.

470. These discoveries marked the end of the fifteenth century. — Portugal quickly built an empire in the Indian Ocean and the " Spice Islands " of the western Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise the *sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.* The story of her conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, though at times marred by deeds of oppression and cruelty. Spain did not attempt settlement on the mainland until twenty years after the discovery; but once this was begun her handful of explorers and soldiers sped swiftly north and south; and by 1550 she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), Central America, Mexico far up the Pacific coast, and the

Floridas. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were Spanish lakes, and even the Pacific was a "closed sea."

Spain was planning to extend her empire still farther north, when in 1588 her sea power received a fatal blow at the hands of the English in the ruin of her Invincible Armada (§ 404).

After Spain and Portugal the other seaboard countries of Europe tried their fortunes in America. But *Holland* in her half-century of rebellion against Spain turned her chief energies to seizing Portugal's old empire in the Orient, which had now become Spain's (§ 402, note). The *Swedish* colonies on the Delaware were never formidable to the claims of other nations, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (§ 410). *And so North America was left to France and England.*

B. France in America

471. The Story of French Colonization. — After a quarter-century of exploration Champlain founded the first permanent colony at Quebec in 1608. Explorers, traders, and missionaries soon traversed the Great Lakes and established stations at various points still known by their French names. Towards the close of the century (1682), after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up French claims to the entire valley. After that New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence in the far north and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

At home French statesmen aimed deliberately at building a French colonial empire in America. The same inspiring thought animated the French explorers, — splendid patriots like Champlain, Joliet, Ribault, and La Salle. France, too, sent forth the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. The names of Lallemant, Brébeuf, Jogues, Marquette, are among the most brilliant in the history of the Catholic missions. Mission-

ary zeal played a much greater part in French and Spanish than in English colonization. The English Puritans, stiff and narrow-minded, preferred to despoil and exterminate the Indian rather than to uplift and convert him.

472. Weak Points in French Colonization. — But though the French colonies were strong in leaders, they were weak in certain vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. *They lacked homes, individual enterprise, and political life.*

New France was not a country of homes or of agriculture. The territory occupied was too enormous and the settlers too few to make New France really French in character. In all the settlements the number of French was never more than one tenth of the population that occupied the English colonies. Moreover, if we except a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring their families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these adventurous Frenchmen preferred to be trappers, hunters, or explorers, and adopted Indian habits. The French government sought in vain to remedy this by sending over women of marriageable age and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. The Huguenots, who were often skillful artisans and good farmers, were forced to settle on other soil, for Louis XIV would not have that religious division in his colonies which he strove to eradicate at home.

Government paternalism smothered private enterprise in industry. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by unwise restrictions and hampered almost as much by unwise encouragements. The rulers did everything. Colonial governors asked for "money to build storehouses," for "a teacher to make sailors," for surgeons, and at various times, for brickmakers, ironworkers, and pilots.

New France usually got the help she asked; but she did not learn to do without it.

Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism (§ 477), and her rulers looked at the colonies as a mere expansion of France, to be governed and taxed and protected by the king. Though the officials of the French colonies were for the most part honest and able men, they were not the choice of the colonists, but the appointees of the crown. The civil law in force was that of the mother country, scarcely modified to meet different conditions. Hence the minute regulations as to public meetings, precedence of officials on public occasions, the number of cattle a man might own, which formed part of the administrative system of France, applied equally to the colonies. It is true that the colonies for the most part were satisfied with this arrangement. But when the larger policies of the home government suggested the abandonment of the colonies, they themselves fell an easy prey to their more self-reliant neighbors.

C. England in America

473. Colonizing Forces and Progress to 1690. — *Very different was the fringe of English colonies* that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half over, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. *Out of that rivalry America was born* — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual and adventurous patriots. Reckless free-booters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves and injury to the foe by raiding the far-flung realms of New Spain. More farsighted statesmen, like Raleigh, saw that English colonies in America would be "a great Bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine," and began attempts so to

"put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth." But contrary to their expectations, the American colonies hardly participated in the struggle of their mother country with Spain. Instead, they became the battle ground in the strife with another of England's rivals — France.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh, in Elizabeth's reign, made the first attempts at colonization in Newfoundland and Virginia. They proved, however, failures, chiefly because the English lacked experience, and indulged in vain hopes of finding gold and treasure instead of turning at once to agriculture. The mother country, moreover, took little interest in these schemes at a time when all England watched with breathless attention the outcome of the struggle with Spain's Armada (§ 404).

Things took a different turn after the death of Elizabeth and the downfall of Spanish sea power. The efforts at colonization under James I were organized and therefore more successful. A company — the Virginia Company — was formed with two branches, the London and the Plymouth branch, one colonizing the south, the other the north. In spite of many setbacks these colonial efforts led to permanent results and laid the foundation of America.

What class of people were the founders of our colonies? England's population during the long period of peace following the Wars of the Roses (§ 299) had increased rapidly, amounting in James I's time to about four million souls. This figure is of course far below the present, yet under the industrial system of that time England needed an outlet for this "crowded" population. We have seen (§ 415) how sheep-raising had turned much of England's farmland into pasture land, and how consequently the economic situation of the peasant had become much worse. Many of these peasants now went to the new settlements beyond the sea and furnished them with the most valuable manual labor. But capital and capitalists were needed too, and soon came forward. Conditions in England after the death of

Elizabeth turned some of the wealthier classes towards American adventure. Until James I made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of the gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (§ 402) against the Spaniards, or became adventurers and freebooters, who under Drake and others preyed upon the Spanish trade on the high seas. Peace left them without congenial occupation at home, and many of them turned to America in quest of new adventure. At first they proved a restless element, but experience gradually taught them the real needs of frontier life, and they became excellent colonists.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign Puritanism was added to these forces, and before the Long Parliament met (1640) there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic coast in New England. Another element constituting American colonial society were the *Indentured Servants*. They were convicts from overcrowded English prisons sold to American planters and bound to serve for a term of years after which they were set free. Besides, during Cromwell's rule, many shiploads of exiled *Irish Catholics* were sold into the American service. Thus the honored and the persecuted, the good and the refuse of England, contributed toward the population of Colonial America.

At the time of the " Glorious Revolution " (1688) the northern and southern groups of settlements had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies reaching from Maine to Georgia, with a population of a quarter of a million.

474. Freedom. — *The colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law*, with its trial by jury, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties; and almost as soon as founded they developed also a large degree of political liberty. *They all possessed their own representative assemblies elected by the people* and taking an important share in lawmaking. These assemblies were all modeled

on the English parliament. Moreover, not all England, but only the more democratic part of English life was transferred to America. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop of the Established Church ever made part of colonial America. But that part of English society which did come *was drawn towards still greater democracy by the presence of unlimited free land.* This abundance of free land made it relatively easy for the inferior and dependent classes to make themselves independent and thus to take a share in government equal to that enjoyed by the more fortunate colonists.

But of that great boon of which Americans of the present day are justly proud — *religious liberty* — there was very little in those colonial days. More than one sect, strong in the possession of civil power, bore down heavily upon those of another belief. The colonies, with some exceptions, were the seats of fierce religious fanaticism, notably New England and especially Massachusetts. Catholics were either proscribed or barely tolerated, loaded with heavy taxes, and in not a single colony were they in full enjoyment of those personal and civil liberties mentioned above. Relief came to them only with the independence of the colonies, when on the battle field they won the esteem of their fellow citizens by their patriotism and bravery.

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. The conflict in Europe between William III of England and Louis XIV of France became a hundred years' conflict (1690–1815) *for empire in America and Asia.*

For Further Reading. — See general works mentioned above. The student may read with profit Seeley's *Expansion of England.* Much information on New France may be gathered from F. Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America.*

PART III. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK THE GREAT

CHAPTER XXX

FRENCH LEADERSHIP

A. Character of the Period

475. Absolutism. — The period of Continental history between the Peace of Westphalia and the French Revolution (1648–1789) contains very little that is worthy of our admiration. *It is the age of full-grown princely absolutism.* The ruler recognizes no power independent of himself. The royal will is supreme and without constitutional checks. There had been similar tendencies in the English monarchs, as we have seen, but the victory of parliament had prevented their further growth. On the Continent parliamentary institutions had never taken such a firm hold on the nations. In medieval times there were other institutions which effectually restrained the lust of power. *A semi-independent nobility* often forced its will on a reluctant monarch. But feudal society by this time had almost disappeared. True, nobles still existed in large numbers, but their sovereignty over particular territories had in many cases been reduced to a mere title. This was especially true of France.

The power of the Church, in particular of the pope, had been another excellent check upon royal absolutism. Many a haughty monarch was brought to his knees by the powerful weapon of excommunication or deposition (§ 362). But in the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century many rulers renounced the authority of the Holy See. The Reformers, though they ap-

pealed to private judgment in religious matters, were only too anxious to invoke the assistance of the state in order to force their views upon others. Thus they increased the sense of independence in the princes. The Catholic rulers had little sympathy with the doctrines of Protestantism, but they did not fail to realize how greater independence from the pope and the Church would augment their own importance. Hence we see in this period everywhere attempts to hedge in the freedom of the spiritual power, and, especially, to control the appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices. The clergy thus appointed were in most cases respectable men, but they frequently lacked zeal and courage in defending the rights of the Church.

476. "**Balance of Power.**" — In the conduct of public affairs this period was remarkable for the unscrupulous pursuit of self-aggrandizement and of military glory. The true welfare of the people was often completely forgotten. The motives of nearly all wars were jealousy of the rising power of a neighbor, mutual distrust, which saw in the growth of another state sufficient reason to rob some other weaker state. *It became the chief object of statesmen to keep any one country from growing too strong for its neighbor's* safety. This was called maintaining the "*balance of power.*"

During most of this long period the stage is held by one or another of three gifted rulers, Louis XIV of France (1643–1715), Peter the Great of Russia (1689–1725), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786). The main influence of Peter the Great was spent directly upon his own country; but Louis and Frederick belong to all Europe, and the period is covered by the Age of Louis XIV and the Age of Frederick II.

B. Wars of Louis XIV

477. In France the talented and masterful Richelieu (§ 408) crushed the power of the nobility and made them practically mere officers of the crown. The provincial assemblies, with a

few exceptions, were gradually abolished, and the National Assembly (the Estates General, § 195) never met after 1614 until the Revolution (1789). Richelieu passed away in 1642, almost at the same time as his sovereign Louis XIII. During the minority of Louis XIV (1643–1661) Cardinal Mazarin guided the ship of state. He succeeded in securing to France very favorable terms in the Peace of Westphalia (§ 412). At home he suppressed the last dangerous rising of the nobles. At his death Louis declared that henceforth he would be his own prime minister.

478. In the beginning it seemed as if the reign of the energetic young king was to be prosperous and peaceful. With the assistance of his able minister Colbert he adopted wise financial measures, encouraged manufactures and commerce, and zealously watched over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 he began a series of wars that filled most of the remaining forty years of his reign. These wars produced several of the greatest French generals, among them *Turenne*, *Condé*, and *Vauban*, the foremost military engineer of his time. — In the first twelve years of war Louis sought extension on his *northern* frontier, while in a second series of wars, begun in 1689, he aimed at conquests on his *eastern* and *southern* boundaries.

479. In 1667 Louis XIV, on a flimsy pretext and without any declaration of war, **invaded the Spanish Netherlands.** It will be remembered that this rich territory had become separated from the northern Dutch provinces as a result of the rebellion of the Netherlands against Philip II (§ 402) and had remained under the sovereignty of Spain. At first the French encountered little resistance. But then the Dutch to the north became alarmed at the prospect of getting the aggressive Louis as neighbor. Accordingly, they concluded an alliance with England and Sweden against France. Louis thought it wiser to show moderation and to be satisfied, for the moment, with a fringe of Spanish fortresses just across his own northern bound-

ary. But he was determined to have his revenge upon the Dutch for having thwarted him. By skillful diplomacy he first isolated them from their allies and then attacked them with his whole might. He easily overran the greater part of the country, but when he approached the capital, Amsterdam, the heroic Hollanders cut the dikes, and the North Sea drove back the French armies. Meanwhile the little commonwealth intrusted the government to William of Orange (who afterward became William III of England, see § 462). While the doughty Dutch sailors under Admiral de Ruyter held off the French fleet, William succeeded in gaining allies. Emperor Leopold I, Spain, and others made common cause with William against the common danger. For several years the fearful struggle was waged on land and sea, along the Rhine, in Holland, in the Mediterranean, and in. the New World. Exhaustion compelled peace. The Dutch Republic remained intact, but Louis won from Spain the Free County of Burgundy.

480. During the ten years of peace that followed Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine, especially the important free city of *Strassburg* and other *portions of Alsace* which had not been ceded in the Peace of Westphalia. The emperor was unable to do more than protest against these encroachments, for he was fully occupied with the Turks who had just laid siege to Vienna (§ 502).

Another important event of this period was Louis' treatment of the Huguenots. Richelieu had broken their political power (§ 408) but otherwise left them alone. Louis determined to go further. In 1685 *he revoked the Edict of Nantes* (§ 407), closed the Calvinistic churches and banished their preachers. Laymen were forbidden to leave the country, but prohibited from any public exercise of their religion. Nevertheless, large numbers of Huguenots found their way into Holland, Prussia, England, and America. This measure, deemed by some inexpedient, was prompted by the memories of their former fanatical

attacks upon Church and State and the universal aversion against them. But it deprived France of many thrifty and skillful citizens and profoundly stirred Protestant Europe. In Germany it put a stop to a widespread movement for reunion with the Catholic Church, in Holland it led to retaliation against the Catholics, and in England it filled the nation with suspicion against its Catholic king, James II, and his schemes for religious toleration (§ 459).

481. The second series of wars opened with an attack by Louis upon the Palatinate, the rich province of the Empire just north of Alsace. Louis began hostilities by a terrible devastation of the unhappy country. Entire cities with fine cathedrals and historic buildings were destroyed, and brutalities quite equal to those of the Thirty Years' War were heaped upon the innocent inhabitants.

To meet this new aggression, an alliance was formed including the Emperor, William III (now King of England as well as ruler of Holland), Spain, and others. The entrance of England widened the struggle into a *Titanic contest between England and France for world-empire*. In part it was waged in America, where in history it is known as "King William's War." [1] Moreover, the exiled James II thought this a good opportunity for regaining the English crown. But his campaign in Ireland proved an utter failure (§ 467). Louis himself made practically no gains.

482. War of the Spanish Succession. — The French king then sought extension on his southern boundary. The king of Spain, Charles II, was dying. He was childless and brotherless, and all Europe had long been discussing what would become of his vast realms. The student will remember that Charles I (Emperor Charles V) had bestowed upon his Spanish

[1] In 1692 the English in a famous naval battle off La Hogue utterly defeated a French fleet. This victory secured to Great Britain the mastery of the sea which she has held ever since.

heirs the greater part of his dominions, that is, Spain with her many colonies, the Netherlands, and his Italian possessions (§ 367). The question now was: Who will inherit all this? Louis had married one sister of Charles II, Emperor Leopold I another. The former had, however, renounced all claims to Spain, while the latter had explicitly reserved them. As others objected that the union of so large a territory would disturb the balance of power (§ 476), the emperor and the French king had been considering for some time how they might divide the Spanish possessions between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs. When Charles II died, in 1700, however, it was discovered that he left a will which gave the whole inheritance to Louis' younger grandson Philip, but under the condition that France and Spain should never be united.

Louis XIV accepted the will and made it clear that he considered Spain and France as the domain of his own family. But Europe stood united against France and Spain in the "*War of the Spanish Succession.*" William III was the soul of the alliance against France, but he died just as hostilities were beginning. Nevertheless under Queen Anne the war was continued for the next eleven years. Again the scene of the struggle lay partly in America, where it is known as "*Queen Anne's War.*" In Europe the English general Marlborough and the Austrian commander Prince Eugene, for the first time, brought victory to the allies. They won terrible battles over the hitherto invincible armies of France at Blenheim on the Danube, at Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet in the Netherlands.

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) changed the map as few other treaties had done. (1) *Philip* was permitted to retain Spain and her colonies, but he had to renounce all claim to the French throne. (2) *The Austrian Hapsburgs* received the former Spanish possessions in *the Netherlands and in Italy.* The territory thus acquired in Italy, Milan and Naples, gave Austria that hold on the peninsula which she retained until 1866.

(3) *England* received from France *Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region*, and so began the *expulsion of the French from North America*. Besides, she secured from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca*.

C. Conditions in France under Louis XIV

483. Louis dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (Grand Monarque); but we can now see that his aims were mistaken, even from a purely selfish view. For his wars he could not even advance the pretext of strengthening France against powerful and dangerous neighbors, for after 1648 the Empire, as well as Spain, was too weak to think of aggression. Louis fought only to enlarge his borders.

Louis XIV. — After a painting by Rigaud.

In this he was partially successful; but he exhausted France and left the nation burdened with debt through the next century. At the close of his reign the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created. And in his unjust attacks upon his neighbors in Europe he had wasted the strength that might have intrenched France as mistress in Asia and America.

484. Intellectually, however, France under Louis XIV was the acknowledged leader of Europe. — And this continued to be true in the next century. She set the standard in art, literature, taste, and manners. The brilliant center from which all these influences radiated was the royal *court at Versailles*. Louis' palace there, about twelve miles from Paris, with its gardens and outlying buildings, was the most magnificent the West had ever seen, and on its construction the king had spent fabulous sums. The life at the court was on an equally splendid and costly scale. Here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxury and idleness at the expense of the people. The old feudal nobles who could afford it were attracted to Versailles, not only by the splendor of the court, but also because it was only by living close to the king that they could hope to win favor and offices. Life at the court, though regulated by the most fastidious etiquette and by exquisite taste, was nevertheless shamefully corrupt. Seldom was vice more gilded and made more attractive by polished manners than in the palace of Louis XIV.

485. Yet the brilliancy of this reign was not due entirely to its gorgeous trappings and extravagance. The liberal gifts of the king attracted men of learning and genius. Their work, in turn, inspired others, and thus the age of Louis XIV became the classical period of French literature. *Corneille* and *Racine* were the greatest French dramatists, while *Molière* in a series of inimitable comedies held up to ridicule the vices and follies of his time. Among the prose-writers the names of *Bossuet* and *Bourdaloue*, the greatest French pulpit orators, and of the pious and gentle *Fénelon* will always be held in the highest esteem.

486. But the reverse of this dazzling picture is sad enough. The luxury and costly wars of Louis reduced the peasantry to a pitiable condition. Fénelon dared to write to the king: "Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of the soil

is almost abandoned. The towns and the country decrease in population." Thousands of peasants were reduced to starvation, especially in the terrible winter of 1693–94. No wonder, then, that the tidings of the death of the Great King was received throughout France with an outburst of rejoicing. "The people had shed too many tears during his life to have any left for his death," remarked a satirist of the time. Louis had established political despotism, economic misery, and social inequality. The outcome of all this was the French Revolution, seventy-four years after his death.

FOR FURTHER READING. — On Louis XIV see Guggenberger, Vol. II, Book II, chap. 5. Macdonald, *History of France*, Vol. II, pp. 179 ff., may be consulted for the political history of this reign. Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 287 gives the text of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

487. The Russians threw off the Tartar yoke, we have noticed, about 1500 (§ 214). *Ivan the Terrible*, the second ruler after that event, took the title of Tsar (from *Caesar*, the old Roman title for emperors). About 1550, under Ivan, Russia was extended to the Caspian. It now covered a vast area — the great eastern plain of Europe, reaching over into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks shut Russia off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (§ 370); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany.

Church of St. Basil, Moscow, built about 1575 in the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The building was brilliantly painted in all the colors of the rainbow.

Thus the Russians were really Asiatic in geography. They were Asiatic also in manners and thought. They belonged to the Greek church; but they had no other tie with European life.

488. Russia was made a European Power by Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. He admired the material results of western civilization, and he determined to Europeanize his people. As steps toward this, he meant to get the Baltic coast from Sweden, and the Black Sea from the Turks, so as to have "windows to look out upon Europe."

Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland he studied shipbuilding, as a workman in the navy yards. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

489. Russia Veneered with European Culture. — With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and to come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Russian and Oriental.

490. Peter also started Russia on her march toward the European seas. — On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, ever since his day, Constantinople has been the goal of Russian ambition in this direction.

The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, "the Glorious Madman of the North."

Sweden was a thinly populated country with no great natural resources. For a century a line of great kings and the disciplined bravery of her soldiery had made her a leading power in Europe; but such leadership could hardly be permanent. She had grown at the expense of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg; and when Charles XII came to the Swedish throne (1697) as a mere boy of fifteen, these states leagued against him.

PETER THE GREAT.

Charles was a military genius, and for a long time he was victorious against this overwhelming coalition. But he wore out his resources in winning victories that did not destroy his huge antagonists. Early in the struggle he defeated Peter the Great at *Narva*, with an army not more than an eighth as large as the Russian force; but while Charles was busied in Poland and Germany, Russia recovered herself, and in 1709 Peter crushed Charles at *Pultava*.

As Peter had foretold, the Swedes had taught him how to beat them. *Sweden never recovered her military supremacy.* Russia secured the Swedish provinces on the east coast of the Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. These districts had been colonized, three centuries before, by the Teutonic Knights (§ 240, § 321), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. Thus the acquisition not only gave Russia a door into Europe, but actually brought part of Europe inside Russia. It was in this new territory that Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd*.

491. The next important acquisition of territory was under the *Empress Elizabeth*, daughter of Peter, who seized most of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under *Catherine II*, Russia made great progress **along the Black Sea** and on the west at the expense of Poland (§ 506). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
NORWAY
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TURKISH EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
VENICE
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SARDINIA
To Savoy 1720
CORSICA
To France 1768
1714, Austrian
1735, Spanish
1714 to Savoy
1720 to Austria
1735, Spanish
MINORCA
(To Eng.) 1708
MAJORCA
BALEARIC IS.
IONIAN IS.
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
CRETE
Bergen
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
MOSCOW
Volga R.
Culloden
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Bremen
Hamburg
Stettin
Kiel
DENMARK
CORENHAGEN
Brandenburg
BERLIN
Konigsberg
Danzig
Prussia
Kurland
Vilna
Smolensk
WARSAW
Vistula R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Brussels
Cologne
Aachen
Cassel
Frankfort
Prague
Saxony
DRESDEN
Silesia
Olmutz
Krakow
Lemberg
Boulogne
Calais
Cherbourg
Versailles
PARIS
Quiberon
Orleans
Loire R.
Seine R.
Mainz
Palatinate
Alsace
Bohemia
Brunn
MUNICH
VIENNA
Pressburg
Innsbruck
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
Lyons
Savoy
MILAN
Mantua
Venice
Laibach
Trieste
Dubitza
Mohacs
BUDA
Pest
Zental
Moldavia
Jassy
Kinburn
Kherson
Sebastopol
Wallachia
Bukharest
Sistova
Danube R.
Sofia
Belgrade
Bosnia
Servia
Nissa
Montenegro
CONSTANTINOPLE
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Genoa
Parma
Modena
Tuscany
Papal States
ROME
NAPLES
Athens
Morea
Cadiz
Carthagena
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
LISBON
MADRID
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Ebro R.
Garonne R.
MALTA (To Eng.)
1792, Russian
1774, Russian
1783, Russian
1739, Russian
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

CHAPTER XXXII

PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

A. Prussia before Frederick the Great

492. In a previous chapter we have briefly referred to the beginnings of a new northern state which, later on, was to have a decisive influence on the shaping of events in central Europe. We have seen how the *Electorate of Brandenburg* came into the possession of the *Hohenzollern family* (§ 333), and how a member of another branch of that family, in Luther's time, changed the land of the Teutonic Knights into a secular principality, the "Duchy of Prussia," for himself and his descendants (§ 370). Later it was arranged that, if the line of the Dukes of Prussia should die out, the title and territory was to go to the Brandenburg branch of the Hohenzollern. This actually happened under the Elector John Sigismund in 1618. The same Elector secured also the duchy of Cleves in the extreme west of Germany. Thereafter the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg ruled over three widely separated provinces, — on the *Rhine*, the *Elbe*, and the *Vistula*. Eventually the three parts were united by the annexation of the intermediate lands. But this was not accomplished until 1866.

493. The Great Elector. — Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War Frederick William, the "Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg. He took part in that struggle and as a reward he secured eastern Pomerania, which extended his territory to the Baltic, but, to his great chagrin, western Pomerania with its excellent harbors became Swedish (§ 412). Shortly after he obtained from Poland the recognition of the inde-

pendence of Prussia. Though he was in a measure the creator of the first distinctly Prussian army, his chief services during a long reign were rendered in peace, not in war. He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture, and welcomed the Huguenot fugitives from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Frederick III, son and successor of the Great Elector, in return for aid against Louis XIV, secured the emperor's consent to adopt the title "*King in Prussia*" (1701). This brought no increase in territory and, legally, applied only to territory situated beyond the boundaries of the Empire, but in consequence the name "Prussia" was gradually given to all the Hohenzollern possessions.

The second king in Prussia was a rather narrow-minded and rude "drill sergeant" who devoted his whole energy to the building up and training of an efficient army. His son, Frederick the Great, was to use this army with consummate skill.

B. Frederick the Great, 1740–1786

494. The Silesian War. — In the year that Frederick came to the throne the *Hapsburg emperor Charles VI* died without leaving a male heir. Before his death he had obtained the consent of the states of the Empire and of foreign powers to an arrangement by which he left his hereditary dominions to his daughter *Maria Theresa* (1740–1780). These dominions included Austria proper, Hungary, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the Austrian Netherlands, besides some smaller territories in Italy and elsewhere. The imperial crown of course was not within his gift, but the electors bestowed it later on Maria's husband, after it had been worn for a number of years by a Bavarian prince. As soon as Maria Theresa took possession of her inheritance Frederick of Prussia invaded one of her fairest provinces, *Silesia*. This high-handed act was the signal for a general onslaught on the Hapsburg realms. *France, Spain,*

Bavaria and others hurried to snatch away choice morsels. But Maria Theresa displayed unexpected courage and ability. Her subjects, especially the gallant Hungarian nobles, rallied loyally to her support, and, a little later, *England* and *Holland* added their strength to the Austrian side. The war ended in 1748. Austria lost no territory except Silesia, where the Austrians had been unable to resist the well-trained Prussians under the magnificent leadership of Frederick. That monarch had proved himself the best general of the age. Prussia by the acquisition of Silesia now reached down into the heart of Germany and was henceforth the rival of Austria within the Empire.

495. The war had been, as we have seen, a war of hostile alliances. — Thus it came that, although the greatest battles were fought on European soil,[1] the contest outside of Europe was of much greater importance. There it was a renewal of the *struggle for world-empire between England and France.* In America a New England expedition captured the fortress of *Louisburg.* In India the French leader, *Dupleix*, saw a chance to secure an Asiatic empire for his country, and, though greatly hampered by indifference at home, he captured a number of English stations in that country.

The treaty of peace, for a time, restored matters to their former position, both in America and India, but the war made *England and France* feel more clearly than ever before that they were *rivals for vast realms outside of Europe.* Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions relatively insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideals should hold the New Worlds. *The next war of Frederick with Maria Theresa was to bring the answer to these questions.*

[1] The best known of them is the battle of Fontenoy (Belgium), where the impetuous bravery of the Irish exiles won a decisive victory for France. Read Davis' poem "Fontenoy."

C. The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763

496. In Europe. — The next eight years were merely a preparation for a renewal of the struggle on a larger scale. Frederick knew that Maria Theresa had not given up all hope of recovering her fair Silesia. Accordingly, he improved the time in developing the resources of his kingdom and in perfecting the organization of his army. Austria did the same. In the meantime hostilities between England and France had never come to a full stop. There, too, both sides foresaw the impending clash, and, naturally, cast about for allies. The English ministry, chiefly in order to protect Hanover on the Continent, concluded an alliance with Frederick, whereby the integrity of that land was guaranteed. Later, when the great English statesman *Pitt* became prime minister, rich subsidies were granted to Frederick and English troops were landed in Hanover. On the other side Kaunitz, the clever adviser of Maria Theresa, negotiated an alliance with Austria's old enemy, France. Thus England and France were again in opposite camps, but had exchanged their allies. *Russia*, whose ruler, Elizabeth, had a personal grudge against Frederick, came to the assistance of Maria Theresa. When *Sweden*, too, became an ally of France, Frederick's little kingdom was hard pressed indeed.

The Prussian king resolved to have the advantage of an offensive, and in 1756 he opened hostilities by an invasion of *Saxony*, one of Austria's allies. Then began what is known in history as the "*Seven Years' War.*" On the Continent fortune at first favored Frederick. In the brilliant victories of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he successively defeated the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and forced all Europe to acknowledge him as one of the greatest generals in history. But the odds against him were overwhelming. His dominions were drained of men, England withdrew her aid, reverses on the

battle field followed. Then a change in Russia came to his aid. Elizabeth died in 1762, and her successor, an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, changed Russian enmity into friendship. Frederick again gained important successes, and in the following year all belligerents were glad to sign the terms of peace. The treaty changed nothing in the map of Europe; *Silesia remained a Prussian province.* By far more important were the changes abroad.

497. In America. — The Seven Years' War is known in our history as the "*French and Indian War.*" Pitt was working to build up a great British Empire, at the expense of France. Hence he assisted Frederick with funds, while the English navy swept the seas. On American soil the chief feature of the war was the taking of *Quebec* by *Wolfe* and its heroic defense by *Montcalm.* The treaty of peace gave to England the whole of *Canada* (in the north) and *Florida* (in the south). The latter was ceded by *Spain,* which had been an ally of *France.* To compensate Spain for the loss, France made over to her *New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana.* Thus English power and English civilization held sway from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. But it was not to last very long. Twelve years later began the *American War of Independence* which deprived England of the best part of her American colonies. The causes of this war are intimately bound up with the results of the Seven Years' War. England, heavily burdened with debts on account of the war, tried to tax her colonies, and to make them support her soldiery. The colonists, on the other hand, during the struggle in America had become conscious of their own strength and military qualities, and the removal of French power from their northern boundaries made them less anxious for protection from the mother country. However, the secession of the American colonies did not injure England as much as friends and foes expected. The commerce of the United States continued to be

carried on mainly through England, and, very soon, the new nation with its growing wealth was buying more English goods than the old colonies had been able to pay for. For her loss in territory England, to some degree, found compensation in the acquisition of *Australia* (1788).

498. In India. — There, too, the Seven Years' War was merely a continuation of the struggle begun during the Silesian War. Dupleix, the French leader (§ 495), had been recalled by the short-sighted French government. The English, on the other hand, possessed in young *Robert Clive* a man perfectly able to take care of British interests in India. The native prince of Bengal treacherously seized the English port of Calcutta, and packed the 146 Europeans into a small close dungeon, where nearly all suffocated in one night. This crime is known as the "*Black Hole of Calcutta*" (1756). Clive at once organized an expedition which put an end to the independence of Bengal. In other numerous engagements with French as well as native forces he thoroughly established English supremacy over a large part of India, and his successors completed the task. Again the half-hearted support given by the French government to its representatives in India and the frightful corruption of French officials made their colonies easy victims of the resolute English. In the general peace France still maintained some nominal control over her former possessions in India, but under such restrictions that they ceased to have any great value for her. Thus England came out of the Seven Years' War as the real conqueror. Her colonial supremacy and her mastery of the seas was firmly established. *England had become Great Britain.*

499. After 1763 Frederick's kingdom of Prussia enjoyed a long period of much-needed rest. — It must be admitted that the unscrupulous diplomat and aggressive conqueror showed himself in several ways an excellent administrator. The work of the Great Elector was taken up again and carried forward vigorously. Frederick took a lively interest in the develop-

PRUSSIA AT THE DEATH OF FREDERICK THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
Prussia at the Accession of Frederick II.
Additions by Frederick II.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RÜGEN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
Peene
Lübeck
Wismar
POMERANIA
1648
WEST PRUSSIA
1772
EAST PRUSSIA
1618
ERMLAND
1772
Königsberg
Tauroggen
Nismen
Stettin
NETZE
1772
Netz
Thorn
Vistula
Bug
GREAT POLAND
Warsaw
POLAND
LITTLE POLAND
Sandomierez
Krakow
GALICIA
Teschen
Jagerndorf
Kosel
Brieg
Schweidnitz
Mollwitz
Glatz
1742
Neisse
Breslau
Leuthen
1742
Liegnitz
SILESIA
Hohenfriedberg
Burkersdorf
Sohr
Glogau
Kottbus
Frankfort
Kunersdorf
1742
Schweibus
Züllichau
Küstrin
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Spree
Elbe
Weser
Aller
HANOVER
Hanover
Hastenbeck
Münster
EAST FRIESLAND
1744
UNITED NETHERLANDS
GLEVE
1624
MARK
Jülich
Cologne
Aachen
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
Rhine
Treves
Mainz
Main
FRANCE
THE EMPIRE
Dessau
Torgau
Leipzig
Rossbach
Hubertsburg
Kesselsdorf
Dresden
Pirna
Maxen
Freiberg
Saale
Eger
Elbe
BAYREUTH
Moldau
Kolin
Czaslau
Chotusitz
BOHEMIA
Hennersdorf
Oder
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

ment of good farming, but still more care he bestowed on the progress of manufacturing. His policy was to foster home industries by high import duties. He spared no pains to induce foreign artisans to settle on his territory and raise the standard of its own manufacturers. His efforts along these lines were amply rewarded. Wealth and comfort increased rapidly and helped more than his victories to make him popular. With his officials he sternly insisted on efficiency and honesty, and that with such good results that the fairness and justice of the Prussian courts, for instance, became proverbial. Less praise can be given to his influence on literature. Though not without literary tastes, he was imbued with the ideals of Voltaire and an admirer of the mocking and cynical tone of the French writers of the eighteenth century (§ 521). For the rising German literature (some of its masterpieces had already appeared), he had a profound contempt.

Frederick was the most perfect type of the "*benevolent despot*," of whom the eighteenth century presents several examples. He had at heart the material welfare of the people and worked untiringly to promote it. But his rule was based on the maxim: *All for the people, nothing through the people.* He loved power and wealth intensely, but, unlike Louis XIV, he despised its display and splendor. The revenues of the state were not wasted by an extravagant court or scattered among favorites. Hard, cynical, and entirely devoid of any religious or moral scruple, he unflinchingly pursued the one aim of his life, the greatness of the Prussian state. The success which he attained enabled Prussia later on to assume the leadership among the German states in place of Austria.

For Further Reading. — Hayes' *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, Chap. XI, treats this period clearly and succinctly. Consult also Guggenberger, Vol. III, § 108 ff. See also Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, Ch. XXXII, IV. For England see Hayes' *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, Chap. IX.

CHAPTER XXXIII

AUSTRIA AND THE EAST

A. Austria and the Southeast

500. The Peace of Westphalia left the Empire in a condition of gradual dissolution. The Hapsburgs, the hereditary rulers of Austria, still continued to be elected emperors, yet outside of their own lands they exercised very little authority, so little in fact that the other states composing the Empire acted almost independently. This was notably the case with Prussia. The hereditary domains of the Hapsburgs were, however, quite considerable. Besides the duchies of Austria proper (on the Danube), of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol, they included the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (but the latter was much reduced by the encroachments of the Turks). There were, moreover, other smaller territories scattered along the Rhine and elsewhere, and the Peace of Utrecht (§ 482) had brought the former Spanish Netherlands under the sway of the Austrian Hapsburgs. These dominions, large though they were, contained more than one element of weakness. No prince ever ruled over a greater medley of races, differing widely in language, customs, and traditions. Yet, on the whole, the bond of loyalty to a common ruler proved stronger than conflicting interests, and prevented disruption by foreign enemies.

At first this subjection to one ruler was practically the only feature common to all the Hapsburg lands. Toward the end of Maria Theresa's reign (1740–1780), and especially under her successor Joseph II, attempts were made to bring about

greater uniformity in law and administration. But the experiment proved, for the most part, a failure (§ 504).

The greatest merit of the Hapsburg monarchy, for which she deserves the everlasting gratitude of civilized mankind, was her *heroic defense of Christendom against the Turk*.

501. The Turkish Danger. — The story of the rise and westward expansion of the Ottoman Turks has been told in a former chapter. We have witnessed how the Byzantine Empire with its capital Constantinople and the Christian states of the Balkan peninsula fell a prey to their merciless hordes (§§ 319 and 320). For a while the Hungarians formed the bulwark of Christendom, but during the religious upheaval in Charles V's time the Mohammedan armies swept over the plains of Hungary and subjected the greater part of that Christian state to the Crescent. Thus matters remained until the middle of the seventeenth century, or until the reign of Louis XIV.

502. Austria Saves Europe. — In the beginning of the personal government of Louis (1661) the Turks made their last desperate efforts to enslave the West. Pope, princes, and peoples realized the common danger, and everywhere some of the old crusading spirit revived. It is to the everlasting disgrace of Louis XIV that he, who loved to pose as the leading Catholic monarch, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the pope. He did worse. In his blind hatred against the Hapsburgs he constantly aided and abetted the cause of the Turks by intrigues, subsidies, and even formal treaties.

An election dispute in Transylvania furnished the Ottoman with a pretext to overrun entire Hungary with fire and sword. But a brilliant victory of an imperial army at St. Gotthard (1664) gave the Christians some respite. Eighteen years later the war broke out anew. Tököly, an ambitious Hungarian noble and bitter Calvinist, strove to make himself ruler of Christian and Turkish Hungary, and invoked the help of the Sultan. This time the Turks advanced to the *very walls of*

Vienna and undertook a siege which lasted two months and reduced the heroic defenders to the point of starvation. Then the rescue came. *Pope Innocent XI* had worked indefatigably to procure help for the hard-pressed emperor, Leopold I. Finally he effected an alliance between Leopold and the Polish king *Sobieski*, the most chivalrous character of that period. At the head of a Christian army of 80,000 men, aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, Sobieski arrived on the heights overlooking the city of Vienna and the vast Turkish camp. On September 14, 1683, the decisive battle took place. The Turks were completely defeated and an enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors. *From now on the Turk is on the defensive.*

503. The war continued for the next few years. — In the battle of *Mohacs*, where a century and a half earlier the last native king of Hungary had lost battle and life, another Christian victory freed that much-harassed land forever from Turkish domination. In 1697 the command of the imperial armies was given to one of the greatest generals of modern history, *Prince Eugene of Savoy*. He soon became the idol of the Christian warriors and the terror of the Turks. In the same year he routed a Turkish army under the personal command of the Sultan at *Zenta*. This led to the Peace of Carlowitz, which restored to the emperor *all Hungary* and *Transylvania*. Venice, Poland, and Russia likewise benefited by the discomfiture of the Sultan. Eugene was then, as we have seen, employed in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 402). But in 1714 new Turkish aggressions led to another brilliant campaign of Eugene, in which he wrested *Belgrade*, the door of entrance to the Hungarian plains, from the grasp of the Sultan and pushed his conquests far into Serbia. After his death in 1736 the Mohammedans retook Belgrade, but Hungary remained free. Henceforth the chief foes of the Turk were Russia and the revived Balkan nationalities. The story of their successes will be told in a later chapter.

504. "Josephism." — The accession of Maria Theresa, we learned, gave the signal for a general attack on the Hapsburg lands. She lost the beautiful Silesia, but the patriotism of her subjects enabled her to maintain her other dominions intact. She is one of the noblest characters in the long line of Hapsburg rulers. Earnest and generous, she had always at heart the true welfare of her people. The teachings of religion were the mainsprings of her public and private life, and her court was the most virtuous in Europe. In the latter part of her reign, however, she was misled by her advisers to interfere unduly with the affairs of the Church. This tendency became the keynote of the policy of her son and successor, Joseph II, and has, after him, received the name of "*Josephism.*" As soon as the new emperor assumed the reins of government, he rushed headlong into a series of "reforms" in Church and State, which did great harm to both. He interfered with the free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, regulated ecclesiastical education in the seminaries, suppressed a large number of monasteries, because they "did not serve any practical purpose." He even legislated on the details of divine service, so that the old scoffer Frederick II derisively dubbed him "the brother sacristan." In all these measures he was not moved by any opposition to religion as such, but by a desire to play the "benevolent despot" (§ 499) who considers himself alone competent to promote the welfare of the state. In political matters Joseph showed similar inclinations to regulate everything and to interfere with established customs and privileges. This was extremely imprudent in a monarchy made up of so many different peoples. In Hungary and especially in the *Austrian Netherlands* it led to open rebellion. The latter country declared its independence and, practically, withdrew forever from the Hapsburg rule. Another unfortunate event falls partly into his reign, though he bears the smaller share in the guilt, — the *Partition of Poland.*

B. The Partitions of Poland

505. Poland's Weakness. — With the exception of Russia, Poland was the largest kingdom in Europe. It covered an immense plain, extending from the Baltic to the Carpathian mountains and from Silesia to the Dnieper. Yet, strange as it

seems, this vast kingdom with its twelve million inhabitants fell an easy prey to its greedy neighbors. This demands some explanation.

The Poles were a warlike people. The absence of well-defined natural boundaries brought them into frequent conflict with their neighbors. The Teutonic Knights, to the north, suc-

cumbed after a long struggle with the Poles (§ 321), and in the south and east the Poles took their full share in the battles of Christendom against Mohammedanism. As elsewhere, these frequent wars produced a *numerous nobility*, devoted to war and living on war. Though mostly poor, these nobles formed a proud exclusive caste that held the rest of the nation — largely peasants — in absolute subjection. In the eighteenth century the entire peasantry was still kept in serfdom and bound to the soil as tenants of the nobles. It is, therefore, not surprising that, at least in the beginning of Poland's downfall, the peasants showed little patriotism. For them, they thought, there was nothing to lose and everything to gain by a change of masters.

The government of Poland was the worst imaginable. The nobles did their utmost to restrict kingly power, at a time when foreign danger made a strong central government absolutely necessary. The kingship was not hereditary, but whenever a ruler died, the nobles assembled and chose a new one, usually a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous, and the neighboring powers often interfered, by threats or bribery, to secure the choice of a candidate favorable to their interests. The supreme power rested with the Diet, an assembly of the representatives of the nobility; but this Diet was, perhaps, the most inefficient lawmaking body ever convened. For no decree proposed could become law except by the *unanimous* consent of all the deputies. As a result, most of the Diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

506. Poland's Fall. — Her neighbors had long ago formed their designs in regard to Poland. In Russia, after the death of Peter the Great, the throne was for the greater part of the time held by women, the most noted of whom was Catharine II. This highly gifted, though incredibly profligate, woman had waged a successful war against Turkey, in which she extended her territory to the Black Sea and thus made Russia the mistress of these waters. She next planned the annexation of the whole

of Poland. But Frederick the Great, anxious to fill the gap between Prussia and the old Electorate of Brandenburg, managed to arrange with Catharine a partition treaty. Austria was at first reluctant to share in the robbery, but the fear that the "balance of power" might be disturbed by the annexations of the other two induced her to demand a portion of Polish territory. Accordingly, in 1772 Prussia annexed what was formerly *West Prussia* (§ 321), Russia and Austria each took districts which bordered on their own dominions. The weak king of Poland, a creature of Catharine, had to give his consent.

At last Poland seemed to realize the danger to her very existence. Sweeping reforms were introduced, the crown became hereditary, and a modernized parliament took the place of the old Diet. Nothing could be further from the wishes of Russia and Prussia. Unfortunately, too, a number of discontented Polish nobles plotted with Catharine to overthrow the new government. They rose in arms, and Russian and Prussian forces came to their aid. The Polish patriots were led by *Thaddeus Kosciusko*, who had served in America under Washington, but they succumbed to the overwhelming strength of their enemies, and a *second partition*, in 1793, reduced Poland to less than one half its former size. Austria was this time put off with empty promises. But Kosciusko still retained hope. While he vainly tried to rouse the sympathy of the Western courts, a national insurrection was organized with the utmost secrecy. It broke out in the spring of 1794. Trained soldiers and peasants armed with scythes from every part of old Poland flocked to the national standard. Kosciusko performed wonders of valor, and for a long while held off the superior numbers of his foes. But at last the Poles had to give way, Warsaw, the capital, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the brave Kosciusko was wounded and captured. The Polish king had to abdicate, and the remainder of the dismembered kingdom *was divided* among Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1795). In the

three partitions Russia received nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia, and at a later date she incorporated nearly the whole of old Poland. But the Poles have never given up their rightful demand for national independence. Repeatedly during the last century they made vain attempts to rebuild Poland. And justice demands that this great crime be undone.

For Further Reading. — Brief accounts of the Turkish wars are given in Guggenberger, Vol. II, § 221, pp. 619–630. See Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II, p. 312, for Sobieski's narrative of the siege of Vienna. Josephism is well treated in MacCaffrey, *From the Renaissance to the Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 323 ff. A fairly detailed description of the partition of Poland may be found in Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 142–156, and in Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 381 ff.

PART IV. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XXXIV

ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

507. Meaning of the Revolution. — In the sixteenth century Germany gave the world a religious revolution; and now, at the end of the eighteenth century, France was to give it a political and social revolution. Both revolutions deserve the name more than any other upheaval in history. The English revolution of 1688 was, after all, nothing but a return of the nation to the old groove; the American revolution was merely a sudden leap forward in a direction in which the American people had long been progressing. *But the religious revolt of Luther and his followers in other countries was a complete break with the past, and so was the French Revolution.* It overturned and swept away a society and institutions that had been growing up for centuries. It introduced new views and a new spirit wholly at variance with the spirit of former ages. It was a spirit, not merely of reform but of radical change. And just because it was radical, because it aimed at the very roots of traditional institutions, it wrought good and evil, real progress and unwarranted destruction. Moreover, though its beginnings and its most violent outbursts lay in France, it sent tremors and shocks through the whole body politic of Europe, and *has continued to do so to the present day.* But to understand its beginnings, we first have to study conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution.

A. The French People

508. Toward the end of the eighteenth century France had a population of about twenty-five millions. Tremendous

changes had taken place from the time when France sent forth her heroic crusaders and when the troubadours wandered from castle to castle and delighted with their songs the hearts of noble knights and fair ladies. Commerce had grown enormously, towns and cities had sprung up that contained a large and important part of the population, the feudal nobles had lost their independence. Nevertheless, if we were suddenly transferred into French society of the eighteenth century, we would everywhere come across many relics of the feudal system. We would be struck, above all, with the sharp division of the people into two classes. One section of the population, about a quarter of a million, constituted the privileged classes, the other, the mass of the common people. A brief sketch of these classes is necessary, if we are to understand the working of the revolution.

509. The Privileged Classes — the Nobility. — The nobles, partly descendants of the old feudal lords, partly such as had bought a title, — and this was rather easy, — had under Richelieu and Louis XIV been deprived of their territorial rights (§§ 408 and 477). Yet this by no means put them back among the common people. They still formed a separate class, without, however, rendering any important service to the nation. Instead of becoming leaders in commerce or intellectual endeavors, they craved only for a brilliant position at the court of Versailles. Hundreds flocked thither and strove to outdo one another in display of splendor and pomp.

Arthur Young, an English gentleman who traveled extensively in France just before the Revolution, says about these nobles: "Exile alone forces French nobles to do what an English noble does by preference, to reside upon his private estate and to improve it."

The residence at Versailles often estranged them from their estates. When a family, after a long stay at the court, returned to its ancestral mansion, it did so merely to replenish its purse at the expense of the tenants. A false class spirit kept them

from engaging in humbler yet more lucrative pursuits or even from retrieving their fortunes by a marriage outside their class. Of political life, in which they might have assumed leading rôles, there was little at this period, as the old legislative assemblies had nearly disappeared. To accept positions of command in

THE CHÂTEAU OF CHENONCEAUX. — A typical residence of a French nobleman.

the army or to enter the charmed circle of the court they considered alone worthy of their dignity. But these places were not open to all, but only to the higher nobility which could trace back its noble descent for several generations.

510. The Clergy. — The French clergy before the Revolution formed a powerful body, in numbers as well as in wealth. The annual revenue of the Church from tithes, rents, and other sources reached nearly thirty-four million dollars. *The tithes*, that is, a tax on landed estates for the support of religion, were usually levied with great moderation, and the tenants on church lands fared better than their fellows on the estates of the nobles.

It was, however, offensive to the people that the clergy was largely exempted from taxation, and that the tithes, instead of going to their own poor parish priests, went almost entirely to distant prelates or other members of the higher clergy. This *higher clergy*, that is, chiefly bishops and abbots, was to a great extent under the control of the king, who nominated the candidates to the higher positions in the Church and almost always chose them from the nobility. The *lower clergy*, on the other hand, was recruited from the peasantry and the townspeople. The large revenue of the Church was very unequally distributed, so that the income of the higher clergy amounted to princely sums while the parish priests and their assistants lived, for the most part, in extreme poverty. These differences in wealth and social rank were a source of many abuses and created much ill feeling between the two classes. As a body, the higher clergy was not unworthy of its sacred office, though it could hardly boast of any members eminent for learning or holiness. The common priests were, with a few exceptions, men of irreproachable lives, devoted to their duties, and in sympathy with the common people.

511. The Third Estate, the Bourgeoisie. — For centuries the French had used the term "Third Estate" to designate that vast bulk of the nation that did not belong to the privileged classes, the first and second estates, or the clergy and nobility. This Third Estate included two sections, differing considerably from each other, — the middle class and the peasantry. The middle class, called "bourgeoisie" (from bourg-town), may be compared to our city people. They were the manufacturers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, civil officials, and tax-farmers of the country. In general, they enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity. Many of them had received a good secular education and were ardent students of the literature of the day. *It is principally from this class that the Revolution took its leaders.* At the outset, their sympathies were entirely with the peasants,

and they entertained a deep-rooted dislike for the privileged classes, partly because they were debarred from their society in spite of wealth and industry, and partly because, in common with the peasants, they had to bear the chief burden of taxation. The tradespeople had a grievance of their own against the old gild system, that still existed but had failed to adapt itself to changed conditions (§ 257). As it was, it hampered the progressive tradesman on every side. A " cobbler " who mended shoes could not make new ones. A baker could make bread, but not cakes, and so forth.

512. In spite of the growth of commerce and manufactures **the vast majority of the French people** — perhaps twenty out of twenty-five millions — **were still employed in tilling the soil.** In the eighteenth century serfdom had practically disappeared, that is, the peasants were personally free to leave the land and seek profitable employment elsewhere. Yet this was of little advantage to the farmer, for oppressive taxation and lack of education made it well-nigh impossible to get the necessary capital for any other enterprise. Leaving aside the hired laborers, who had no particular grievance, the peasants were either tenants or small proprietors. But the latter fared little better than the former. For, as a rule, they had not bought their holdings for a round sum, but for perpetual rent-charges and for services. These services proved more and more irksome as the times of the feudal system became more and more remote. The farmer could not sell his land without paying for his lord's consent, nor sell his crop except in the lord's market. Commonly he still was obliged to have his corn ground in the lord's mill, leaving part of the flour as payment. Wild game of all sorts was protected for the lord's hunting. For broken fences and crops trampled in the chase the peasant had no redress; and under no circumstances was he permitted to carry a gun to shoot the wild game that devoured his crops. These conditions explain, in part, the hatred against the nobles,

bursting forth in the very beginning of the Revolution (§ 538). There were, however, provinces where noble and peasant lived on very friendly terms, especially when the lord resided on his estate, instead of seeking the splendor and pleasures of the court. And, in general, the evils which weighed most heavily on the peasantry came not from the nobles, but from the defective administration. No government ever did more to discourage the peasants than the French government before the Revolution. Many evils could easily have been remedied, if more farsighted statesmen had watched over the real interests of France. As it was, farming became so unprofitable, and famines were so frequent in the rural districts that about one fourth of the soil lay waste.

B. Government and Taxation

513. Loss of Prestige. — Louis XIV, mainly by his own personal gifts and the aid of clever ministers, had succeeded in asserting almost unlimited royal prerogatives and in uniting in his own hand the powers hitherto shared by various local and provincial governing bodies. This system might have been maintained for a long time, had the successors of Louis XIV possessed some of his ability and foresight. *But Louis XV* (1715–1774), though holding the same exalted ideas of royal power, was a man of weak and openly immoral character, utterly incapable of retaining the respect and loyalty of the French people. The management of affairs passed into the hands of favorites, whose conduct of foreign policy brought disgrace and heavy losses in the Silesian and Seven Years' War. The arbitrary rule, barely tolerated in times of national greatness and prosperity, was now resented by the middle class and the peasantry. *Louis XVI* (1774–1792), a man of sincere good will and of irreproachable morals, was too little gifted and too weak and vacillating to stem the rising tide of discontent.

514. The machinery of government made popular control absolutely impossible. — The king ruled through a royal council of about forty members, appointed by himself and intrusted with the whole administration of the kingdom. Their representatives in the provinces were the *Intendants*, who revised or rejected the decrees of local authorities and were responsible to the king alone. Yet, *in spite of this centralization the government was far from efficient.* France was gradually formed, as we have seen, out of a variety of provinces added to the royal domain by bargain, conquest, marriage, and so on. Originally each of these provinces possessed its own legislative assembly, the *Provincial Estates*, but most of these bodies had in the course of time ceased to exist and their functions were assumed by the crown. On the other hand, the local customs and laws remained in force, giving rise to endless confusion. A man moving from the south to the north, or even from one town to another, might find himself entangled in a wholly unfamiliar legal system. Neither was France a single state *commercially.* The principal custom duties upon goods were not collected as they entered France from abroad, but on various custom lines within the country. Thus Paris was cut off from the rest of France as from a foreign country. If, for instance, a merchant from Languedoc sent a boatload of wine to Paris, he lost about a fortnight in paying some forty tolls.

515. The administration of justice lay almost exclusively in the hands of royal courts. True, the feudal and communal courts still existed, but they had little power except to vex the poor peasants by their capricious decisions. The principal royal courts, called *Parlements*, were thirteen in number, of which the *Parlement of Paris* was the oldest and most influential. In fact, it claimed to be something more than a judicial tribunal. It enjoyed the right to register royal decrees and, by refusing to do this, it sometimes tried to curb the monarch's will. But frequently enough its claims were resisted and its decisions put

aside by the royal council. Criticism of the government was a rather difficult, and sometimes dangerous, undertaking. Secrecy enveloped the business of the state so that few if any had real insight into the conduct of the government. Even the frightful condition of the finances was almost unknown, until shortly before the Revolution.

516. The arbitrary and capricious temper of the administration added greatly to the rising discontent. While elsewhere the letter of the law, however imperfect, was usually held sacred, in France the good pleasure of the king overrode all legal restrictions. The French kings of the eighteenth century seem not to have understood the value of fixed principles or the danger of irregular exceptions. Orders, decrees, and counter orders followed one another in bewildering succession.

"The government seldom undertakes, or soon abandons, the most necessary reforms. . . . It incessantly changes particular regulations or particular laws. In the sphere in which it acts nothing remains an instant in repose. New rules succeed each other with a rapidity so strange that the agents of the state, because of being commanded so often, have trouble in making out how they are to obey. . . . People often complain that Frenchmen despise the law. Alas! When could they have learned to respect it." (De Tocqueville)

Another instance of the arbitrary character of the government is afforded by the notorious "*lettres de cachet*" (lit. letters of the seal). They were simply orders for the arrest and imprisonment of some one who had incurred the royal displeasure. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king happened to remember him or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. It was easy for any man who had influence at court to obtain such a letter and thus conveniently dispose of an enemy. It is true that under Louis XVI they were issued less frequently than in the previous reigns, but nevertheless they show the despotic temper of the French government which

thought far too much of enforcing submission and far too little of the rights of its citizens.

517. The bankruptcy of the government was the immediate cause of the Revolution. — The monarchy felt no responsibility to the nation, and so it spent money wastefully and wickedly. Louis XIV, we have seen, left France burdened with a huge debt (§ 483). His successor, the profligate Louis XV, added to it by his participation in a number of wars, but, above all, by the shameless corruption of his administration. The maintenance of the court at Versailles swallowed enormous sums. Large amounts went to favorites in the form of pensions or salaries for imaginary services. No account or estimate of expenses was kept, *no statements published.* The government lived from hand to mouth, and frequently the income of the following year had already been anticipated. Louis XVI, though personally not extravagant, did not succeed in reducing the expenses of the administration, and the court went on living as luxuriously as ever. In the last year before the Revolution the public debt had grown to such proportions that over *one half of the annual receipts were needed to pay the interest,* and new debts had to be contracted to meet the ordinary expenses.

518. Taxation. — In spite of the wasteful methods of the government a country as rich as France could have easily borne the burden of taxation, had the taxes been fairly distributed among the various classes of the people. Instead, the privileged classes were almost exempt from taxation. The clergy, however, every fifth or sixth year voted a contribution to the crown in the form of a "gratuitous gift," besides giving special aid on extraordinary occasions, such as wars. The nobility was either exempt or bought exemption by bribery or other illegal means. The richest man in France, the Duke of Orleans, stated his case frankly when he said, "I make arrangements with the tax officials, and I pay only what I wish." Often the wealthier members of the bourgeoisie escaped taxation by similar methods.

Thus the burden fell on those least able to pay, and various clumsy devices made the collection of taxes needlessly annoying.

The chief tax had once been a *land tax*. Now it was assessed only on the peasant villages, and that in the most arbitrary fashion. Government officials fixed the amount each year, often making the slightest signs of increasing thrift and comfort a pretext for raising the tax. As a consequence, the peasants jealously concealed what little comfort they had and left their cottages in ruins. This direct tax, together with feudal dues, church tithes, and other items raised the amount to be paid by the farmer to nearly four fifths of his income. From the remainder he had to support his family and defray the cost of necessary articles, made higher by various indirect taxes.

The most hated of these indirect taxes was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. No salt could be bought except from the government, and the law fixed the price and the amount to be purchased by every family. There would have been nothing very remarkable in this, if the price of salt had been everywhere the same. But as it was, the people in one town might be forced to pay thirty times as much as their neighbors in an adjacent town. To quote a single example: In the city of Dijon in eastern France a certain amount of salt cost seven francs; a few miles to the east one had to pay twenty-seven francs, to the south twenty-eight francs, while still farther, in Gex, there was no tax whatever. Of course, the trade of the smuggler flourished, thousands of officials and troops had to be employed to suppress smuggling, and the cost of collecting the gabelle swallowed nearly one third of its proceeds.

519. These are only a few of the heavy burdens that discouraged the peasantry and the lower classes. There were others, such as the tolls mentioned above, the *corvées*, a sort of labor tax which compelled the peasant to leave his own work, no matter how critical the harvest time, at the call of an official, and to toil without pay on roads and other public works.

There were, therefore, plenty of abuses. But a revolution requires more. It requires *actual discontent* and ideas of a different order of things. Moreover, we must not make the mistake of comparing the condition of the French people of the eighteenth century with that of the farmer or tradesman of the present day. Wretched as it seems to us, it was no worse than the lot of the peasantry in many other lands, in Poland, parts of Germany, and elsewhere. *Why, then, did France in particular become the scene of a revolution?* Why, above all, did the Revolution not stop at reforming abuses, but break completely with the past and bring about a state of unrest in all Europe, which state is the chief characteristic of the nineteenth century? To understand this side of the Revolution, we have to know something of the ideas and the literature that swayed the minds of the French people on the eve of the great upheaval.

C. The Spirit of the Revolution

520. "The Philosophers." — The ideas expressed by the French literature of the eighteenth century were largely imported from England. Since the days of Oliver Cromwell it was the fashion of many English writers to attack not only the old Church abolished by Henry VIII, but all religions claiming to possess divine revelation. They rejected the Bible which contained that revelation and, in general, denied that God had ever spoken to mankind or manifested Himself through the person of Jesus Christ. *Reason alone,* they asserted, is sufficient to guide man in his relations with his Maker and to work out man's happiness here and hereafter. Hence they called themselves *"Rationalists,"* or *"Freethinkers,"* because they professed to be free from any belief in their search after truth. Some of them went further and denied the very existence of God; others proclaimed their freedom not only from the teaching of any divine authority but also from the moral laws of

Christianity. About the middle of the eighteenth century a reaction set in against these destructive tendencies, and the freethinkers retired into the secrecy of *Masonic lodges*. By means of these lodges their views were spread rapidly over the continent, in Protestant and Catholic countries.

Nowhere did these views find a more fertile soil than in France. English freethinkers like *Bolingbroke*, *John Locke*, and others were eagerly read in Paris, and a considerable number of French writers traveled and studied in England. Soon a veritable flood of books and pamphlets rose in France, in which the Catholic Church and its doctrines were abused and held responsible for all the evils of the age. Others directed their attacks against the social order and may be considered the forerunners of the modern Socialists (§ 662). "*Philosophy*" was the high-sounding title which these French freethinkers and infidels bestowed upon their attacks against throne and altar.

521. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. — The leader of these "Philosophers" was *Voltaire*, a brilliant and prolific, but extremely superficial, writer. Having spent three years in England, where he became acquainted with the anti-Christian writers of that country, he returned to France and devoted a long life to the destruction of the teachings of Christianity. His ready wit and bitter sarcasm and his quick perception of the weak points of his adversaries won him a large circle of readers among the bourgeoisie and the dissolute nobility. Round him were grouped a band of clever supporters, men like *Diderot* and *d'Alembert*, pledged to assist him in his work of destruction. These men decided to publish an *encyclopedia* in which religious subjects were to be treated with an outward show of reverence, while the true opinion of the writer was indicated by adding a reference to some article on a scientific subject in which the principles of Christianity were attacked. By this method the writers were able to undermine the very foundations of religion

without rudely shocking their readers and without incurring the penalties of the law against the publication of open attacks on religion. The work had a remarkable success, especially since the clergy, instead of fighting them on their own grounds, relied rather on royal prohibitions and suppressions. These men were hailed as leaders in progress and enlightenment. Yet of real reform, of lifting up the oppressed and poor, they had little to say.

"Écrasez l'infâme," "crush the infamous thing," that is, the Church, was the battle cry of Voltaire, yet the fear of hell and the hope of heavenly reward was to be left to the poor so as to keep them in humble submission to their hard lot. Equality of men, according to Voltaire, was the greatest nonsense. The private lives of these "philosophers" showed plainly enough what they meant by following only the dictates of reason. Of Voltaire his contemporary Rousseau gave the verdict: "More of a wit than of a genius, without faith, honor, and virtue, he died as he lived, covered with fame and infamy."

VOLTAIRE.

522. Rousseau. — While Voltaire and his friends expected the realization of their ideas from some "benevolent despot," another writer of that time attacked the existing governments. This was *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, a native of Geneva who had settled down in Paris. He realized better than any one else the dull discontent of the masses, their longing for a change, and he gave them clear and forceful expression. His works are numer-

ous, but the best known among them, and one that has often been called the textbook of the Revolution, is a short treatise on government, entitled "*The Social Contract.*" He begins by asking: "Why is it that man, who is born free, is now everywhere enslaved?" The answer he gives implies that all existing governments are illegitimate; that there is only one legal government, the will of the majority. The State, according to Rousseau, is a society formed by free mutual agreement. In this society the people are the rulers, and merely delegate some of the power to an individual or a body of officials. But if they are not satisfied with these officials, they have the right to remove them at any time. This was writing that the masses could understand, and before long his works were in the hands of everybody, and his theories formed the subject of universal discussion. The rights of the people, their social equality, were doctrines certain to be passionately believed by the masses. Unfortunately, the excited public overlooked many of his warnings, an oversight which, after his death (1778), led to frightful consequences.

523. It will be asked why these new and irreligious ideas of the Philosophers found so little resistance in an entirely Catholic country like France. — The answer is, *because religious life was in the eighteenth century at a very low ebb.* It need not surprise us that the higher clergy, generally chosen from the nobility and almost entirely under the control of the crown, was not over-zealous in the discharge of its sacred duties, but more bent upon the maintenance of its privileged position and the enjoyment of its rich incomes. The lower clergy was poor and ill instructed, and for that reason possessed little influence with the educated classes. An even greater danger came from Gallicanism, a movement that had become strong in the days of Louis XIV and to which even the great Bossuet had lent the prestige of his name. It defended certain doctrines widely spread in the Gallican (French) church, which tended toward

weakening the bond of union between the Holy See and the French clergy. Thus the decrees of the pope on matters of faith and morals were to have force only if supported by the whole Church. At the same time the Gallicans were noted for their excessive servility toward the crown, even in questions touching the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. — Moreover, in this and the previous century, long and heated controversies regarding points of Catholic doctrine and practice, especially the nature of divine grace and the frequent reception of the Sacraments, had divided the French clergy into two hostile camps, and exposed it to the ridicule of its enemies.

Catholic education received a serious blow by the *expulsion of the Jesuits*. The Philosophers and intriguers at the corrupted court of Versailles had worked hard to bring about the fall of the order, and in 1764 their efforts were crowned with success. About 4000 of these excellent educators had to close their institutions and leave the soil of France. Not content with this, the freethinkers, working chiefly through the masonic lodges, induced other governments to demand from the Holy See the suppression of the Society of Jesus. By threats of schism they finally overcame the reluctance of Pope Clement XIV, and in 1773 the order was suppressed.[1]

524. The ever growing contempt for Church and religion found expression in a **frightful relaxation of morality**. The court set the example of shameless vice, and was imitated by all classes, nobles and bourgeois. It is plain that true reform which would have implied sacrifices could not come from such contaminated sources. There were, indeed, many who dimly saw the necessity of reform, and higher society frequently laughed at its own pretensions or indulged in sentimental dreams of uni-

[1] The order continued to exist in Russia where Catharine II forbade the publication of the decree of suppression. After some years it was revived, with special papal permission, in several other countries. In 1814 Pius VII restored it for the whole Church.

versal love and brotherhood. It loudly applauded the victories of true democracy in America, of which Lafayette brought glowing accounts. But upon the whole, the privileged classes lacked insight and energy for any serious attempt at change that might involve the surrender of their privileges. Meantime the financial situation of the government became so desperate that something had to be done to avert a catastrophe.

D. Attempts at Reform

525. One of the few that had sincerely at heart the welfare of the nation was King Louis XVI (§ 513). But his weakness and indecision was almost as harmful as his predecessor's wickedness. He abandoned the wisest measures and the best ministers rather than face the sour looks of his courtiers or the pouts of the queen. The latter, *Marie Antoinette*, a daughter of the great Maria Theresa, was far more energetic than her husband, but, being a foreigner and an Austrian, she was unpopular and unable to understand the character of the French people. She had great influence with the king, and some of his most imprudent measures were due to her advice.

Marie Antoinette and Her Children. — From a painting by Mme. Le Brun.

526. Turgot. — When Louis came to the throne the national debt amounted to some five hundred million dollars and it was increased each year by ten millions more. The king began well

by appointing Turgot as minister of finance, an able and experienced administrator. The new minister abolished the forced labor of the peasants and some of the interior custom lines. He also cut down the frivolous expenses of the court and curtailed remorselessly the long pension lists. Then he planned more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxation, to equalize the burdens, and to introduce a scheme of public education. "A whole pacific French Revolution was in that head," says Carlyle. But the courtiers looked black; the queen hated the reformer who interfered with her pleasures, and so Louis grew cold and dismissed the man who might have saved France from a revolution of violence (1776). In one of his last letters Turgot warned the king prophetically: "It was weakness, Sire, which laid the head of Charles I on the block."

527. Necker. — Nearly all of Turgot's reforms were swiftly undone. But in 1776 Louis called another reformer. Necker was not a statesman like his predecessor, but he had considerable experience in financial matters and might have done something for the treasury, if his difficulties had not increased tremendously by the French loans to the American colonies in their War of Independence. Bonds were issued to raise the necessary sums, but the annual interest had to be paid, and Necker had to get more money. In his predicament he laid before the king a plan for sweeping reforms, much along Turgot's lines. The courtiers grumbled, and the minister was dismissed (1781). But shortly before his retirement *he published, for the first time, a detailed statement of the financial condition* of the government. Although he did not venture to tell the full truth, he opened the eyes of the public to the appalling state of affairs. The effect, of course, was not an increase of the government's popularity.

528. Calonne. — Once more the old abuses were restored. Then the new minister of finance, the courtly Calonne, adopted

the policy of the unscrupulous bankrupt, and tried to create credit by lavish extravagance. For a time he succeeded, but in 1786 the treasury was running behind to the amount of twenty-five million dollars a year! Even the clever Calonne was at his wit's end. He advised the king to call the "*Notables of France.*" The Notables were such leading members of the Three Estates (§ 511) as the king would summon to receive their counsel. This time the Third Estate was poorly represented; most of the members were nobles or clergy. To the amazed gathering Calonne suggested that the privileged classes give up their exemption from taxation. All cried out against him — the few progressives for what he had done in the past, the many conservatives for what he now proposed to do.

529. Calonne gave way to a successor who found himself at once driven to Calonne's plan. It was necessary to get more money, and that could be had only by taxing those who had something wherewith to pay.

As the Notables were still stubborn, the king dismissed them, and then tried to force Calonne's plan upon the nobles by royal edict. But such an edict, to have legal force, had to be registered by the Parlement of Paris (§ 515). That body refused, because many of its members were of the privileged orders, and it cloaked its dislike for reforms under the excuse that the only power in France which could properly impose new taxes was the *Estates General.* The king banished the parlement, but it had given a rallying cry to the nation.

530. The Estates General (§ 195) had not met since 1614. Suggestions for assembling them had been made from time to time, ever since Louis XVI became king. Now, after the action of the Parlement of Paris, the demand became universal and imperious. Finally, August 8, 1788, the king yielded. He recalled Necker and promised that the Estates General should be convoked.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, Vol. III, §§ 157–182, dwells at length on the causes of the great upheaval. MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, pp. 1–10, gives a brief but lucid summary. Source material may be found in the *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, and VI, No. 1 (short extracts from French writers of the time), and in Robinson's *Readings*, Vol. II.

Most histories of the French Revolution enter into its causes. Mallet is perhaps the most suitable for students. The first two chapters are devoted to the Eve of the Revolution. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, has good sketches of the leading characters. — The student should not fail to read the excellent chapter on the Revolution in G. Kurth, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE REVOLUTION IN TIME OF PEACE

A. May to August, 1789: The Assembly at Versailles

531. In electing the Estates General, the country was divided into districts. The nobility and the clergy of each district came together to choose delegates. The delegates of the Third Estate were elected indirectly by "electoral colleges." In choosing these colleges all taxpayers had a vote.

When finally chosen, the Estates General consisted of about 600 members of the Third Estate, 300 nobles, and 300 clergy. About two thirds of the deputies of the clergy were village priests, generally ill disposed towards the higher clergy and in sympathy with the Third Estate. There were also a few priests among the members of the Third Estate and about fifteen nobles. Of the former *Sieyès* was to achieve distinction, and among the latter the dissolute but highly gifted Count *Mirabeau* easily held the first place. On the whole, the members of the Third Estate were men of culture but *steeped in the fashionable "philosophy" of Rousseau and Voltaire.* Country lawyers and town politicians formed the vast majority of that assembly, not to the advantage of the nation as a whole. Says Edmund Burke: "The general composition (of the assembly) was of obscure provincial advocates, of stewards of petty local jurisdiction, country attorneys, and the whole train of the ministers of municipal litigation, the fomentors and conductors of the petty village war of village vexation. From the moment I read the list I saw distinctly, and very nearly as it happened, all that was to follow."

532. The Estates General becomes the National Assembly. — May 5, 1789, the king solemnly opened the Estates General at Versailles. There was an enthusiastic outburst of loyalty. The royal address suggested some reforms, but it was plain that the king hoped mainly for more taxes, and those who had expected radical reforms were sadly disappointed. Even Necker's three hours' address, which followed the king's, dwelt only upon the need for prompt action to relieve the government's financial straits.

Unfortunately, the ministers had completely neglected to *prepare so important an assembly* and to settle certain delicate points in advance. Hence confusion followed immediately. The first dispute arose over the manner of organizing the Estates General. The nobles and the clergy were for sitting and voting as *separate chambers*, after the ancient fashion. This would have given the privileged orders two votes to one for the Third Estate, and would have blocked every reform; for a measure to become law had to pass all three chambers. For this reason the Third Estate insisted that all three orders should *organize as one chamber*, where its members could outvote the other two combined. Over this question there followed a deadlock for five weeks.

But delay was serious. The preceding harvest had been a failure, and famine stalked through the land. In Paris every bakeshop had its "tail" of men and women, standing through the night for a chance to buy bread. Such conditions called for speedy action, especially as the ignorant masses had got it into their heads that the marvelous Estates General would in some way make food plenty.

Finally (June 17), on motion of Sieyès, the Third Estate declared that by itself it represented ninety-six per cent of the nation, and that, with or without the other orders, it would organize as a *National Assembly*. At the same time it invited the other two to join the Third Estate. *The die was now cast,*

and the Revolution had begun. For this decree swept away the time-honored distinction into three classes, declared one estate the *sole representative* of the nation, precisely because it *represented the bulk of the nation*, and all this was done without the sanction of the king. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent.

533. The Tennis Court Oath. — Two days later the Assembly was joined by half the clergy, mainly parish priests, and by a few liberal nobles. But the next morning (June 20) the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging for a "royal session." Plainly, the king was about to interfere. The gathering adjourned to a tennis court near by and there unanimously took an oath *never to separate until they had established the constitution on a firm basis.*

The idea of a written constitution came from America. Six years earlier Franklin, our ambassador to France, had published French translations of the constitutions adopted by the new American States. The pamphlet had been widely read and much talked about. The Instructions[1] of delegates to the Assembly had commonly called for a constitution. To make one became now the chief purpose of the Assembly. That body, indeed, soon became known as the *Constituent Assembly.*

534. King and Assembly Clash. — On June 23 Louis summoned the three estates to meet him. He then told them that they were to organize as *three separate bodies* and to carry out certain specified reforms. If they failed to comply with the royal wishes, the king himself would "secure the happiness of his people." After this momentary display of authority he bade them disperse.

When the king left, the nobles and the higher clergy followed.

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[1] Nearly every gathering for choosing delegates to the Assembly had drawn up a statement of grievances and had suggested reforms for the guidance of its representatives. These *cahiers* (kä-yā′) are the most valuable source of our knowledge of France before the Revolution. See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, for examples.

The new "National Assembly" kept their seats. There was a moment of uncertainty. Flatly to refuse obedience to a definite royal command was unheard of. Then Mirabeau (§ 531) rose to remind the delegates of their oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "*Yes*," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "*but go and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away.*" Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, on whose part soever the same be commanded."

The king's weakness prevented conflict; and perhaps it was as well; for Paris was rising, and the French Guards, the main body of the troops there, refused to fire on the mob. On June 24 forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in less than a week *the king ordered the rest to join.*

535. Paris and the Assembly. — Meanwhile the excitement in Paris grew intense. Then, as always, the capital was the center of political life. The failure of the harvest had produced great calamity in the provinces and filled the land with beggars and vagabonds. In Paris relief work had been set on foot by the authorities, and this attracted thousands of the idle and restless element. The wealthier classes, too, put their hope in upheaval, as they despaired of the ability of the government to pay its debts. Clubs were formed and numberless meetings were held. In many an obscure gathering language was used and methods were suggested which no deputy would have ventured at Versailles.

One of the hotbeds of seditious intrigue was the *Palais Royal*, the residence of *Louis Philippe*, Duke of Orleans and a distant relative of the king. The duke had conceived the project of supplanting Louis on the throne and based his hopes on a

revolution. Hence he made his palace, a magnificent building with vast halls and gardens, the meeting place of all the most reckless politicians who then swarmed to Paris. There the most radical clubs held their meetings, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered, and, as all the attractions of carousing and gambling and loose living were added, the orators never wanted an audience. The duke and his helpers had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the French Guards.

536. The king, frightened by the daily growing menace of the mob, had gathered troops from the provinces in the neighborhood of Versailles and Paris, largely German and Swiss mercenaries. The rumor was spread that this meant an attack upon the Assembly. On July 9 Mirabeau declared this to be the object of the king and, on his motion, the Assembly requested Louis to withdraw the troops. The king, instead, dismissed Necker, the idol of the people, who, however, because of his vacillating policy deserves little credit as a statesman.

This was on the evening of July 11. About noon the next day the news was whispered in the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist and a regular guest at the Palais Royal, leaped upon a table in the gardens adjoining this meeting place of agitators and harangued the crowd: "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a massacre of the patriots. To arms! To arms!" By night the streets bristled with barricades against an eventual attack of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking bakeshops for bread and gunshops for arms. Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels. The rest of the troops did practically nothing, and anarchy reigned in the capital. Some rude organization was introduced next day; new civic guards were formed by temporary city authorities. On the following day, July 14, *the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.*

537. The Bastille was a great "state prison," like the Tower in London. In it had been confined political offenders and victims of the "sealed letters" (§ 516). It was a symbol of

the old despotism and an object of detestation to the rebels. Though virtually impregnable, it was lamely defended by its small garrison. After a few hours the garrison surrendered on a promise of safety. The mob found no victims of tyranny, only seven criminals. Nevertheless, the hangers-on of the attacking force massacred the guards and paraded their heads on pikes through the streets.

FALL OF THE BASTILLE. — From an old print.

Out at Versailles Louis, who had retired early, was awakened to hear the news. "What! A riot, then?" said he. "No, Sire," replied the messenger, "a revolution." The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille (July 14) is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty.

The rising in Paris had encouraged the Assembly. The most hated courtiers fled from France. The king visited Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away the troops, accepted the *tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, as the national colors, and recalled Necker.

538. The Fall of the Bastille gave the signal for mob rule all over France. The officials of the government, abandoned by their assistants, unsupported by the king, betrayed by the soldiery, made no attempt to quell the riots. Peasants and bands of vagabonds plundered and demolished castles, seeking especially to destroy the court rolls with the records of their servile dues. Nobles that fell into their hands were ill treated or even killed. The poor peasants imagined the golden age had come and all taxes and hard labor would end. Each district had its carnival of plunder and bloodshed.

539. The Middle Classes Organize. — The king could not enforce the law: the machinery of the old royal government had collapsed. The Assembly did not dare to interfere, because astute leaders kept it in constant fear of the court, against which it might need the assistance of the mob.

But everywhere the middle classes organized locally against anarchy. In Paris, during the disorders of July 13 the electoral college of the city (the men who had elected the delegates of Paris to the Estates General) reassembled and assumed authority to act as Municipal Council. In other towns the same was done and in a few weeks France was covered with new *local governments composed of the middle class*. This was the easier, because in many cases the electoral colleges (§ 531), instead of breaking up after the election, had continued to hold occasional meetings during the two months since, in order to correspond with their delegates in the National Assembly.

The first act of the Paris council had been to order that in each of the sixty "sections" (wards) of the city two hundred men should patrol the streets to maintain order. This, or something like this, was done in all the districts of France. This new militia became permanent. It took the name of *National Guards*, and in Paris *Lafayette* became their commander. The Guards were recruited from the middle class or from former members of the French Guards. Before the middle

of August these new forces had restored some semblance of order.

540. Abolition of "Privilege." — Meantime, on the evening of August 4, the discussions of the Assembly were interrupted by the report of disorders throughout the country. The account stirred the Assembly deeply. A young noble who had served in America with Lafayette declared that these evils were all due to the continuance of the feudal burdens, and with impassioned oratory he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, the liberal nobles followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his class — game laws, dove cotes, rights to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions. The tithes, too, were to be done away with.

Each proposal was ratified with applause. Our American ambassador, Gouverneur Morris, was disgusted with the haste, and even Mirabeau complained: "Just like our Frenchmen; they are an entire month wrangling over syllables, and in one night they overturn the ancient order of the kingdom." And, indeed, apprehensions were justified. Nothing was gained for public welfare by announcing all at once the abolition of so many laws and forms of property. Agriculture and industry came almost to a standstill. The real evils of the moment, the weakness of the central government, the deficit in the treasury, and the lawlessness of the mob, were not remedied by such measures. In cooler moments, later on, the Assembly modified many clauses providing for a gradual redemption of feudal rights. One benefit, however, remained and was never undone: *Feudal burdens and legal inequalities in France were forever abolished in the night of August 4, 1789.*

541. Summary, May 5 to August 5. — In three months France had been revolutionized. The old three estates disappeared and the Third Estate successfully asserted its claim to represent the nation. The odious class distinctions were forever swept away. The local units of the country set up new

local governments and organized new citizen armies to serve them. An Assembly was at work upon a new constitution for the nation at large.

B. August, 1789, to September, 1791: The Assembly in Paris

542. The March of the Women, October 5. — The Assembly soon found that destruction was easier than construction. So far destruction had been the order of the day. Nothing had been done to relieve the distress of the country caused by the failure of the harvest (§ 535). Under these conditions it was easy for a new and terrible tyrant to mount the throne, the *Paris mob*. Numbers of it were always in Versailles, invading the hall where the sessions were held, applauding the radicals and hissing the moderates. As a consequence, the saner element in the Assembly decreased and the extremists, supported by the rabble, grew bolder. They had long been scheming to get the king and the Assembly to Paris, where they would not be in a position to refuse extreme demands. A banquet given at Versailles to a regiment of the royal bodyguard was exaggerated into a fresh plot against the Assembly and the people. It was reported that young officers had trampled upon the tricolor and had displayed instead the old white cockade of the Bourbon monarchy. Such tales were used to stir up the scum of the population, already suffering from hunger and hardship.

On October 5 a rabble of women, followed by the riffraff of the city, set out in a wild ragged rout to bring the king to Paris. Lafayette, who should have prevented it, permitted the mob to go on. In Versailles they invaded the Assembly. The king received a deputation of the mob and the members, did his best to pacify them, and sent them home. But the mob remained, and a terrible massacre was prevented only by the tardy arrival of Lafayette with his National Guards. Next morning the crowd

broke into the palace to find the queen. Her life was saved by the gallant self-sacrifice of some of her guards. The king finally yielded to the demands of the mob upon the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris,[1] — the rabble dancing with wild joy along the road before the royal carriage and shouting, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." The king's brothers and many nobles left France in dismay. These "*Emigrants*" began now abroad to enlist the help of foreign courts for the restoration of the old régime in France.

543. The king and the Assembly were now completely at the mercy of the populace of the capital. The mob and agents hired by the Palais Royal (§ 535) came to the sessions and jeered and hissed from the galleries at the speakers whom they disliked. Sometimes, too, conservative deputies were attacked in the streets. Very soon nearly one fourth of the members withdrew from the Assembly and thus weakened still more the party of order and law.[2]

Political clubs, too, became a mighty power outside of the Assembly. The most important of these were the *Jacobins*, who took their name from the suppressed Dominican monastery of St. Jacques (St. James) where they held their meetings. In this Jacobin club the most radical politicians met to discuss measures to be put before the Assembly and to appoint agents who were to lead the crowd in the galleries and on the streets. Numerous offshoots of this Paris club soon overspread the land and advocated the cause of extreme democracy throughout

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[1] *Lafayette* earned the gratitude of America on account of the great services he rendered us in our struggle for liberty. But at this period he made several serious mistakes. However, he never approved of the excesses of the French Revolution.

[2] The King resided henceforth in the palace of the *Tuileries*. The Assembly established itself in a neighboring riding school.

France. There were other clubs, some radical like the Jacobins, some more moderate, but the former by their methods of threats and riots readily gained the upper hand.

544. Political Parties. — The Assembly divided itself gradually into definite political parties. (1) On the Speaker's right sat the *Extreme Conservatives* known from their position as the *Right*. They were reactionists and stood for the restoration of the old order. Most of the remaining nobles and of the higher clergy belonged to it. (2) Next to them sat the *Right-Center*. This party did not expect to restore the old order, but they did hope to prevent the Revolution from going any farther, and they wished to keep political power in the hands of the wealthy landowners and capitalists, to which class most of the prominent members belonged. Their ideal was the English constitution. (3) The *Left-Center*, the largest body, wished neither to restrict power to the very wealthy nor to extend it to the very poor, but to intrust it to the middle class (bourgeoisie). In this group sat Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Sieyès. Both parties of the Center advocated a constitutional monarchy. (4) The *Extreme-Left* comprised some thirty deputies who were imbued with the ideas of Rousseau and worked for a *republic*. They wished for manhood suffrage. In this group sat *Robespierre*. While the other parties constantly split on important issues, the Left-Center consisted of determined men who knew their own mind.

545. Mirabeau. — One man in the Assembly was really a party in himself. Mirabeau was a marvelous orator, a statesman of profound insight, and a man of dauntless daring. He never feared to oppose the mob if it clashed with his views, and he often won them to his side. But he lived a wild and dissolute life and so could not gain influence over some of the best elements of the Assembly. All his life he had been accustomed to sell his pen and his brain to the highest bidder, but now at the end of his career he was sincere and convinced in the advice he gave,

though he did not disdain to receive money from the court for his services.

Mirabeau was resolutely opposed to anarchy,[1] and he wanted a strong executive. After the "march of the women" he recognized that the danger to reform lay not so much in the king as in the mob. Thereafter he sought to preserve what remained of royal power and — to direct it. He wished the king to accept the changes in good faith, and to surround himself with a strong but moderate ministry chosen from the Assembly. As the mob grew more furious, he wished the king to leave Paris and to appeal to the provinces of France against the capital.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

546. Flight of the King. — The king hesitated, and Mirabeau died (April 2, 1791), broken down by the strain of his work and by dissolute living. Then Louis decided to flee. His position had become well-nigh intolerable. He was especially uneasy over the constitutional changes affecting the position of the Church (§ 551) to which he had been forced to assent. He, therefore, resolved

[1] He once expressed his views in these striking words: "We are not savages from the banks of the Orinoco, come to set up a society. We are an ancient nation. . . . We have a preëxisting government, a preëxisting king, preëxisting prejudices. We must, as far as possible, adjust all these things to the Revolution and avoid violence of transition." The Assembly soon forgot this and acted as if, indeed, it were legislating for savages.

to escape, not to the interior of France, as Mirabeau had urged him, but to the eastern boundary, where loyal regiments were stationed. Besides, he built his hopes on his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold II, with whom the queen had negotiated. The plan nearly succeeded, but the king was recognized when almost within reach of the loyal regiments. The royal fugitives were brought back to Paris as prisoners (June 21, 1791).

547. This attempt led to another popular rising. This time the purpose was to force the Assembly to dethrone the king. A petition was drawn up demanding the establishment of the Republic, and crowds flocked from Paris to the Champ de Mars[1] to sign it. Some disorders occurred. For the first time the Assembly nerved itself to maintain order by force and sent Lafayette's guards to disperse the crowd. A few of the mob were killed.

This "*Massacre of the Champ de Mars*" (July 17) marks a sharp division between the mob and the middle class. For a time, the latter carried the day. In the next six weeks the victorious Assembly completed and revised its two years' work; and September 14, Louis, after reluctantly swearing to uphold the constitution, was restored to some semblance of his power.

C. The Constitution of 1791

548. A "Declaration of the Rights of Man" came first in the new constitution — after the example of the Bills of Rights in some of the American State constitutions. The Declaration had been put in form some months before as a completion of the "night of August 4" (§ 540).

It proclaimed, —

(1) Men are born equal in rights and remain so.

(2) Law is the expression of the will of all the people. Every citizen has a right to a share in making it; and it must be the same for all.

[1] An open space near the city where a great celebration of the fall of the Bastille had just been held.

And so on through a number of provisions. It made all Frenchmen equal before the law and equally eligible to public office. It abolished hereditary titles and confirmed the abolition of all special privileges. It established jury trial, freedom of religion and freedom of the press. The Assembly boasted that "it shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors," but in the meantime it was used by the worst oppressors to trample under foot every right of the best French citizens.

549. The State. — (1) The *Central Government* was made to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of one House. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures decided against him on any measure.[1] A new Assembly was to be chosen each second year. (2) *Local Government.* — The historic provinces with their troublesome peculiar privileges and customs were wiped from the map. France was divided into eighty-three "*departments*" of nearly equal size. The departments were subdivided into *districts* and the district was made up of "*communes*" (villages or towns with their adjacent territory). The map of France still keeps these divisions. Each department and district elected a "General Council" and an executive board or "Directory," without, however, giving them much authority. The forty thousand communes had each its elected Council and mayor. So much power was left to these communes that France under this constitution had been called "a loose alliance of forty thousand little republics." (3) The *Franchise* was not given to all, despite the Declaration of the Rights of Man. About one fourth of the men had no vote. A voter had to have enough property to pay taxes equal to three days' wages of an artisan. Then these "active citizens" of voters were graded further, according to their wealth, into three divisions. The

[1] The new American States had just begun to try another way to limit the old absolute veto — permitting a two thirds vote to override the President or governor. The French plan of a "suspensive" veto has been most popular in free countries in Europe.

first class could merely vote. The second class could hold office in communes and districts, and be chosen to electoral colleges. Only the third, and wealthiest, class was eligible for the higher offices. Thus political supremacy was secured to the middle class by two devices, — graded property qualifications, and indirect elections. Both these devices to dodge complete equality were used in the American States of that day. No American State had full manhood suffrage.

550. The Church. — The radical changes described above had undoubtedly a number of commendable features, but the immediate consequences were terrible. Disorder and confusion became general. After the complete collapse of the old administration (§ 539) the people ceased to pay taxes, and the new constitution was too violent a break with the past to work smoothly at once. In the meantime the government needed money, and taxes were not forthcoming. In this difficulty the Assembly bethought itself of the *rich property of the Church.*

We saw (§ 540) how the tithes were abolished in the "night of August 4." At that time no compensation was provided for the losers, the clergy. Soon the principle was put forward that all ecclesiastical property belonged, *not to the Church, but to the nation. Talleyrand*, an apostate bishop and member of the Assembly, proposed that the tithes and all church property should be put at the disposal of the state. After deducting the expenses for the maintenance of the clergy and the churches, the balance, he thought, would be enough to meet the financial needs of the government. In spite of vigorous protests the measure was passed in November, 1789. The lands of the Church were to be sold at once, but as few purchasers could be found, the government issued the "*assignats*," a form of paper money, with the church lands as security. The revolutionary governments found this a very convenient way of meeting their obligations, and in the next seven years they issued about eight billion dollars in assignats. This overissue caused their

value to decline, until they sank to about one per cent of their face value. Ultimately they were repudiated.

551. The "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." — The Assembly went still further. In February, 1790, it declared all *vows of religious orders contrary to the spirit of liberty* and, therefore, *null and void*. The *monasteries* were *dissolved* and their inmates sent into the world. The suppression of so many religious institutions of men and women was a terrible blow to education and charitable work.

Finally the Assembly undertook to *reorganize the Church in France* according to revolutionary principles. It did this in a set of laws known as the "*Civil Constitution of the French Clergy*," which formed part of the constitution of 1791. Henceforth there should be one bishop for each department. By this forty-eight bishoprics were at one stroke abolished. The bishop was to be appointed by the electors of the department and the parish priest by the district Councils (§ 549). No religious qualifications were required in the men who made the appointment, so that Catholics, Protestants, and infidels had a vote in the matter. As the church property had all been confiscated, the government undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy. It is plain that this Civil Constitution violated the fundamental principles of the Church. All these radical changes were made without even consulting the Holy See. Moreover, the pope could never have agreed to the manner of appointing bishops and pastors provided by the new law; eventually it would have separated France from the Holy See. Such seems to have been the intention of those who framed the Constitution, for when speaking of the election of bishops they state explicitly: "*The new bishop may not apply to the Pope for any form of confirmation.*" [1]

Louis XVI, fearing that his refusal would only strengthen the

[1] Read the "Civil Constitution" in Robinson's Readings, Vol. II, p. 423.

extremists, at last reluctantly put his name to the Constitution. But the vast majority of the clergy objected. To break their resistance the Assembly decreed that every bishop and priest should take an *oath of allegiance* to the Civil Constitution under pain of expulsion from office. Only four of the bishops took the oath, while about one third of the lower clergy submitted to it, many of them without understanding the issue at stake. Pope Pius VI at first delayed action, hoping that the remedy would come from France itself, but in April, 1791, he publicly and solemnly condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The Assembly replied by annexing the papal territory of Avignon.

The few bishops who had submitted to the Constitution, among them Talleyrand (§ 550), rapidly ordained new priests to fill the places of those who refused the oath. Soon France, in addition to other calamities, suffered from a division in the Church. The clergy split into *jurors* and *non-jurors*, according as they took or refused the oath. Naturally the oath drove loyal Catholics into hostility to the Revolution. Henceforth the Church and the Revolution are implacable enemies, and the bitter memories of the conflict between religion and the democratic forces have survived the Revolution and exercised a *baneful influence on French politics throughout the nineteenth century.*

D. The Legislative Assembly to the War (September, 1791, to April, 1792)

552. Election of the Legislative Assembly. — Thus France had been made over in two years. The bulk of the nation accepted the result joyfully, with the exception of the laws affecting the Church. Most men believed that the Revolution was over. The moderate reformers very largely withdrew from active politics, and did not even vote at the next election.

On the other hand, the *extremists* were dissatisfied with the

restrictions on the franchise and with the *retention of the monarchy*. In their clubs, especially those of the Jacobins, they possessed an excellent political machinery with which they could strongly influence the elections. Moreover, they had the sympathy of the large class that had no vote; and in many cases these disfranchized citizens proved an important factor in the elections, terrorizing the more conservative elements by mob-violence.

553. Parties. — The *Constituent Assembly* had made its members ineligible to seats in the *Legislative Assembly*, where their political experience might have been of some value. The seven hundred and forty-five members of the Legislative Assembly were all new men. They were mostly young provincial lawyers and journalists. The real government rested with the clubs.

There was no party in the new Assembly corresponding to the old Right and Right-Center of the Constitutional Assembly (§ 544). The new Right corresponded to the old Left-Center. Its members were known as the *Constitutionalists*, because they wished to preserve the constitution as it was. Outside of the House this party was represented by *Lafayette*, who, since the death of Mirabeau, was the most influential man in France. In the Assembly this party counted about one hundred regular adherents, but, for a time, the four hundred members of the *Center*, or "*The Plain*," voted with it on most questions. The Plain, however, was gradually won over to the more radical views of the *Left*.

This Left consisted of about two hundred and forty delegates, many of them connected with the Jacobin clubs. The greater part were to become known as *Girondists*, from the Gironde, the name of the department from which the leaders came. They wished a republic, but they were unwilling to use force to get one. They feared and hated the Paris mob, and they wished to intrust power to the provinces rather than to the

capital. The leaders were eloquent men, full of Rousseau's ideas, but very unpractical politicians.

The members of the *Extreme-Left*, known from the elevated seats in the rear of the hall of the legislature as the "*Mountain*," were mostly Jacobins, who worked for the overthrow of the monarchy, using every means, fair and foul, persuasion, intrigue, and violence.

554. War Clouds. — The Emigrants, breathing threats of invasion and vengeance, were gathering in arms on the *Rhine*, under the protection of *German princes*. They were drilling mercenary troops, and they had secret sympathizers within France. In the winter a plot to betray to them the great fortress of Strassburg all but succeeded. Thereupon the Assembly condemned to death all Emigrants who would not return before a certain date. The king vetoed the measure.

Louis XVI, in fact, found it impossible to give his hearty support to the new constitution. His conscience forbade this. Moreover, after his flight he was virtually a prisoner of the Assembly and the mob of Paris. To free himself from this intolerable situation, he and the queen began to *negotiate for foreign intervention*. The Emigrants worked for the same end. Leopold II, brother-in-law of the French king, was willing to do something in behalf of Louis and the queen, but hoped to avert war. Besides, he had little sympathy with the Emigrants, who cared nothing for France, but only for the restoration of their privileges, and whose dissolute conduct in exile often shocked every one.

On August 27, 1791, *Austria and Prussia* sent a note to the other powers, inviting them to joint interference in behalf of Louis XVI. But at the time no further steps were taken, as both Prussia and Austria were busy with the partition of Poland (§ 506). However, the note together with the threats and boast of the Emigrants on the Rhine produced strong indignation in the Assembly and helped to precipitate the war.

555. The Legislative Assembly welcomed the prospect of war. It demanded of the Emperor Leopold that he disperse the army of the Emigrants and that he refrain from interfering in French affairs. Leopold replied evasively, but in March, 1792, he died suddenly, and his successor Francis II assumed a more threatening attitude. Then the Assembly declared war against Austria and her ally, Prussia (April, 1792).

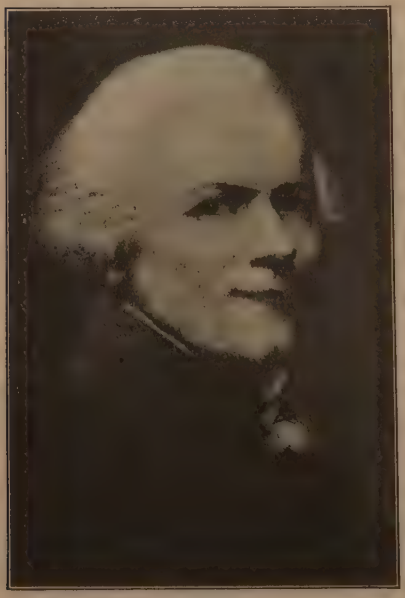
The *majority* of the Assembly was, in fact, *eager for war.* The moderate Constitutionalists expected war to strengthen the executive (as it would have done if the king had heartily coöperated with them), and they also hoped that it would increase their own power, since Lafayette was commander of the army. On the other hand, the Girondists and the bulk of the Assembly desired the overthrow of the monarchy. In war time, they reasoned, it will be easier to discredit the king with the masses and to represent him as a danger to the nation, because he will be suspected of negotiating with the powers. Louis was indeed corresponding with Austria, suggesting a " conference supported by an armed force as the best means of checking seditious parties and preventing the evil which affects us from reaching other states of Europe."

556. The only voices raised against the war were from the Mountain and its sympathizers in the Jacobin club. For they feared that the war would show the need of a strong executive and thus strengthen the monarchy. But, strangely enough, Girondists and Constitutionalists were to find their ruin in the war they so recklessly invited; while the three men most active in opposing the war — *Robespierre, Danton, and Marat* — were to be called by it to virtual dictatorship. With them and with the war the Revolution enters upon a new phase — of tyranny and bloodshed.

Marat was by profession a physician of some note. As a politician he was jealous and suspicious, and he seems to have become half-crazed in the turmoil of the Revolution. Already

in the early days of the Constituent Assembly he began to preach the assassination of all aristocrats. He is responsible for much innocent blood shed later on. Though sometimes capable of generous impulses, he seemed to know only one means to overcome opposition to his ideas — killing.

Robespierre before the Revolution had been a precise and vain young lawyer in a provincial town, Arras. He was an ardent admirer of Rousseau. As a deputy to the Constituent Assembly he came to Paris, joined the Jacobins, and became one of their leaders. He was narrow, dull, and pedantic, had none of the fiery eloquence of Mirabeau or Danton, yet he was more honest than either, never giving or receiving bribes, a rare thing among the revolutionary leaders. He dreamed of France as a glorious republic where should be neither rich nor poor, oppressors nor oppressed, where all would be simple, frugal patriots. In a latter stage of the Revolution he will not hesitate to hand over to the executioner his own associates.



ROBESPIERRE.

Danton, a Parisian lawyer, early became prominent in the radical clubs, and, next to Mirabeau, was the strongest man of the Revolution. He was well named "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." Of gigantic size and strength, gifted with a thunderous voice, he was a born leader of the mob. He had

no very definite ideas about the future of France, but when swift merciless action was needed, he was ready for the task. Part of the blame for the massacres of the Reign of Terror falls on him. He opposed the war because he saw how unprepared France was, and how unfit the leaders. But when it came, he brushed the leaders aside and himself helped to organize victory.

For Further Reading. — For the whole period compare Guggenberger, III, §§ 218–236. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, gives good sketches of the leading characters. In the last chapter, he has an admirable discussion of the antagonism between the Church and the Revolution. Mallet, ch. III–V, covers this period; he should be consulted on the causes leading up to the war. Mrs. Gardiner, *The French Revolution*, is among the best short histories of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REVOLUTION AT WAR

A. The War to the Fall of the Monarchy: June to September, 1792

557. The mob invades the Tuileries, June 20. — At the declaration of war the raw and undisciplined French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province), but were rolled back in defeat. As, however, Prussia and Austria were just then more interested in the approaching second partition of Poland (§ 506) the French were given a few weeks more for preparation before the storm broke. The reverses in Belgium gave the signal for some violent legislation. The Assembly decreed the deportation of all non-juring priests; it provided for the formation at Paris of a camp of twenty thousand selected troops, mostly desperate characters taken from the National Guards of the provinces. Louis vetoed these decrees and dismissed the Girondist ministry.

Despite the veto, a small camp was formed near Paris under the pretense of celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, in reality to overawe the king. Among these forces were six hundred men from Marseilles. They entered Paris, singing a new battle hymn, which afterwards was chanted on many a revolutionary battle field and which was to become famous as the "*Marseillaise*."

The ringleaders, Girondists and Jacobins, now tried to force the king to sign the decree. On the anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath thousands of the rabble from the Paris slums marched howling and shrieking through the hall of the Assembly

and then invaded the Tuileries and broke into the royal apartments. The king faced the mob with great courage, spoke calmly to them, and to please them put on the red cap, the emblem of the Revolution; but to all demands for a recall of his veto he made firm refusal. By his quiet dignity he disarmed the rage of the mob, and finally they were persuaded to leave.

558. There followed an outburst of loyalty from the Moderates. — The king issued a dignified protest against these outrages. Lafayette, in command at the frontier, hastened to Paris, to demand punishment of the ringleaders and the closing of the Jacobin club. Though the middle classes were ready to rally about him, he failed mainly because the king would not trust him, but preferred to build his hopes for the restoration of order on foreign help. Lafayette returned to the army, and in Paris *the control of affairs passed rapidly into the hands of the Jacobins.*

559. France was girdled with foes. — *Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia* were in arms. *Naples and Spain* were soon to join. *Sweden and Russia* offered to do so if help were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier near Verdun; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion.

The French levies were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, they were utterly demoralized by the resignation of many officers in the face of the enemy and by the suspicion that many more of those remaining were not heart and soul in the cause.

Within France were royalist risings and widespread discontent. Everybody suspected, though only few knew it for certain, that the royal family was in secret correspondence with the enemy. Incapable of rallying and coöperating with the moderate elements, the helpless king relied on his brother

monarchs. This was a fatal mistake which a proud and sensitive people, like the French, would never forgive.

560. The Proclamation of Brunswick. — Unfortunately for the king, the Prussian commander, the *Duke of Brunswick*, unwittingly played into the hands of Louis' enemies. On July 25, 1792, he issued a proclamation to the French nation, declaring (1) that the allies entered France to put an end to anarchy and to restore the king to his rightful position, (2) that all men taken with arms in their hands should be punished as rebels, (3) that, if the least violence be offered to the royal family, he would "inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction." This stupid and arrogant document provoked an outcry of rage against the king and induced the Jacobins to act immediately.

561. The Second Invasion of the Tuileries, August 10. — A band of Jacobins, led by Danton, gathered at the city hall, arrested the Municipal Council (consisting chiefly of moderate men), and took the reins of the city's administration into their own hands. This new "*Commune of Paris*" prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for August 10. On the day appointed the mob surged from all sides toward the palace. The National Guards placed there at once abandoned their post, but the Swiss Guard of 900 men refused to give up their arms, and, when attacked, opened fire. The weak king sent an order to cease firing; they promptly obeyed. But the mob fell upon them and massacred them all, wounded and surgeons alike.[1] Louis, in the meantime, had fled from his own apartments into the Assembly. Thither the crowd followed him and demanded the king's instant deposition. The Assembly, two thirds of

[1] Their fidelity is commemorated by one of the most celebrated monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland.

which had fled before the mob, deprived Louis of his functions and imprisoned him with the royal family in the *Temple*. Then they decreed the immediate election, by manhood suffrage, of a Constitutional Convention to frame a new government.

However, the Assembly was no longer master of the situation; the real power rested with the *Commune of Paris* in which sat Robespierre and other prominent Jacobins.

As the news of the king's imprisonment reached the army Lafayette tried to lead it against Paris. But he found the troops unwilling to follow him, and, to prevent his own arrest and probable execution, he placed himself in the hands of the Austrians.[1]

562. The September Massacres. — The Assembly, we have seen, had decided upon new elections. The Jacobins knew very well that the sentiment of the nation at large did not favor them and that they had to use threats and violence to win the elections. The Commune of Paris, wholly controlled by the Jacobins, made use of events at the front to further their schemes. The fortress of Longwy had fallen into the hands of the Prussians and Verdun was invested. The Jacobins shouted "treason," and Danton, as minister of justice, demanded permission from the Commune to search private houses for hidden arms. Few were found, but the real object, the arrest of anti-Jacobins, was fully attained and the prisons were filled to overflowing. A committee of the Commune then ordered the massacre of these prisoners. Hired assassins began the bloody work on September 2, and continued it for four days. Scenes of horrible butchery took place all over Paris. Thousands of persons were put to death without trial or proof of guilt, among them priests, women, and children. A circular sent by the Commune into the provinces brought about similar tragedies in Lyons, Versailles, Reims, and elsewhere. It is impossible

[1] Lafayette was cast into prison by the Austrians, to remain there until freed by the victories of Napoleon four years later.

to see what danger could have menaced the nation from these helpless prisoners. But the Jacobins achieved their object: the moderates were terror-stricken and sank into mute acquiescence in Jacobin rule. With these radicals must rest the responsibility for the awful deed; with Marat, who never ceased shrieking for the blood of "the aristocrats," with Danton, who, as minister of justice, was responsible for the prisoners, but instead of preventing the crime, loudly praised it: "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid."

B. Fall of the Monarchy: The Girondists, September, 1792, to June, 1793

563. The war, after August 10, for a while favored the French armies. The credit belongs chiefly to Danton, who strained every nerve to raise armies and drill recruits. The Allies had taken *Longwy* and *Verdun* (§ 562), but they proceeded with extreme caution. At *Valmy* they received their first check, — and retreated. Verdun and Longwy were retaken by the French, and the Allies were forced back across the Rhine. In the southeast *Savoy* and *Nice* were wrested from the king of Sardinia. Another French army crossed the upper Rhine and entered *Germany*. With great rapidity general *Dumouriez* overran the *Austrian Netherlands* after a brilliant victory at *Jemappes*. These successes called forth wild enthusiasm and a demand to spread the revolution beyond the boundaries of France. Frenchmen believed themselves intrusted with the mission of bringing liberty to other "oppressed nations." The first act of the new National Convention (§ 561) was to call upon all peoples to dethrone their monarchs and to set up new governments, based upon the principles of popular sovereignty proclaimed by Rousseau. France would aid them with her strong arm. On the other hand, she would treat all those as enemies who refused liberty.

But the Convention soon realized that war is expensive; it

therefore decreed that the financial burden should be transferred to the shoulders of the liberated nations. Thus it came to pass that the French armies, at first hailed as liberators by many, were soon considered an intolerable burden. Moreover the lawless revolutionary soldiery committed innumerable robberies, sacrileges, and murders in the conquered countries, especially in Belgium and on the Rhine. The disillusioned people quickly learned that liberty, as advocated by the revolutionists, was only a *cloak for the lust of plunder and conquest.*

564. The First Republic. — The new Convention met on September 21, 1792. The Jacobins had used every means to get deputies after their own heart; they succeeded so well in keeping the moderate element from the polls that only about six per cent of the adult male population cast their vote.

No Constitutionalists appeared in the Convention. The Girondists now sat on the Right; they seemed to have the support of the previous Plain and, indeed, of the whole Convention with the exception of the former Mountain. Among the latter party were now Marat, Robespierre, and Danton, with the deputies of Paris, and the organizers of the rising of August 10. In its first session the Convention declared the monarchy abolished, and established "*The French Republic, One and Indivisible.*"

565. The Execution of Louis XVI. — From the outset the Mountain was determined to take the life of the king, to make a reconciliation with the royalists impossible. Violence had brought them to power, and violence alone could keep them there. So they at once came forward with a demand for the trial of the king. The rest of the deputies would have preferred to save Louis' life, but they feared the charge of "royalism" and acquiesced. On December 11 the king, who since his imprisonment had suffered every kind of insult, was brought before the bar of the Convention and charged with "treason

to the nation." The debates were long and stormy. When it came to the decision the majority of the deputies, intimidated by the hired shouters in the galleries, voted "guilty." But in a second ballot the death sentence was passed by a majority of only one. The unfortunate king accepted his fate with calmness and dignity. After bidding farewell to his family he spent the time in preparing for the end. An Irish priest, Father Edgeworth, assisted him in his last moments. On January 22, 1793, Louis XVI met death amid the deep silence of the multitude. The Jacobins had taken care to prevent every demonstration.

Louis was not the man to guide France through the crisis through which she was passing, a crisis due more to the faults of his predecessors than to his own shortcomings. But in death he showed the qualities of a true Christian hero and a worthy scion of Louis the Saint.

566. Consequences. — Strained relations had for some time existed between England and the French revolutionary government. England felt herself threatened by the French invitation to revolt (§ 563) and by French designs upon Holland. The decree to annex Belgium and the execution of Louis XVI brought matters to a head. England dismissed the French ambassador, whereupon the Convention promptly declared war against *England* and *Holland*. *Spain* and *Portugal* joined the Allies. As Prussia and Austria were still in the field, the Convention was now at war with almost all Europe. The Emigrants proclaimed the imprisoned child of the executed king as Louis XVII. Things began to look dark for France. Dumouriez was defeated in Belgium. Disgusted with the mad government in Paris, he planned a march upon the capital. But his troops abandoned him and he went over to the Austrians. In Germany the French general Custine was driven back to the Rhine and, as punishment for his incapacity, put to death by the Convention.

567. Disunion at Home. — Meantime the Convention had framed a new constitution, an extremely democratic document. *But it never went into effect.* The Republicans declared that France was in danger and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until the war was over.

Within the Convention *bitter quarrels* arose between the *Girondists and the Mountain.* The latter was supported by the mob of Paris and the radical clubs. Outside the capital the Girondists were much stronger; hence they wished to remove the Convention from Paris and the control of the mob. The Mountain accused them of desiring to break the Indivisible Republic.

The crisis came in June, 1793. A revolutionary tribunal had been set up and the Girondists attempted to have Marat tried for inciting insurrection. Marat was acquitted through the influence of the mob. Later a Commission of Twelve was formed to try the Paris agitators. A street rising cowed the Convention into submission, but that body refused to eject the members of the Commission of Twelve (mostly Girondists).

568. Danton for some time tried in vain to reconcile the parties. The Girondists were mad enough to accuse him of royalist conspiracy. Then he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends of the Mountain who had urged action against the Girondists, "and I was wrong. There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them, and in spite of them."

The Mountain determined to act. It was weak in the Convention but strong in the galleries, in the streets, and, above all, in the Commune of Paris. The latter organized a rising against the Convention. On June 2 an armed crowd surrounded the Tuileries and held the deputies prisoners until they had passed a decree which put thirty of the leading Girondists under arrest. Other Girondists escaped into the provinces,

at the same time a parade of "delegates of the people," organized by Robespierre and Danton, declared *the Convention permanent.* Thus the *Mountain was left in sole power.* Danton, in an impassioned speech, proclaimed a *Reign of Terror* against all foes of the Republic.

C. The Reign of Terror, June, 1793, to July, 1794

569. Instruments of the Terror. — The Convention soon saw that so large and unwieldy a body could not cope with the various urgent problems and appointed from its midst a small executive body, the *Committee of Public Safety.* It consisted of twelve members, all from the Mountain, and for a while Danton was its leading spirit. *Carnot* had charge of military matters and by his tireless energy and real talent he became the "organizer of victory." Robespierre and Saint Just sought to direct political affairs and to realize their ideals, a republic after Rousseau's theories.

This Committee sent its representatives, the "*deputies on mission*," to all parts of France to enforce obedience to its orders. Every ten days they had to report to the central committee; while "on mission" these deputies exercised despotic power, replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money and supplies "for national use" (frequently to fill their own pockets), arresting and condemning to death by their own courts. Two such deputies accompanied each of the armies of the Republic, with authority to arrest a general at the head of his troops. This was to secure energy in the conduct of the war and to prevent defections like those of Lafayette and Dumouriez.

The *Revolutionary Tribunal,* appointed by the Committee of Public Safety, with its sub-tribunals in the departments, had promptly to condemn the victims sent to it by the authorities.

The *Revolutionary Army* was organized by conscription to replace the mercenaries of the monarchy. It had its strong

garrisons in every city, for it was not only to repel foreign invasion but "to guard prisoners, arrest suspects, demolish castles, ransack vestries for gold and silver, and to strike every anti-Jacobin with physical terror."

570. Civil War. — Not all Girondists had been arrested. Those who escaped roused the provinces against the Jacobin capital. The citizens of Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Caen took up arms against the Jacobins. Toulon, the naval harbor, even admitted an English fleet.

In the *Vendée* the opposition to the Jacobin rule was strongest. The population in this remote province on the mouth of the Loire river consisted of simple sturdy peasants who had looked with disfavor on the changes wrought by the revolution. The nobles were not hated there, but lived in patriarchal simplicity and familiarity with their tenants. Being thoroughly Catholic, these peasants were indignant at the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (§ 551) and stanchly refused to deal with any but non-juring priests. When the news of the execution of Louis XVI came their wrath knew no bounds. With the war cry "For Church and King," they flew to arms and under able leaders inflicted crushing defeats on the republican levies.

571. Carnot took energetic measures against enemies at the frontier and at home. He decreed a levy of the whole population. "All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said a proclamation of the Committee. "The Republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle; it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the old men shall have themselves carried into public places, and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young and preach hatred of the kings and unity for the Republic."

Soon fourteen armies were placed in the field. The Allies had again to retreat from the Rhine (§ 566) and French troops once more invaded Germany. Toulon was taken from the English.[1] Caen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Vendeans suffered disastrous defeat.

572. Terror in the Departments. — Frightful was the vengeance taken on the vanquished. At Toulon people were slaughtered in heaps. Lyons was nearly razed to the ground and the population, by executions and exile, reduced by about one third. But the Vendée saw the most horrible excesses of revenge. *Carrier* at the head of a revolutionary tribunal put to death about 15,000 men, women, and children during the last three months of 1793. Over four thousand were drowned in the Loire. Next year twelve republican detachments, "columns of hell," entered the unfortunate province with orders to "exterminate the people and confiscate the lands." Accordingly, they killed every living thing that came in their way and destroyed entire towns and villages. No wonder that the peasants preferred to die with arms in their hands. Many escaped across the Loire, and the insurrection spread into Brittany, to be quelled only after the fall of the Terror.

573. The Terror in Paris. — In the capital the Revolutionary Tribunal reigned supreme. *The Law of Suspects*, passed in September, 1793, enabled it to try the most innocent persons under suspicion of unfriendliness to the Republic. To mourn over a victim of Jacobin cruelty, to show signs of attachment to the old Church, to refuse to accept the nearly worthless assignats, were capital crimes. Each day the Revolutionary Tribunal sent batches of victims to the guillotine.[2] The

[1] In the siege of Toulon a young officer of artillery by his skill and daring attracted the notice of his superior. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

[2] In former times it had been customary to behead victims with the sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recom-

noblest of them was *Marie Antoinette*. Separated from her son and exposed to the brutality of her keepers, the former queen bore her sufferings with queenly dignity. After a disgraceful trial, in which her own little child was forced to testify against his mother, Marie Antoinette met her fate on October 16, 1793. Next year her son, "*Louis XVII*," succumbed in prison to the brutal treatment of Simon, a coarse cobbler, into whose custody he had been given.

Other victims were the imprisoned Girondist deputies (§ 568), non-juring priests, nobles, and people from all classes. The *Duke of Orleans*, who had intrigued against Louis XVI and voted for the king's death, now paid the penalty of his treachery.

574. War against Religion. — The Jacobins were determined to root out the past completely. Not only non-juring priests but also "constitutional priests" became their victims. The godless Republic had no use for them. No administration of any Sacrament was tolerated. To destroy every trace of Christian civilization the Convention replaced the Christian calendar by the Revolutionary Era. September 22, the day on which the Republic was declared, was the first day of the Year One. There followed twelve months of thirty days each, and then five days of revolutionary festivities. Each month was divided into three decades, and each tenth day was a holiday (in place of the Christian Sunday). All feasts of the Lord and the Saints were replaced by revolutionary festivals and anniversaries. The months were renamed after the seasons and the varying occupation of the peasant. During the last months of 1793 the Commune of Paris abolished the worship of God and the belief in the immortality of the soul. A "*goddess of reason*," in the person of a shameless woman, was enthroned on the high altar of the cathedral of Notre Dame in

mended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called after him, the guillotine, was swifter and surer than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

Paris; the other churches were closed and plundered. Similar blasphemous scenes were enacted in other cities of France.

575. Internal Strife. — The Jacobins had established their supremacy over all other parties by the Terror; but after some months they themselves broke up into factions. The Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, continued to uphold the Terror, but outside the committee two hostile factions arose.

The Commune of Paris, controlled by the coarse and atheistic Hébert, had long dominated the Convention and its Committee, and was more than any other body responsible for the bloody excesses of the revolutionists as well as for the suppression of Christian worship. It now clamored for more blood and wished to reduce rich and poor to the same level by wholesale confiscations and to execute all opponents of such measures. Robespierre, fearing for his own ascendency in the committee, united the more moderate elements against the Hébertists. Twice before, the Commune had reversed the control of the national assembly by insurrection (§§ 561, 568). Now it tried it a third time, but failed; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

The leader of the moderate faction, who had aided Robespierre in crushing the Hébertists, was Danton, now the only man in France whose influence rivalled that of Robespierre. Danton was weary of bloodshed. For months he had been urging that "terror" was no longer needed, now that France was victorious without and tranquil within. One of Danton's friends, Camille Desmoulins (§ 537), started a witty newspaper to criticize the policy of the Committee, suggesting in its place a "Committee of Mercy" to bind up the wounds of France. In April Robespierre accused both men of "conspiracy" and "royalism" and sent them to death (April 5, 1794).

Danton's danger had been plain, and his friends urged him to strike first. "Better be guillotined than to do more guillo-

tining," he answered. He was disgusted with his own share in the Revolution. "I have served the Revolution only too well," he said at the trial, "and now life is a burden to me." When he heard his own death sentence he exclaimed prophetically, "Before three months are past the people will tear my accusers to pieces."

576. Robespierre, for the next three months, seemed sole master of France. — He thought the moment favorable to carry out some of his pet ideas. He abolished the "worship of reason" and at his request the Convention decreed the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. He never tired of preaching his "virtue" and "patriotism" and of discoursing on his impractical ideals. In the meantime the Terror increased. A decree of the Convention abolished all formal trials so that the Tribunal had merely to pronounce sentence over the victims furnished to it by Robespierre. The latter had in his pay an army of spies whose activity spared neither friend nor foe. Finally the Convention trembled for its own safety. Robespierre's enemies, former Dantonists and Hébertists, conspired against him. July 26 he hurled threats at them without, however, naming any one. The conspirators saw that they had to act quickly. Next day, when he began to speak, he was interrupted with shouts of "Down with the tyrant." The Convention arrested him; but his friends in the Commune rescued him and brought him to the city hall and then tried to create a rising in his favor. They failed. The populace was sick of bloodshed. An armed force brought him back to the Convention. Quickly he was tried and executed with a hundred followers (July 29, 1794).

577. The "Terror" now came to an end, and some extreme laws were repealed. In December, encouraged by the reaction against the radicals, the fugitive members of the Right once more appeared in the Convention, and the following March even the survivors of the expelled Girondists were admitted.

The Jacobins, trembling for their power and lives, roused the mob of Paris in a desperate attempt to check the reaction; but the middle classes rallied, dispersed the mob by troops and by organized bands of wealthy young men, the "gilded youth."

The mob was disarmed, the National Guards reorganized, and there followed all over France a violent reaction, the "*White Terror*," wherein many hundreds of the Jacobin party were executed or assassinated. The radical clubs were closed, and the Committee of Public Safety was dissolved.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, III, §§ 237–261. Carlyle's *French Revolution* contains most brilliant descriptions, but is inaccurate and antiquated. On the Vendean Rising see Hill, *The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouanerie*. See work mentioned in the previous chapter. Belloc especially should be consulted on the various phases of the war. A valuable work, especially for a study of the influence of the Revolution on Europe, is Rose, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DIRECTORY, 1795–1799

A. Ascendency of Middle Class

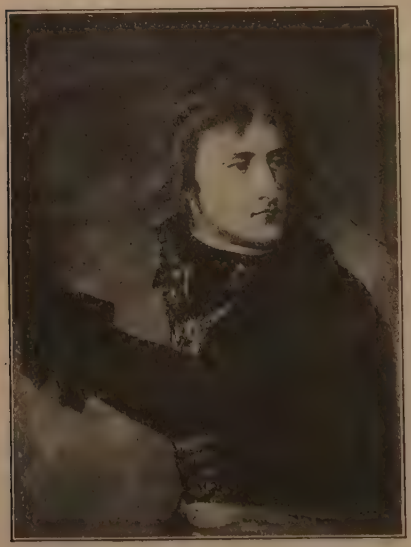
578. A new "Constitution of the Year III" (1795) replaced the constitution of the Year I (§ 567) and confirmed the middle-class rule. The government established by this document is called "*The Directory.*" This was the name of the executive, which consisted of a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature consisted of two Houses. Property qualifications for voting were restored.

579. The Last Insurrection. — The new constitution was submitted to a popular vote, but before the vote was taken, at the last moment, the expiring Convention decreed that two thirds of its members should hold over as members of the new Assembly. This clause was submitted to the people, along with the constitution, and was practically made a condition of the latter. It was carried by a small majority, while the constitution was adopted by an overwhelming vote. In Paris the secret Royalists took advantage of the dissatisfaction to stir up revolt. They were joined by twenty thousand National Guards. The better classes and the National Guards rose against the clause that practically perpetuated the Convention. The Directory was in terror. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the Convention hall and mowed down the attacking columns with grapeshot (October 5, 1795). The Directory remained in power for four years. The chief interest for this period centers

in the rise of the young officer who had saved to the old republicans their seats in the new legislature. *His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.*

B. The Rise of Napoleon

580. In 1795, when the government of the Convention was merged in the Directory, France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, *Belgium* had been annexed, with the vote of its people, an act which the Belgians soon bitterly regretted (§ 563). *Nice* and *Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. The eastern frontier had been moved to the *Rhine*, by the seizure of all the territory of the Empire on the west side of the river. *Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally, as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.



Napoleon at Arcola, in a critical moment in his Italian campaign. Painting by Gros.

581. Bonaparte in Italy. — The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously, both in Germany and Italy.[1] Two splendid armies were sent to Germany, and a small, ill-supplied

[1] Austria at this time held a considerable part of northern Italy (§ 482).

force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. But while the two armies in Germany were utterly defeated, the wonderful genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By rapid movements he separated the Austrian and Sardinian forces, beat the latter in five battles in eleven days, and forced Sardinia to conclude peace. Turning upon the brave but deliberate Austrians, he won battle after battle, and by July he was master of Italy. Austria, however, clung stubbornly to her Italian provinces; and during the following year, four fresh armies were sent from the Rhine to the Po, only to meet destruction. In October, 1797, Austria agreed to accept *Venice* from Bonaparte, in exchange for *Lombardy* and *Belgium*, which she had lost, and war on the continent closed with the Peace of *Campo Formio*.

582. To the Italians Bonaparte posed as a deliverer, and his large promises awoke in the peninsula the hope of new national life. Aristocratic Genoa became the *Ligurian Republic*, and the Po valley was made into the *Cisalpine Republic*, to which Bonaparte added the northern part of the Papal States. Napoleon swept away serfdom, the privileges of the nobles, and the forms of the old-fashioned Austrian government. He introduced civil equality and some political liberty. At the same time, however, with amazing perfidy, Napoleon tricked the independent state of Venice into war, seized it with a French army, and afterward coolly bartered it away to Austria.

Upon even the friendly states Bonaparte levied enormous contributions, to enrich his soldiers and officers, to fill the coffers of France, and to bribe the Directory. His proclamation upon taking command of the army of Italy had been significant of much to come: —

"Soldiers, you are starving and in rags. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fruitful plains of the world. Teeming provinces,

flourishing cities, will be in your power. There you may reap honor and glory and wealth."

Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts Bonaparte ravished from Italian galleries and libraries, and sent them to Paris, to gratify French vanity. When the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate cruelty.

583. Napoleon Bonaparte. — The Italian campaign first showed Napoleon Bonaparte to the world. He was born in Corsica in 1769. His parents were Italians, poor, but of noble descent. In the year of Napoleon's birth Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began, he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (§ 571) and, chancing to be in Paris at the time of the rising against the Directory, in 1795, he had been called upon to defend the government. In reward he was given, the next year, the command of the "Army of Italy."

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," and his success was largely due to his wonderful grasp of a mass of details, — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling; but he was utterly unscrupulous, and he deliberately rejected all bonds of the moral law. "Morality," he said, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His generalship lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of movement, and in massing his troops against some weak point of his adversary. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins

his victories with our legs." Moreover, the French army was superior to any army in Europe. Elsewhere military office came by birth or by purchase. In the Revolutionary armies of France, it came by merit and genius. All Napoleon's great lieutenants had risen from the ranks. One of his most dashing generals (Jourdan) had been a tailor; another (Murat), a waiter. Napoleon always cherished this democratic character of the army. "Every soldier," he said, "carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack."

In early life Bonaparte may have been a sincere Republican; but he learned to despise the anarchy and disorder of the Revolution, and, before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the army's earlier ardor for the Republic into a passion for military glory and plunder. He became the idol of the soldiery, and then used the military power to overthrow the civil authority.

Before Campo Formio he had said to a friend, "Do you suppose I conquer for the lawyers of the Directory? Do you think I mean to found a Republic? What an idea! . . . The nation wants a head, a chief illustrious for great exploits; it does not care for theories of government. . . The French want glory. As for liberty, of that they have no conception. . . . I am everything to the army. Let the Directory try to take the command from me, and they will see who is master."

584. Bonaparte in Egypt. — After the Peace of Campo Formio Napoleon returned to Paris. He at once perceived that France was not yet ready to accept him as ruler; the hatred for the monarchy was still too violent. He saw, too, that he would sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly like an ordinary person. As England alone was still at war with France, he asked the Directory to send him to Egypt, as a step toward attacking England's power in India. He had still another reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the

eve of new war with the continental powers. He hoped that during his absence the Directory would find itself so embarrassed that he might return as the only man who could save France, and thus it fell out.

In 1798 he sailed with a select army to Egypt. He won a series of brilliant battles there; but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under Nelson, in the Battle of the Nile, and his dreams of conquests in India faded away.

585. Bonaparte Overthrows the Directory. — During Napoleon's absence the war had been renewed. In 1798 the Directory had brought about a change in the government of Switzerland and had organized that country as the Helvetic Republic after the pattern of the French Republic. Then it attacked the pope. Bonaparte, in its opinion, had dealt too leniently with him when he annexed papal territory to the Cisalpine Republic (§ 581). The Republic entertained a mortal hatred against Pius VI, who had committed the "crime" of protesting against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and received French exiles. A riot in Rome, purposely excited by the French ambassador, gave the Directory a pretext to march upon Rome (February, 1799). *The Roman Republic* replaced the Papal States and the aged and sickly Pius VI was brutally carried off to France where he died shortly after. The Directory, then, carried out the usual Republican program of robbery and confiscations. Other Italian rulers were similarly dispossessed and their states changed into Republics. The Great Powers of Europe were alarmed at these measures. England succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition; but the fortunes of war did not favor France.

Bonaparte heard of these reverses and judged the time opportune for his plans. He deserted his doomed army in Egypt and escaped to France, and the French people welcomed him as a savior.

The Directory had proven itself disgracefully corrupt. Each

of three years in succession — 1797, 1798, 1799 — the elections had gone against it; but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*,[1] or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting. Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état against the Directory*. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plans; and a remnant, made up of Bonaparte's adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two others as *Consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred the French people accepted the *constitution* (§ 587) that virtually made Bonaparte dictator. France was not really ready for the freedom she had so unexpectedly won by revolution. Anarchy and terrorism had so far been the only results of the great upheaval. There was needed a Bonaparte or some other military chief to bring order out of chaos.

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[1] Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to infractions of the constitution by some part of the government through the use of force. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (§ 441) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France; and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE CONSULATE, 1799–1804

586. Marengo and Hohenlinden. — Bonaparte's first work as consul was to defeat foreign foes. In 1800 he won the great battle of *Marengo* over the Austrians in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army in Bavaria at *Hohenlinden*. Austria and Russia made peace; and two years later **the Peace of Amiens** (1802) closed the war between France and England. For a brief period, the world was free from war. Napoleon appeared a conqueror, with dazzling victories, and also the restorer of the long-desired peace.

587. The Consulate was confirmed by the Constitution of the Year VIII (1800). The government was to *rest on manhood suffrage*, but that suffrage was to be "*refined by successive filtrations.*" The adult males, some five million in all, were to choose one tenth their number; the five hundred thousand "Communal Notables," so chosen, were in turn to choose one tenth *their* number; these fifty thousand "Departmental Notables" were to choose five thousand "National Notables."

But all this voting was only to settle *eligibility*. **The executive was to appoint** communal officers at will out of the Communal Notables, departmental officers out of the Departmental Notables, and members of the legislature and other chief officers out of the National Notables.

The legislature was to be broken up into *four* parts: a *Council of State* to prepare bills; a *Tribunate* to discuss them, without right to vote; a *Legislative Chamber* to vote upon them, without right to discuss; and a *Senate*, with power to veto.

EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
L.L. POATES, ENGR', N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
COPENHAGEN
BERLIN
VIENNA
PARIS
LONDON
MADRID
CONSTANTINOPLE
ROME
MALTA (To Eng.)
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
Gulf of Finland
Lake Peipus
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Moscow
Riga
Warsaw
Krakow
Odessa
Kherson
Smolensk
Vilna
Königsberg
Danzig
Hamburg
Stettin
Dresden
Leipsic
Breslau
Prague
Frankfort
Cologne
Munich
Innsbruck
Budapest
Trieste
Venice
Verona
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Ancona
Naples
Palermo
Belgrade
Bucharest
Wallachia
Transylvania
Moldavia
Bessarabia
Bosnia
Servia
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Scutari
Corfu
Athens
Smyrna
Morea
Crete
Tunis
Algiers
Cadiz
Lisbon
Oporto
Barcelona
Valencia
Saragossa
Valladolid
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Lyons
Avignon
Bordeaux
Brest
Ostend
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Brussels
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Calais
Dunkirk
Luxemburg
Metz
Strasburg
Stuttgart
Munich
Basle
Berne
Geneva
Milan
Turin
Elba (To Fr.)
Corsica
Ajaccio
Sardinia
Cagliari
Minorca
Majorca
Balearic Is.
Canary Is.
Madeira
Azores
Hebrides
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
Edinburgh
Dublin
Helgoland (To Den.)
Gothland
Oland
Finisterre
Ortegal
Quiberon
Loire R.
Seine R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Niemen R.
Dwina R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Volga R.
Oka R.
Don R.
Pruth R.
Sea of Azof
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Aegean Sea
Ionian Is. (To Eng.)
C. Passaro
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
St. Vincent
Tarifa Pt.
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Cape Bon
Malta (To Eng.)
Crete
Corfu
Chios
Morea
Athens
Smyrna
Constantinople
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Kherson
Odessa
Bessarabia
Moldavia
Wallachia
Transylvania
Bucharest
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Scutari
Trieste
Verona
Venice
Innsbruck
Budapest
Munich
Vienna
Prague
Frankfort
Cologne
Strasburg
Stuttgart
Basle
Berne
Geneva
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Ancona
Naples
Palermo
Rome
Elba (To Fr.)
Corsica
Ajaccio
Sardinia
Cagliari
Minorca
Majorca
Balearic Is.
Canary Is.
Madeira
Azores
Hebrides
Orkney Is.
Shetland Is.
Edinburgh
Dublin
Helgoland (To Den.)
Gothland
Oland
Finisterre
Ortegal
Quiberon
Loire R.
Seine R.
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Niemen R.
Dwina R.
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Danube R.
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Volga R.
Oka R.
Don R.
Pruth R.
Sea of Azof
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Aegean Sea
Ionian Is. (To Eng.)
C. Passaro
C. Finisterre
C. Ortegal
St. Vincent
Tarifa Pt.
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
Cape Bon
Malta (To Eng.)
Crete
Corfu
Chios
Morea
Athens
Smyrna
Constantinople

Sieyès, who planned this constitution, had intended to break up the executive in like manner into one Consul for war, another for peace, and a "Grand Elector" who should appoint the Consuls and other great officials, but should then have no part in the government. Here Napoleon intervened. He was willing to accept a system of elections that never elected anybody, and a legislature that could not legislate; but he changed the shadowy "Grand Elector" into a *First Consul*, with all other parts of the constitution subject to his will.

Bonaparte became First Consul. His colleagues, as he put it, were "merely counselors whom I am expected to consult, but whose advice I need not accept." Directly or indirectly, he himself filled all offices, and no law could even be proposed without his sanction.

588. Local administration was highly centralized. For each department Napoleon appointed a Prefect, and for each subdistrict a Subprefect. Even the forty thousand mayors of towns and villages were appointed by the First Consul or by his agents, and held office at his will; "nor did there exist anywhere independent of him the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village in France."

This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. But, in the long run, the result was to be unspeakably disastrous. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen by sharing in the local government, was lost; and the willingness to depend upon an all-directing central power was fixed even more firmly than before in their minds.

589. Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Jacobins were welcomed to office and favor, and a goodly number of these "heroes of liberty" became servile tools of the new despotism. Royalist emigrants, too, were permitted to return to France, but many of them refused to associate with the upstart Bonaparte.

The First Consul, then, set to work to reconcile the Catholics to his régime. Personally indifferent to all religions, Bonaparte was too shrewd not to realize that he could not reëstablish civil order without the Catholic religion which the majority of Frenchmen professed. He opened, therefore, negotiations with Pope Pius VII. He had previously paved the way by acknowledging the independence of the Papal States. After prolonged debates a new arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in France was agreed upon between Bonaparte and the Holy See. This was the famous *Concordat* which, substantially, remained in force till 1905 (§ 767). The free and public exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed, subject, however, to such police regulations as public safety, in the judgment of the government, might demand. The bishops were to be nominated by the Consul, and the pope was formally to install them. The exiled non-juring bishops as well as the constitutional bishops were to resign and new ones were to be appointed. For the sake of peace Pius VII did not insist on the restoration of the confiscated church property, and Bonaparte pledged himself to make suitable provision for the maintenance of the clergy. The old Republicans fiercely opposed this peace with the pope, and, to pacify them, Napoleon published, together with the Concordat, a series of "*organic articles*," designed to put the Church completely under control of the state.

590. The work of the Convention of '93 had been dropped by the Directory. Some parts of it were now taken up again. *Public education* was organized; corruption and extravagance in *the government* gave way to order and efficiency; *law* was simplified; and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

591. The Code of 1804. — This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration,

swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code.

This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana. Napoleon himself

Arch of Triumph, Paris, commemorating Napoleon's victories.

declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

592. The material side of society was not neglected. The depreciated paper money (§ 550) was restored to a sound basis, and industry of all kinds was encouraged. Paris was made the most beautiful city of Europe, and it was given an excellent water supply. The narrow streets were widened into magnifi-

cent boulevards; parks and public gardens were provided; while here and there rose triumphal arches and columns. Roads, canals, and harbors were built, and old ones were improved. And, chief of all, the economic gain of the peasants in the Revolution (§ 540) was preserved. The peasantry were landowners, free from their old burdens; and workmen secured two or three times the wages they had received ten years before. Under such conditions the people displayed new energies, and, with the establishment of quiet and order, they quickly built up a vast material prosperity.

In short, Napoleon destroyed *political liberty;* but he preserved *equality before the law*, along with the economic gains from the Revolution to the working classes. The burden of taxation was made to rest with fair justice upon all classes. The peasant paid not four fifths his income in taxes, as before the Revolution, but about one fifth; and he got much more in return than before.

593. In all this reconstruction the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habits of thought."

But the benefits that Bonaparte conferred upon France were the work of a beneficent despotism, not of a free government. He worked as a Joseph II (§ 504) of greater ability might have done. Bonaparte was the last and greatest of the benevolent despots; and it was soon plain that he meant to seize the outer trappings of royalty as well as its power.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE FRENCH EMPIRE

A. The Government of Napoleon

594. "Napoleon I." — In 1802 Bonaparte had himself elected Consul for life with the right to appoint his successor. He set up a brilliant court, with all the forms of monarchy, and purged the constitution of its democratic features. Moreover, several conspiracies, partly engineered by Bonaparte's secret police, gave him the opportunity to remove dangerous rivals. Then, in 1804, he obtained the vote of the nation declaring him "*Emperor of the French.*" On December 2 he solemnly crowned himself at Paris as the successor of Charlemagne, in presence of Pope Pius VII. The latter had, after much hesitation, consented to be present at the ceremony, in the hope of promoting the interests of religion in France, and especially of obtaining the recall of the "organic articles" (§ 589). But his hopes were disappointed.

595. Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the will of the people; and each assumption of power was given a show of approval by a popular vote, the plebiscite. But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question framed by the master. The results of a No could never be foreseen; and it was not hard so to shape the question that men would rather say Yes than risk the unknown consequences of saying No. The nation had no share at any stage in shaping the question upon which it was to vote; and even the vote was controlled largely by skilful coercion.

There, can, however, be no doubt that the large majority of

Frenchmen favored the new monarchy. It assured them peace at home after the turmoil of the First Republic, and it flattered their national vanity by its victories abroad. The plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism, but it catered in a measure to the revolutionary principles by securing the consent of the nation. Said Napoleon: "The first representative of the nation is the Emperor; for all authority is derived from God and the nation. . . . All authority is vested in the Emperor, since by the will of God he is the sole representative of the Sovereign People."

596. Personal liberty was no longer safe. Napoleon maintained a network of secret police and spies, and he sent thousands of men to prison or into exile by his mere order. The press was subjected to stern and searching censorship. No book could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the Emperor, even in matters only slightly related to politics.[1] Newspapers were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects." They were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to print only such items as were furnished them by the government.

Moreover, they were required to praise the administration. "Tell them," said Napoleon, "I shall judge them not by the evil they say, but by the good they do not say." Even the schools were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." Religion, too, was pressed into service. Every village priest depended, directly or indirectly, upon Napoleon's will, and was expected to inculcate loyalty to the Emperor. A catechism was devised expressly to lay stress on the duties of the people to Napoleon.

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[1] Madame de Staël was not allowed to say that the drama of *Iphigenia* by the German Goethe was a greater play than the work of the French Racine upon the same plot.

B. The Wars of Napoleon

597. The Empire meant war. In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. Europe, he declared, needs a single leader, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among his lieutenants. He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to keep the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Moreover, other nations realized that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and *there was no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall* (1815). During the next eleven years Napoleon also *fought several continental coalitions in which he met Austria three times and Russia and Prussia twice.* He also engaged in a long war with *Spain* and in various minor conflicts.

The wars we have so far studied, from 1792 to 1802, belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Though Bonaparte played the principal part in bringing them to a successful issue, they were not of his making. But the struggles from 1803 to 1815 are Napoleonic wars, due primarily to the reckless ambition of one great military genius. Among the opponents of Napoleon *England holds the first place,* not indeed on the battle field, but in the councils of his enemies, whom she supported indirectly by her control of the seas and directly by her vast financial resources.

598. Ulm, Trafalgar, and Austerlitz. — On the breaking out of war with England Napoleon prepared a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Boulogne on the English Channel. England trembled for her insular safety, but suddenly Napoleon ordered his vast army to the eastern front. Austria and Russia (under Tsar Alexander I) had concluded an alliance with England and, thinking the moment favorable, had opened

hostilities. With marvelous rapidity Napoleon rushed his contingents to the Danube and, before his designs were guessed, he completely surrounded an Austrian army at *Ulm*. But a few days later the news of serious disaster reached him. The British Admiral *Nelson* had met Napoleon's fleet off *Cape Trafalgar* (near Cadiz) and destroyed it. If Napoleon had still cherished the idea of an invasion of England, it was now shattered forever. Undeterred, however, by this disaster the French emperor pushed ahead into the very heart of Austria and entered *Vienna*. Thence he turned north into Bohemia, met the combined Austrian and Russian armies at *Austerlitz* (December 2, 1805) and won over them one of his most brilliant victories. Austria was forced to a humiliating peace, in which she surrendered her territory in Italy (§ 581), the Tyrol, and a few minor possessions.

THE VENDÔME COLUMN. — Made from Russian and Austrian cannon captured in the Austerlitz campaign. The figures on the spirals represent scenes in that campaign, and upon the summit, 142 feet high, stood a statue of Napoleon. The name Vendôme comes from the name of the public square. Students of ancient history will naturally compare this column with Trajan's (*Ancient World*, § 622).

599. Prussia and Russia. — After the Austerlitz disaster *Russia* continued the war. She found a new ally in *Prussia*. The latter had ever since 1795 observed an inglorious neutrality,

but now, by Napoleon's double-dealing, was forced into war. At first he had kept her out of a coalition with England by a promise of Hanover, then still under the sovereignty of the king of England. Now, without consulting the Prussian government, he offered Hanover to England in exchange for Sicily. The Prussian people were, moreover, aroused by the treacherous seizure and execution of a peaceful citizen, who had published a pamphlet against Napoleon, and by violations of Prussian territory on the part of the French troops. It was the people who forced the government into a declaration of war. But no Frederick the Great commanded the Prussian army. At *Jena* Napoleon inflicted a decisive defeat upon it (October 14, 1806). Berlin was speedily taken and the Prussian king forced to flee eastward. There his army was joined by his belated Russian ally. Napoleon followed through snow and ice on almost impassable roads. After a bloody but indecisive battle at Eylau the French won a complete victory at *Friedland* in the following June. Alexander then decided to make peace.

600. The Peace of Tilsit, 1807. — Napoleon dealt harshly with Prussia while he demanded hardly any sacrifices from Russia. Thenceforth the western boundary of Prussia was to be the Elbe river. Her former territory to the west of that river was erected into the *Kingdom of Westphalia* and given to Napoleon's brother *Jerome*.[1] In the east, Prussia had to cede what she had acquired in the second and third partitions of Poland (§ 506) out of which Napoleon created the *Duchy of Warsaw* for his ally, the king of Saxony. Heavy indemnities and the continued support of strong French garrisons reduced Prussia to abject helplessness.

[1] Jerome had lived in Baltimore, where in 1803 he contracted a lawful marriage with a Miss Patterson. Later he abandoned her, and returned to France. Pius VII refused to annul his American marriage. Napoleon then annulled it and ordered his brother to marry a German princess.

601. The Continental System. — The young Tsar Alexander in a personal meeting at Tilsit was so impressed by Napoleon's genius that from an enemy he became a friend and ally. France, it was agreed, was to rule western Europe; Russia might aggrandize herself at the expense of Sweden and Turkey, and the two Powers were to unite against England to ruin that country by shutting off her commerce from the continent.

After Trafalgar there was little chance for Napoleon to crush his most persistent antagonist by invasion. A scheme to add the Danish fleet to his own failed, because the British struck first. A powerful British squadron appeared, without declaration of war, before Copenhagen, bombarded the city, and carried off the Danish fleet. Denmark, thereupon, threw herself into Napoleon's arms. The "*Continental Blockade*," which Napoleon then established, closed all ports of France and allied countries to English commerce. Napoleon stirred French scientists into desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the products shut out from the continent. To some extent they succeeded. Thus, for instance, when the English cruisers prevented the importation of West-India cane sugar, it was discovered that sugar could be made from the beet, and the raising of sugar-beets became a leading industry of France.

This "*Continental System*" did inflict damage upon England, but it carried greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. It affected the personal comfort of millions. Smuggling, bribery, evasions of every sort, practiced or connived at by officials high and low, not excepting Napoleon's brothers, rendered it unavailing. At times even the French armies had to be clothed in English goods, and in 1812 they marched into Russia in English shoes. England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures both France and England ignored the rights of

neutral states; *and one result was the War of* 1812 *in America* — a story that does not need telling here.

On the other hand, Napoleon's attempts to enforce the blockade led him from one high-handed measure to another, until Portugal and Russia rose against him, and so gave Central Europe another chance to win freedom (§§ 610–613).

602. The Peninsular War. — *Portugal* refused to confiscate English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon proposed to Spain a division of Portugal, a promise he never intended to keep, marched his armies through Spain into Portugal, and occupied that country. Shortly afterward, profiting by a family quarrel in the royal house of Spain, he *deposed the Bourbon dynasty* there and placed his own brother *Joseph* on the Spanish throne. But the proud and patriotic Spaniards rose against the tyrant. Here Napoleon had to deal with a new force. Hitherto he had warred against *governments*, and had dictated peace when the rulers were in his power; now, for the first time, he had to fight with a *people* in arms. As usual he won several brilliant victories. But they merely transferred the struggle from one quarter to another. Organized bands under independent leaders attacked the French wherever they found them. The War in the Peninsula was a severe strain on his resources. England seized the opportunity, too, and sent

NAPOLEON toward the close of his rule.

supplies and an army under her best general, *Arthur Wellesley* (later *Duke of Wellington*), to support the peninsular revolt. The struggle continued to the end of Napoleon's career. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

603. The War of 1809 with Austria. — The rising of the Spaniards encouraged the emperor of Austria, Francis I, to attempt the recovery of his lost possessions (§ 598) and to extricate himself from his perilous position between two powerful foes, France and Russia. On April 6, 1809, he declared war. The people of Austria answered his appeal with eager enthusiasm, but the rest of the German states kept aloof. Only the faithful Tyrolese mountaineers under the leadership of the noble peasant, Andreas Hofer, rose to fight for reunion with their beloved Hapsburg rulers. Napoleon's military genius, however, speedily crushed these newly awakened hopes for liberty. In a series of encounters he forced his way down the Danube and again entered the city of Vienna. Meantime the scattered Austrian detachments had gathered in Bohemia under Archduke Charles. They then advanced towards Vienna. In the battle of *Aspern*, just opposite Vienna, Napoleon suffered his first defeat, though he retired in good order (May 22). The hopes awakened in his enemies by this victory forced Napoleon to exert himself to the utmost. On July 6 the great armies met once more on the plains of *Wagram*, and after a desperate struggle the French won the day. In the peace of Vienna Austria lost more territory. Parts of her Polish province of Galicia went to Saxony and to Russia. Her entire Adriatic coast was formed into a new state, the Illyrian Provinces, with a French marshal as sovereign. The brave Tyrolese continued the hopeless fight for some time, only to be completely defeated and enslaved. Their leader, Hofer, was treacherously captured and shot.

604. Napoleon's Divorce. — The proud conqueror then inflicted another humiliation on the Hapsburgs by his demand for

the hand of *Maria Louisa*, the daughter of Francis I. Napoleon was anxious for an heir to perpetuate his dynasty. His first wife, Josephine, had borne him no children. He therefore pretended to have scruples about the validity of his marriage. The only authority competent to give a decision in the matter was the pope, at that time a prisoner of Napoleon (§ 605). The emperor did not wish to submit the question to such an impartial tribunal, but instead laid the case before a court of servile ecclesiastics in Paris, who slavishly complied with the wishes of the tyrant and pronounced his union with Josephine null and void, because he had not married her before the proper witnesses.[1] The marriage with Maria Louisa was then solemnly performed in the church of Notre Dame in Paris. The Catholic Church of course cannot be held responsible for the complaisance of a few state-controlled ecclesiastics. This union of the revolutionary upstart with a princess of one of the oldest houses of Europe marks in some respects the summit of Napoleon's power.

605. Napoleon's Reconstruction of the Map of Europe. — The Spanish campaign, though not successful, seemed trivial; and after Wagram Napoleon was supreme in Central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory. The most important may be grouped under four heads.

a. The Batavian Republic (§ 580) was converted into the *Kingdom of Holland*, with Napoleon's brother Louis as sovereign.

[1] The marriage ceremony with Josephine had been performed twice; once in 1796 before a civil magistrate, and a second time in 1804 on the eve of Napoleon's coronation. Both are of doubtful validity, the first because it was not contracted before a priest, and the second because Napoleon does not seem to have had the intention of giving his consent for a permanent union. Catholic authors, however, are not in agreement on these two points. At any rate, the union with Maria Louisa was unlawful, because the previous marriage had not been declared invalid by the proper authority, the Holy See (§ 372). See excellent account in *Cath. Encycl.* under "Napoleon." The marriage case will form a good subject for a Special Report.

Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing the Continental system rigidly, Napoleon deposed him and *annexed Holland to France*, along with the *whole north coast of Germany* as far as Denmark.

b. In Italy the *Cisalpine Republic* (§ 682) was changed into the "*Kingdom of Italy*," with Napoleon himself as king and his stepson Eugene as viceroy. It included part of the Tyrol and a number of petty Italian states. In the south, Napoleon's brother Joseph ruled as "*King of Naples*," and, after his transfer to the Spanish throne (§ 602), he was succeeded by General Murat. The rest of Italy was made part of France.

This latter change involved, of course, the abolition of the *Papal States*. Already before 1809 the ambition of Napoleon had brought him into conflict with Pius VII. The common father of Christendom could not join the Continental System nor give his sanction to the *organic articles* of the Concordat, nor solve the bonds of matrimony between Jerome Bonaparte and his American wife (note to § 600). In 1808 Napoleon ordered Rome to be occupied by French troops. The next year, from conquered Vienna, he issued a decree abolishing the Papal States. Thereupon Pius VII excommunicated the French Emperor. Napoleon made light of this act of the pope,[1] nevertheless he ordered the aged pontiff to be carried off to France, where he was kept prisoner until Napoleon's downfall.

c. The Illyrian Provinces were made a French dependency (§ 603).

d. Most radical of all were the *changes in Germany*. On account of their far-reaching consequences they merit a special consideration.

606. Condition of Germany before Napoleon. — Germany

[1] "What does the pope expect from denouncing me to Christendom? Does he imagine that their arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" was the sneering remark of Napoleon. Three years later the arms literally fell from the hands of his soldiers in the snows of Russia.

L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

consisted of a large number of states, large and small, lay and ecclesiastical. Their union into one empire was, ever since the Peace of Westphalia (§ 412), scarcely more than nominal, as the emperor (nearly always a member of the Hapsburg house) enjoyed very little authority outside of his own hereditary lands. This " Holy Roman Empire " was made up of

(1) *two great states*, Austria and Prussia — but about half of the area of each was inhabited by non-German peoples;

(2) *some thirty states of the second rank*, like Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg;

(3) *about two hundred and fifty petty states of the " third order "* (many of them ruled by a bishop or abbot). Here we may place the "*free cities of the empire*," that is, cities that acknowledged no authority but that of the Emperor; many of these states were very small, about one third of them having an area of not more than twelve square miles;

(4) some fifteen hundred "*knights of the empire*," whose territories averaged less than three square miles each.

Most of these states, large and small, were absolute monarchies or aristocracies. Each made its own laws, had its own courts, its own army, and even its own customs duties. To add to the confusion, few of these principalities had their territory compact, but broken up into several fragments; some of them perhaps wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation.

607. Reorganization of Germany. — Napoleon had begun his reorganization of Germany in the Peace of Campo Formio (§ 581), when the French boundary was advanced to the Rhine.

(1) A large number of German rulers west of the Rhine were by that treaty deprived, wholly or in part, of their territory. Subsequently it was agreed that the lay princes should be indemnified for their losses by ecclesiastical estates and the territories of the free cities. The settling of the various claims took

over two years; the negotiations were conducted, nominally by a committee of delegates from the empire, in reality by Napoleon himself. During this time ambassadors of German princes and princelings continually haunted the antechambers of Napoleon, flattered and bribed French officials to obtain additional slices of land. As a rule, they received more than they lost. When the work was finally done the excessively large number of German states was reduced to about fifty (later to thirty-eight), and the ecclesiastical principalities had disappeared altogether.

(2) After Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram (§§ 598, 600, 603) *more radical changes followed.* Austria and Prussia were weakened. The first became an inland state, the second was halved and pushed altogether beyond the Elbe, while its recent Polish acquisitions were turned into the Duchy of Warsaw. Besides reducing these two great states, Napoleon proceeded to put a further check upon them by augmenting the states of the second rank. *Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony* were made into kingdoms, with their territories enlarged at the expense of Austria and smaller neighboring states; while of old Prussian territory and of the electorate of Hanover was formed the Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome (§ 600).

(3) Nearly all these German states, except Prussia and Austria, were leagued into the "*Confederation of the Rhine*," with Napoleon as "Protector," with whom the confederation had to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance and agree to furnish him with an army of 63,000 men.

(4) These rearrangements amounted to a **dissolution of the "Holy Roman Empire,"** which had existed for nearly a thousand years. Francis II, to save his imperial title, had already in 1804 proclaimed himself hereditary *Emperor of Austria* under the name of Francis I. In 1806, when Napoleon set up the Confederation of the Rhine, Francis formally resigned every claim to the empire, declaring that he considered the Austrian

provinces completely separated from the former imperial territory.

By thus simplifying the map of Germany, Napoleon undoubtedly conferred some benefits upon the people of Central Europe. The reduction of the number of states paved the way for future national union. To be sure, such an outcome lay far from Napoleon's intentions. Much was gained, too, by the abolition of feudal inequalities and the introduction of a simpler and cheaper administration of justice. But the people had to pay dearly for these advantages. Many who had cried out against the abuses of the old empire now felt the heavy hand of military despotism. While the princes reveled in their newly acquired possessions, the people groaned under the war taxes and the insolence of the French soldiery. Clearly, true liberty could not come to them from Napoleon.

608. Reform in Prussia. — In the Confederacy of the Rhine new methods and improvements were introduced by French agents or under French influence. In Prussia reform came from a Prussian minister, and was adopted to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the yoke of Napoleon. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly out of date. Civil administration as well as military organization needed a thorough reform. Happily, the men fit to undertake the task were not wanting.

Baron von Stein introduced important changes in *civil life* while General Scharnhorst reorganized *the army*. The aim of both men was to give the whole nation a share in public affairs and thus to fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and regenerating Germany. The serfs were made free landowners. Freedom of commerce and of choice of occupation was granted to all classes. The cities, hitherto ruled by royal appointees, received free local government. In the army, the career of officer was thrown open to all, while universal military service and the abolition of foreign mercenaries made the army truly national.

At the same time the people themselves began to be animated by a new spirit of hope. The Romanticists, a new school of writers, infused an ardent patriotism into the masses by recalling the glory of the nation's past. Others worked for the moral and religious reawakening of the people. Thus much of what was really commendable in the French Revolution was introduced quietly, without bloodshed and gross injustice.

609. In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Atlantic to the Rhine, including not only the France which we know, but also Belgium, parts of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory, — while from this central body two outward-curving arms reached toward the east, one along the North Sea to the Danish peninsula, and the other down the coast of Italy past Rome. This vast territory was all organized into French departments. The rest of Italy and half of the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies; and Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends.

C. The Fall of Napoleon

610. But Russia was growing hostile. Alexander I saw in Napoleon's family alliance with Austria a menace to his predominance in the North and East. Moreover, he looked upon the erection of the Duchy of Warsaw as an attempt to restore the old kingdom of Poland, of which Russia had obtained the lion's share. The Continental System, too, weighed heavily upon Russian commerce. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the Tsar refused longer to enforce the "System." Napoleon at once declared war. Considering the vastness and the distance as well as the severe climate of the seat of war, the enterprise bordered on madness. But success and lust of power had

so blinded the French emperor that he rushed headlong to his destruction. France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Poland, and Switzerland, all had to yield their levies to the "Grand Army," of over half a million men. In June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen and entered Russian soil. But instead of giving him a chance for a decisive battle, the Russians constantly retreated, destroying whatever they could not move. Scarcity soon made itself felt. But Napoleon hurried on. Only once,

NAPOLEON LEAVING MOSCOW. — From a painting.

at *Borodino*, just in front of their ancient capital, the Russians made a stand. Once more Napoleon was victorious in a frightful battle, when 70,000 corpses covered the field. Then he entered Moscow (September 14). The city was empty, save for a few desperate characters prowling about the streets. The weary soldiers hoped for comfortable winter quarters. Suddenly in the night of the sixteenth flames arose from every part of the city. The agents of the Russian commander had begun their work. Four days the fire raged and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. Strangely blind to the impending danger, Napoleon

remained five weeks longer, negotiating with the Tsar for peace. The latter parleyed, merely to detain him and to make sure of his destruction. At last, October 19, the Grand Army began its retreat, constantly harassed by flying detachments of the enemy. Lack of provisions brought suffering. In November a frightful winter set in. Death reaped a rich harvest. Whole lines of soldiers sank into the snow. Artillery and baggage was abandoned. When crossing the Beresina, thousands found their grave in its icy waters or fell into the hands of the merciless Cossacks. Only a small remnant, about 20,000 hollow-eyed, half-starved figures in rags, recrossed the Russian border. *The Grand Army was buried in the Russian snows.*

611. The Nations Rise — Leipzig. — The news of the disaster electrified the oppressed; the hour for liberty had struck. The enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced the timid king to declare war on Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students; girls and women gave their jewels and ornaments to buy arms and supplies. In summer Austria, too, declared war. Napoleon had meantime hurried home from Russia, and by tremendous exertion raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France. With this he hastened back to Germany. For a while victory still clung to his imperial eagles, but in October, 1813, he met a crushing defeat in the murderous battle of Leipzig.

612. From Leipzig to Paris. — Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings everywhere fled from their thrones, and most of the small states joined his enemies. England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria took to themselves the name of "*The Allies*" and maintained a perfect understanding. After Leipzig they proposed peace, offering to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. Like a desperate gambler bound to win or lose all, Napoleon rejected these terms. The Allies then advanced to the Rhine, and again offered peace; Napoleon again refused. Then they invaded

France at several points, with overwhelming numbers; and in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, they *entered Paris victoriously in March, 1814.*

613. The Peace of 1814. — The Allies made Napoleon a large allowance and granted him the island of *Elba* in the Mediterranean as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the throne, one of the emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, promised to accept a constitution framed by the Senate, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII. The Allies avoided the appearance of imposing this ruler upon France, but they liked the arrangement. To make it popular, they granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had repeatedly exacted from other countries; nor did they take back the works of art that the French armies had carried off from so many famous galleries of Europe.

For Further Reading. — On the period treated in the last two chapters see Guggenberger, III, §§ 262–338. The best short lives of Napoleon in English are those of Rose and Seeley. The latter has an interesting essay on Napoleon's character and the causes of his success, which might be used for a Special Report. On his ecclesiastical policy see MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the XIX Century*, I, pp. 27–56. Parsons in Vol. V of his *Studies* discusses at length the divorce question of the French Emperor.

PART V. THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

CHAPTER XL

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA: REARRANGEMENT

614. Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now *his map fell to pieces.* All the lands which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without government. It was clear to everybody that such vast territories, inhabited by so many different peoples, could not be left under one head. Much of what Napoleon had done was highly artificial and against all traditions. Moreover, many of the dispossessed rulers clamored for restoration. Others wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. To settle all these problems, the Allies, after the peace of Paris, invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a congress.

This congress assembled at Vienna in September, 1814. It was a brilliant assembly, such as the world had seldom seen, and Austria's ruler proved a munificent host to his distinguished guests. But while the crowd of kings and smaller monarchs was entertained by a constant round of brilliant social functions and genial festivities a few ministers and statesmen did the work behind closed doors and announced the result of their deliberations to the Congress for ratification.

615. The territorial arrangements fall under four heads.

a. Italy had her old states restored, including the *Papal States.* Only the old Republic of Genoa was united with Piedmont. The original rulers, too, reoccupied their thrones.

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
(1815)
German Confederacy
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
L.L. POATES, ENGR, N.Y.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SWEDEN AND NORWAY
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
G. of Finland
ST. PETERSBURG
Peipus L.
Volga R.
Riga
Moscow
Oka R.
RUSSIA
Vilna
Smolensk
Niemen R.
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Dnister R.
Bug R.
Kherson
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Odessa
Bessarabia
Jassy
Prutha R.
Moldavia
Theiss R.
Danube R.
Budapest
Transylvania
Wallachia
Bucharest
Danube R.
Belgrade
Servia
Bosnia
Bulgaria
CONSTANTINOPLE
TURKISH EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
Smyrna
Athens
CRETE
CORFU
Ionian Is. (To Eng.)
MALTA (To Eng.)
HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
Edinburgh
Dublin
GREAT BRITAIN
LONDON
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
Kiel
HELGOLAND (To Eng.)
Bremen
Hamburg
Hanover
Amsterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Cassel
Cologne
Prussia
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
BERLIN
Stettin
Danzig
Königsberg
Prussia
E. Prussia
Posen
Wistula
KINGDOM OF Warsaw POLAND
Breslau
Krakow
Leipzig
DRESDEN
Kg. of Saxony
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
Frankfurt
Kingdom of Bavaria
Prague
Luxemburg
Metz
Stuttgart
Strasburg
Baden
Würtemberg
MUNICH
Danube R.
VIENNA
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
PARIS
Seine R.
Loire R.
Nantes
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Lyons
Rhone R.
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Innsbruck
Drave R.
Sava R.
Geneva
MILAN
K. of SARDINIA
Turin
Lombardo Venetia
Verona
Venice
Trieste
Genoa
Po R.
Nice
Monaco
Florence
STATES OF THE POPE
Ancona
Leghorn
G. D. of TUSCANY
ELBA
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Andorra
Oporto
Valladolid
Douro R.
Saragossa
Ebro R.
LISBON
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MADRID
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Valencia
Barcelona
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
C. St. Vincent
Seville
Cadiz
Tarifa Pt.
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
ROME
NAPLES
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo

b. The states along the French boundary were strengthened. Holland was made into the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*, under the House of Orange, and *Belgium*, the former Austrian Netherlands, was added to it, much against the wishes of the Belgians, — Austria "compensating" herself in northern Italy. The old *German territory west of the Rhine*, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine, was taken back from France and divided between Prussia and Bavaria. *Switzerland* again became independent and was to be forever neutral.

c. Denmark, the old ally of Napoleon, was forced to cede *Norway to Sweden.* This was really in the interest of Russia and Prussia; for, in return, Sweden ceded *Finland to Russia* and *Swedish Pomerania to Prussia.* Sweden herself now retired within the northern peninsula.

d. The *thirty-eight German states* were left largely as arranged by Napoleon, and continued under their old rulers.

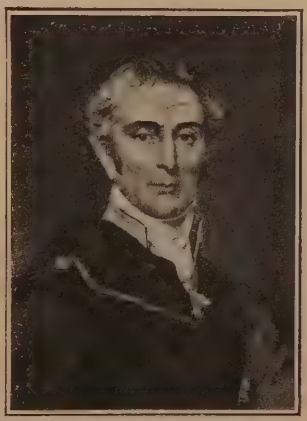
There remained, however, the matter of *other compensations* to the Allies. *England* had incurred a heavy debt by acting as paymaster to Napoleon's enemies. In repayment, to a certain extent, she kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial territories, mainly former Dutch colonies. This left England practically the sole colonial power. Alexander of Russia claimed his reward in *Poland:* he insisted that the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 607), exclusive of the province of Posen, which was given to Prussia, should be made into a new Poland, having its own constitution, but being under the personal sovereignty of the Tsar. *Austria* and *Prussia* had both been enlarged after the beginning of the French Revolution by the partitions of Poland (§§ 505, 506). Austria's claims were easily satisfied. Of Polish territory the part annexed in the first partition was restored to the Hapsburgs. In exchange for the Austrian Netherlands they accepted *Lombardy and Venice* together with the *Adriatic coast line.* But on the matter of Prussian compensation serious difficulties arose.

Alexander promised to aid Prussia in obtaining the whole of Saxony in exchange for the Duchy of Warsaw. The king of Saxony had remained a faithful ally of Napoleon to the end, and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to punish him for his attitude. Moreover, of all the Allies Prussia had suffered most from Napoleon's tyranny, and had made the greatest sacrifices in the War of Liberation. But Austria dreaded further extension of Prussia into the heart of Germany, and opposed the plan. England and France joined her, and the former Allies came to the verge of war. Finally, however, it was agreed that *Prussia* should have (1) *the northern half of Saxony* and (2) considerable *German territory* recovered from France *west of the Rhine* (see *b* above).

616. Suddenly during these wranglings the news burst upon the Congress that Napoleon had left Elba.—Through secret agents he was informed about the dissensions in Vienna. In France, too, things seemed to look favorable to his return. Louis XVIII had in a short time managed to lose the loyalty of his subjects. The Tricolor of the Empire, under which Frenchmen had marched triumphantly into nearly every capital of Europe, was replaced by the White Lilies of the Bourbons. Napoleonic officers of great merit were dismissed from the army. Louis had swept aside the new constitution and introduced one of his own. Some extreme royalists who had just returned from exile began to talk of a restoration of confiscated property, though since 1792 it had passed through many hands. In short, it seemed as if the returned Bourbons intended to ignore altogether the tremendous changes of the last twenty-five years. "They had learned nothing and forgotten nothing," as Napoleon expressed it.

Building his hopes on these facts, Napoleon left Elba secretly with a force of about 1500 men, and landed on French soil, March 1, 1815. One army after another, sent to capture him, went over to his standard; and in a few days he entered Paris,

from which Louis had fled the night before. Not a shot had been fired throughout his progress in France. At once he set to work with marvelous energy to reëstablish his power. Day and night work went on in the foundries and arsenals of the country to equip his army. He found, however, less enthusiasm among the civil population than among the soldiers. The wealthy classes, especially, desired peace, and a Napoleonic régime meant war. His attempts to negotiate with the Allies in Vienna failed completely. The news of his escape silenced all quarrels, and the Allies declared war upon him as "the disturber of the peace of Europe."



The Duke of Wellington.

617. Waterloo, June 18, 1815.— Napoleon resolved not to give his enemies time to concentrate their forces. With an army of 130,000 veterans he marched into Belgium. There the Prussians under Blücher were stationed along the Meuse River, and an English army under Wellington (§ 602) was encamped near Brussels. Napoleon threw himself first upon the Prussians and defeated them. Another advanced detachment of the English was forced to retire to the main body. After these initial successes Napoleon attacked Wellington at *Waterloo* near Brussels. On the morning of June 18 began the decisive struggle. Napoleon's troops fought with all their old bravery for their master. But the cool courage of the English soldiers and Wellington's imperturbable calm rendered all the fierce French attacks for a long time unavailing. Gradually, however, the English center began to waver. Wellington anxiously looked out for Blücher, who had promised to come. At last the Prussians appeared at the French flank. Faced

with this new danger, Napoleon was unable to drive home his advantage against the English. In vain he sacrificed his Old Guard to a man. Wellington gave the command for a general advance. The French retreated, and the Prussian cavalry turned the retreat into a rout. Napoleon was crushed.

618. Second Treaty with France. — The Allies reëntered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it. Napoleon was imprisoned on the distant volcanic island of *St. Helena;* and to France was dictated a peace more severe than that of the previous year. She had to restore the works of art, to cede Savoy to Sardinia, and other smaller strips on her northern and eastern frontier. A war indemnity of 700 million francs was a partial payment for the robberies and exactions of the last twenty-five years. Prussia and Austria urged, too, the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine and other German territory that had been seized by Louis XIV. But Alexander of Russia and England insisted on milder punishment.

Napoleon spent the last six years of his life on his island prison in the Atlantic under the strict custody of his English guards. He whiled away the time with reading and dictating his memoirs. Towards the end he returned to the religious practices of his childhood. He died on May 5, 1821, after having received the consolations of religion from a Catholic priest.

619. Verdict on the Congress. — During the three months of Napoleon's second empire the Congress of Vienna completed its work. Some of its later measures were highly praiseworthy. England persuaded the Powers to join in a declaration against the slave trade. The navigation of rivers flowing through or between different countries was declared free to the commerce of all countries. And the Powers guaranteed the permanent neutrality of Switzerland. That is, they agreed that in future wars no country should invade Switzerland, or send troops through her territory.

But in many other matters the Congress was remarkably shortsighted. It failed to realize what tremendous changes the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era had wrought in men's minds, and it was, consequently, unable to distinguish the good from the evil in these changes. To that " assemblage of princes and lackeys " the last twenty-five years were nothing but so much time of the past, and it resolved simply to undo everything that happened during this momentous period.

(1) The Congress represented princes, not peoples; and in its work the *demands of the people were ignored.* Thus it put the Belgians under Dutch masters, the Poles under the Russians, the Venetians under the Austrians, in every case against the fierce resentment of the subjected peoples.

(2) The Revolution had everywhere evoked a *demand on the part of the people for a share in the government.* The men who shaped the destinies of Europe at the Congress abhorred such a change from eighteenth century absolutism. To them participation of the people in public affairs was " Jacobinism."

(3) The *Church* had suffered frightfully during the revolutionary period. The Congress made practically *no amends,* but left her to the tender mercies of the individual governments.

(4) One result of the Congress was the so-called *Holy Alliance,* concluded shortly after its adjournment. Its members, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France obliged themselves to govern their respective states in accordance with Christian principles, to maintain the spirit of religion, charity, and harmony. Certainly a noble aim. But soon the Alliance[1] assumed the character of an international police force. For the next fifteen years it felt itself called upon to suppress every movement toward

[1] The alliance that put down liberal movements in the various countries of Europe was, strictly speaking, not the Holy Alliance, but a special League of the Powers, growing out of the alliance against Napoleon. But the Holy Alliance soon merged into this special league, and thus it came that the name of the former is often applied to the latter.

liberty, however moderate and just it might be. Yet the spirit of the Revolution could not be subdued by brute force, but by wise guidance into the proper channels, by evolving forms of government that would not exclude the coöperation of the people.

CHAPTER XLI

CENTRAL EUROPE TO 1830

620. The immediate result of the Congress of Vienna was a victory for reaction and despotism. — In most states the returning legitimate rulers were received loyally and, in some cases, even enthusiastically. The downfall of Napoleon had been chiefly the work of the revived patriotism of the people, and now they expected greater political liberty and real reforms. Instead, the princes thought of nothing but the restoration of things as they had been before the Revolution. Soon the joy over the overthrow of the tyrant of Europe gave way to bitter disappointment and steadily growing discontent. Unfortunately, too, the despotism of the rulers drove many well meaning friends of liberty into the arms of the extremists, to whom the Revolution in its worst aspects was acceptable.

621. The chief upholder of these reactionary tendencies all over Europe was Metternich. — That subtle Austrian statesman largely guided the policy of Europe from 1815 to 1848. The decrees of Vienna were partly his work. He summed up his political creed thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. Government is no more a subject of debate than is religion." He was, indeed, too shrewd to think it possible to return altogether to the prerevolutionary days, but he did strive to arrest all changes at the lines drawn by the Congress of Vienna. "The new ideas of democracy and nationality ought never to have been allowed to get into Europe," he said,

"but since they are in, the business of the governments is to keep them down."

The strong *sentiment of nationality* was one of the fruits of the Revolution. It tended to draw all people of one race and speech into forming one political state. Hence the Germans desired to establish one German state, and the Italians to form a "United Italy." In a state comprising many races, like Austria, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force. Naturally, therefore, this new spirit of nationality found little favor with the Austrian statesman Metternich.

METTERNICH. — From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

622. The Germanic Confederation. — Metternich's chief victory at the Congress of Vienna lay in the reorganization of Germany. Patriotic Germans, like Stein (§ 608), had hoped for a real union either in the revival or strengthening of the Empire or in a new strong confederation of German states. Lack of union, chiefly due to the religious division introduced by Protestantism, had been Germany's greatest misfortune for the last three centuries. Time and again foreign aggressors, like Richelieu, Louis XIV, and especially Napoleon, had allied themselves with one or more German states against the other and had thus been able to lord it over them and to rob them of valuable territories. The war of 1813–1814 had taught the German people the value of unity. "A general union of all Germans under a

THE
GERMANIC
CONFEDERATION
FROM
1815 to 1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
JUTLAND
DENMARK
DUCHY OF SCHLESWIG
DUCHY OF HOLSTEIN
Friedericia
COPENHAGEN
SWEDEN
GOTTLAND
RUSSIA
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
Königsberg
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Marienburg
Thorn
Vistula
R. Bug
WARSAW
Minsk
POLAND
Kalisz
Kolberg
POMERANIA
Stettin
Stralsund
Rostock
MECKLENBURG
SCHWERIN
STRELITZ
N. Strelitz
Kiel
Rendsburg
Eider
HELGOLAND (British)
Hamburg
1827
1865
Wilhelmshaven
1854
PRUSSIA
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Luneburg
Elbe
KINGDOM OF HANOVER
Hanover
Brunswick
Osnabrück
Weser
Ems
LIPPE DETMOLD
Münster
WESTPHALIA
Göttingen
Dessau
SAXONY
PROV. OF SAXONY
Magdeburg
Potsdam
Brandenburg
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Frankfort
Oder
Warta
POSEN
Posen
Schroda
Spree
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
Rhine
R. Ruhr
R. Lippe
R. Weser
R. Ems
R. Spree
R. Warta
R. Vistula
R. Bug
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
56
54
52

LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
Mainz
Frankfort
Darmstadt
Treves
Meisenheim
LICHTENBURG
PALATINATE
1815
Hambach
Mannheim
Landau
Metz
Karlsruhe
Nancy
Strasburg
Stuttgart
WURTEMBERG
Ulm
Augsburg
Munich
Plombières
Mühlhausen
Basel
Constance
Zürich
Lucern
Neuenburg
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
R. Rhone
SAVOY
LOMBARDY
Magenta
Novara
Milan
PIEDMONT
Turin
R. Po
Genoa
PARMA
MODENA
Ravenna
EMILIA
Florence
Leghorn
TUSCANY
MARCHES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
FRANCE
BADEN
KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
Nüremburg
Ratisbon
Danube
R. Inn
LIECHTENSTEIN
Innsbruck
TYROL
Bozen
R. Etsch
Trent
VENETIA
Custoza
Verona
Venice
Padua
Villafranca
Solferino
Mantua
R. Po
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Elbe
Königgrätz
BOHEMIA
Pilsen
Moldau
Budweis
Troppau
Olmütz
MORAVIA
Brünn
Nikolsburg
R. March
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Passau
Gänserndorf
Pressburg
R. Danube
Vienna
SCHUTT I.
HUNGARY
Buda Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
R. Danube
R. Theiss
Salzburg
SALZBURG
Gastein
STYRIA
Gratz
CARINTHIA
Klagenfurt
R. Drave
Laibach
CARNIOLA
Agram
Görz
Trieste
CROATIA
R. Save
SLAVONIA
Temesvar
ISTRIA
Fiume
Belgrade
TURKEY
GALICIA
48
46
44
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

strong head, and a free parliament representing the entire German nation is the common desire of all far-seeing men," said a German writer of that period.

But that was not Metternich's desire. He saw that in a true German state, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of them all, might play them off against one another, but especially against Prussia. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because these narrow and despotic princelings hated to give up a tittle of their power for the common good. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress of Vienna, with these princes of the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a "*Germanic Confederation*," a loose league of sovereigns.[1] It included all the small states, all of Prussia except East and West Prussia, but only the German and Bohemian parts of Austria. Each state had its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy. They even kept the right to form alliances with foreign powers, — although they did promise not to make war upon one another.

The Confederation had no distinct executive, judicial, and legislative departments. Its one organ was the Federal Diet at Frankfort. This was merely a standing conference of ambassadors appointed by the sovereigns. The people had no representatives. The Austrian delegate presided; but no important action could be taken without consent of every state. Before many years the Diet was the laughing stock of Europe. "It was no government at all; it was a polite and ceremonious way of doing nothing."

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[1] The term "confederation" is usually applied to a league of adjacent states in which the members retain nearly all their sovereign rights. A "federation" is a union of states under a strong "federal" legislature and executive.

623. Thus the hopes of the patriots for a strong united fatherland were shattered, a disappointment all the more galling because the War of Liberation of 1813 had been essentially a popular uprising. Nevertheless, the future was not altogether dark. As compared with the old Empire, the Confederation was in some points an improvement. Serfdom remained abolished, feudal rights were largely reduced. The smaller number of states simplified the problem of unification. Prussia in the North was now an almost entirely German state, well qualified to assume the leadership in future schemes for union. Her administration, though aristocratic, was honest and efficient.

Moreover, an apparently unimportant step did much to prepare the future German state. In 1818 Prussia abolished within its own territory all custom lines, and proclaimed freedom of import and export, leaving only a small duty on foreign merchandise. This arrangement was gradually extended to other states of the Confederation, until, in 1834, it included nearly all except Austria. This "*Zollverein*" (customs union), as it was called, made Germany one state commercially and kept alive the desire to make it one politically. As an Austrian diplomat rightly said, "it was the biggest nail in the coffin of the Confederation," but it was, too, — to change the figure — the cradle of future unity.

624. The Promised Constitutions. — Though the chance for making a German nation had been lost at the Congress of Vienna, the progressive element still hoped for free political institutions in the separate states. Within the next four years several *South German states*, Würtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, and others granted constitutions. The people of these southern districts, on account of their proximity to France, had been greatly influenced by the Revolution, and their rulers granted constitutions chiefly in order to secure popular support against possible attempts of Austria or Prussia upon their sovereignty. These

constitutions left the princes still the real rulers, but they provided for equality of all classes before the law, for freedom of the press, and for representative assemblies with control over new taxes.

The king of *Prussia*, too, appointed a committee to draw up the constitution he had promised on a former occasion. But he was a weak, vacillating man, greatly influenced by the reactionary element among his advisers. The committee dawdled along for some years and, in the end, achieved nothing. True, the parties that clamored for a constitution had themselves very hazy ideas of what it should contain, and thereby defeated their own ends. Some real progress was made by introducing more system and uniformity into the administration, education, and the army.

625. Religion. — The Catholic Church had lost all its property when Napoleon reorganized Germany (§ 607, 1). The various states, after the Congress of Vienna, undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy and to maintain the buildings devoted to divine worship. But in the minds of the reactionary statesmen of that period, the Church was to be the humble handmaid of the state, good enough to teach the people obedience to the princes, but not to enjoy her God-given freedom of action. In Prussia, especially, the ministers of the crown, in their desire to make everything subservient to the state, carried into every branch of the administration the pernicious principle that the king is the source of all rights, political and religious, for Protestants and Catholics alike. Hence numerous restrictions were designed to curtail the liberty of the clergy in the exercise of their ministry. There were laws and decrees interfering with the education of the priests, with free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, and with the Catholic education of children of mixed marriages. Unfortunately, even some of the clergy became tools of absolutism and betrayed the interests of the Church. Still, in spite of these measures, the first part

of the nineteenth century witnessed everywhere in German lands a *revival of religious fervor*. Gifted Catholic laymen, like the brilliant Joseph Goerres, came out boldly in defense of the rights of the Church. When in 1837 the government of Prussia went so far as to arrest the archbishops of Cologne and Gnesen for their courageous defense of Catholic education, the excitement all over Germany grew so intense that the bureaucrats in Berlin had to beat a disgraceful retreat.

626. The Liberals. — Meanwhile the demand for greater political liberty was voiced chiefly by a small group of writers,

The Wartburg Castle.

students, and professors. A flood of pamphlets, proclamations, books, and periodicals tried to arouse the people as well as the governments. Political agitation was especially intense at the universities. In October, 1817, the Jena students celebrated with great pomp the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's break with the Church and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. The Wartburg, a castle in the Duchy of Weimar, was the scene of their festivities, which assumed the character

of a political demonstration. The students sang patriotic songs, made a few ardent and foolish speeches, and, in the evening, they threw some old textbooks into a bonfire, — having first labeled them with the names of certain reactionary authors, especially hated by the Liberal party.[1]

Metternich took shrewd advantage of the childish demonstration to advise everywhere more stringent measures against the liberal movement. Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened by the crimes of some extreme enthusiasts. A small section of agitators preached that even assassination in the name of liberty was right, and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to have drawn away the Tsar from liberal sympathies.

627. The Carlsbad Decrees. — Austria at once called the ministers of the leading states to a conference at Carlsbad. There Metternich secured their approval for a series of resolutions, which he forced through the Diet at Frankfort. The "*Carlsbad Decrees*," so adopted, were especially directed against free speech in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret student societies, established a close watch over the professors, set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter, and created a standing committee to hunt down conspiracies. The great Catholic writer Goerres raised his voice against the princes who would not understand their people and their time, and against the extreme Liberals who by their secret activity undermined all mutual confidence. But his voice remained unheeded, and he himself escaped arrest only by hasty flight.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, gives a more detailed narrative. For the religious revival on the continent consult MacCaffrey, Vol. I, Chap. I and II.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that this patriotic propaganda sometimes proceeded from a false philosophy, which worshiped the strong self-assertive state as the highest goal of human endeavor.

CHAPTER XLII

THE SOUTH OF EUROPE — REVOLUTIONS OF 1820

628. Revolution in Spain and America. — The first risings against the reactionary governments occurred in the South of Europe. To understand them, we must turn back a moment to notice conditions in Spain. The Spanish patriots who rose against Napoleon in 1808 (§ 602) found themselves without a government. Their king was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. The insurgents improvised a representative assembly, the "Cortes," and, in 1812, they adopted a liberal constitution. This "*Constitution of* 1812" was, however, largely the work of men imbued with the ideas of the French revolutionists. Though not without redeeming features, it was, on the whole, a failure. Like its model, the first French Constitution, it restricted the executive so much that efficient government would have been almost impossible. The mass of the Spanish people did not approve of this new scheme of government, especially because it very seriously infringed on the rights of the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the Spaniards were passionately devoted.

When Napoleon seized Spain the *Spanish-American colonies* refused to recognize him, and thus became virtually independent. At first most of the colonies professed loyalty to the legitimate Spanish king, but various causes were at work to sever completely the ties that bound them to the mother country. Since the suppression of the Jesuits (§ 523) the influence of Freemasonry had grown and helped to diminish fidelity to Spain.

The example of the United States, in securing independence from England, proved a powerful incentive to South Americans; their grievances against Spain were in many respects similar to those of the English colonies against the mother country. After 1810 colony after colony severed its connection with Spain, and by 1824 Spanish rule on the South American continent had come to an end. But the history of most of these new republics shows that the cry for "Liberty" is too often made to serve the selfish purposes of intriguers and mere adventurers. True progress and prosperity, in most of these states, are retarded by frequent revolutionary convulsions.

629. After the fall of Napoleon the Spanish king, *Ferdinand VII*, returned to his throne, and was received enthusiastically. But seldom did a ruler disappoint his loyal subjects more shamefully than Ferdinand. The reconstruction of Spain after the turbulence of the Peninsular War required a firm hand and sound judgment, and Ferdinand lacked both. He first accepted the Constitution of 1812 and then rejected it. A cruel and senseless persecution of the French sympathizers deeply offended the Liberals, while the scandals of his private life lost him the affections of all.

In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the rebellious American colonies. But the service was not popular, and one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, as cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, called the Cortes, and restored the constitution.

630. This Spanish Revolution became the signal for like attempts in other states. — Before the year closed, Portugal and Naples both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. In the case of Portugal one of the results of the revolution was the loss of its American colony, Brazil (1821). Early in the next year, the army of Pied-

mont[1] rebelled, to secure a constitution for the kingdom of Sardinia, and in Naples a similar outbreak brought about a like result. Lombardy and Venice stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. The Greeks, finally, began their long and heroic struggle for independence.

This widespread unanimity of action was due in part to secret revolutionary societies, already in existence. The most important of these was the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"). It came into existence in Naples in the time of Napoleon, to drive out the French. At first many sincere patriots became its members, but after the restoration of the legitimate government it passed under the control of extremists, whose object was the creation of a united Italian republic after the pattern of the First French Republic. Conspiracy, treachery, and even political murder, were the means to be employed. They had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the army and thereby engineered the recent revolts. The society spread rapidly over all of Italy and parts of France.

631. The "Holy Alliance." — We have seen how Metternich used the Germanic Confederation to stifle progressive tendencies in Germany. We are now to observe how he adroitly twisted the "Holy Alliance" (§ 619, 4) to accomplish the same ends in southern Europe. When the Revolutions of 1820 broke out, Metternich invited the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, France, and Austria to a congress at Troppau. There they signed a declaration that they would intervene to put down revolution against any established government. England protested against this plan, and, on her part, proclaimed the principle of "non-intervention," that is, that each nation should manage its own

[1] Piedmont ("Foot of the Mount") was the district between the Alps and the plains of Lombardy. It was the most important part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The names "Sardinia" and "Piedmont" were often used interchangeably to designate the state in northwestern Italy ruled by princes of the House of Savoy.

affairs as it chose. Undaunted by this protest, the united eastern monarchs, known from this time as the " Holy Alliance " (see note to § 619), prepared to enforce their Troppau program.

632. " Intervention " in Naples and Sardinia. — A few months after Troppau, the allied monarchs met again at Laibach. With them was Ferdinand of Naples. He had accepted the new Neapolitan constitution, but, previously, made an agreement with Metternich to allow the " intervention " of Austrian military forces for the purpose of " suppressing rebellion and vice." The Laibach meeting now sent an Austrian army to *Naples*. The Neapolitans were easily defeated, and Ferdinand returned, surrounded by Austrian bayonets, to glut his vengeance upon the rebels, with dungeon and scaffold. He was followed by Francis I, a well meaning but weak man. Under him the Carbonari continued their secret activity.

Three days after the Neapolitan defeat came the revolt in *Piedmont*. The Carbonari thought the moment opportune on account of the absence of the Austrian forces in Naples. But the king, with the help of Austrian soldiers sent by the Laibach meeting, speedily crushed the revolt.

These risings, instigated by the Carbonari, accomplished nothing, but rather put a stop to the most necessary reforms, as the governments had to fight for their very existence. On the other hand, they strengthened the influence of Metternich and the reactionaries, which they had sought to destroy.

633. Intervention in Spain. — Flushed with success, the Holy Alliance now determined to overthrow the Spanish constitution, from which the contagion had spread. In 1822 its members were summoned to a congress at Verona. England protested again, but with the sanction of the other members of the Alliance a French army entered Spain. There the majority of the people hailed them as liberators from the yoke of the revolutionists. The Constitution of 1812 was again abolished, but nothing better put in its place. Ferdinand, like his name-

sake in Naples, took dire vengeance on the Liberals. The country, however, found no rest, but was soon plunged into new civil wars.

A further wish of the Holy Alliance to regain for Spain the rebellious American colonies met with firm resistance from the United States and England. President Monroe announced, December 2, 1823, the fixed policy of the United States in regard to foreign interference on the American continent. "*America for the Americans*" is the substance of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

634. Intervention in Greece, for Freedom. — Metternich's system met another check in the affairs of Greece. The first rising there, prepared by secret societies and young Greeks living abroad, had been accompanied by terrible massacres of the Turks dwelling in the country. The insurgents had based their hopes on Russia, but were left to themselves, and the Turks took vengeance on the unhappy people by ordering a frightful war of extermination upon the Christians. Metternich, in his mortal fear of all rebellion, prevented effectual assistance and even hoped to bring about an intervention of the Alliance in favor of the restoration of Turkish authority. But he failed for two reasons.

a. The educated classes of Western Europe had been nourished on the *ancient Greek literature*, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to that ancient war against the Persians which Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch had made glorious. Everywhere enthusiastic men stirred up the sympathies of the Western countries for the downtrodden Greeks. Money was freely given to help the patriots, and volunteers came from France, England, Germany, and America. The English poet Byron did much by his poems to widen the enthusiasm, and finally closed a rather wild and reckless career by giving his fortune and life to the Greek cause.

b. The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their co-religionists, and a still deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes, and so Metternich lost his chief ally, Russia. Tsar Alexander at first discountenanced the rising and even punished Russian officers who had encouraged it, as he felt himself bound by the principles of the Holy Alliance. But his successor, Nicholas I, had no such scruples. An alliance between Russia, England, and France brought intervention, but for the Greeks, not against them.

The English, French, and Russian fleets proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce, so as to permit negotiations. The three fleets were acting together under the command of the English admiral Codrington, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance they came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but the excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disavow the deed. The Tsar, who alone had formally declared war, continued it until 1829, and advanced very far into Turkish territory. The jealousy of the other Powers forced him to give up his conquests, but *Greece obtained her independence* (1830).

635. Elsewhere, however, Metternich's system was triumphant. — For ten years after the attempted Spanish revolution of 1820 the reactionary statesmen had it all their own way from England to Greece.

The Decrees of Carlsbad (§ 627) were renewed in 1824, and remained the law of the Germanic Confederation for a generation more. Thousands came into conflict with the ever watchful police, supported by an extensive spy system, for singing patriotic songs or for criticism of the despotic governments. It was unfortunate that no government could see the signs of the times. The demand for greater freedom was not to be checked by such means; prisons and bayonets cannot kill ideas. But it must

be admitted, too, that the standard bearers of "Liberty and Equality" were often extreme radicals, whose ideas of reform and popular welfare were those of Robespierre and the Jacobins. Usually, too, that element among the progressives made the greatest noise. Yet there were not wanting sane men with whom the governments could have coöperated in establishing an order of things which was neither the absolutism of the eighteenth century nor the tyranny of the "Reign of Terror."

The next attack on the reaction came from France. To understand it, we have to survey the history of France from Waterloo.

For Further Reading. — See Guggenberger, III, §§ 371–379.

CHAPTER XLIII

FRANCE, 1815–1830

A. The Monarchy under the Bourbons, 1815–1830

636. Louis XVIII — The Charter. — When Louis XVIII became king (§ 613), he saw that France must have some guarantee of the personal rights which the Revolution had won. He refused, indeed, the constitution which the old senate of Napoleon tried to force upon him, but he himself gave to the nation a Charter. In this way he saved the theory of the Bourbon kings that the monarch is the source of all law. But the provisions of the document, otherwise, gave the people more liberty than any other country on the continent then enjoyed.

The legislature had two Houses, — the Peers, appointed for life by the king, and the Deputies. These last were elected by the people, but a very high property qualification let only one man in seventy vote. To be eligible for deputy, a man had to be still more wealthy, — so much so that in some districts it was hard to find any one to send to the legislature. The king kept an absolute veto and the sole right to propose laws. Religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press were confirmed. In local government the centralization of Napoleon was retained.

Personally Louis XVIII was a benevolent old gentleman, not at all reactionary, shrewd but indolent. But restless, irritable France needed more than that. The country was torn by wrangling factions, Republicans, Bonapartists, Royalists of moderate and extreme types. After the sacrileges of the Revolution and the cold infidelity of the Empire a strong Catholic

revival had set in, but its leaders were for the most part extreme Royalists, whose ideals were the Old Régime with its privileges. Against them worked the irreligious, revolutionary element, chiefly through the secret societies, the Carbonari and others (§ 630).

637. In 1824 Louis was succeeded by his brother Charles X. — The new king, personally a devoted Catholic, wisely sought the regeneration of France in the revival of Catholic faith and practice, but very unwisely in the restoration of the Old Régime. The legislature at first supported him. In the meantime, however, all the old revolutionaries, who had lost nothing of their hatred for throne and altar, worked busily upon public opinion, flooding the country with cheap editions of Voltaire and Rousseau and winning over to their side the university students especially. The Royalists, by many reactionary and imprudent measures, played into their hands. Thus, in 1825, the legislature voted twenty million dollars from the national treasury to indemnify the returned Emigrants. Later, to stem the rising tide of impiety, the freedom of the press was curtailed. The clergy were given large control of education, but at the same time it was the aim of the monarchy to make the Church subservient to the crown. Religion suffered thereby, as the Church seemed identified with the cause of Bourbon absolutism.

638. The Approach of the Storm. — At an inspection of the National Guards, in 1827, threatening cries against the government were heard from the ranks. The king dissolved the Guards. In order to secure a more pliant legislature, where the Liberal parties had gradually increased, the king dismissed the Chamber of Deputies and ordered new elections. But the anti-governmental parties had been so active that they secured a decided majority. The leader of the Liberals was *Thiers*, a brilliant young journalist and admirer of the English constitution. "The king reigns, but does not govern," was his

theory, and in his paper he frequently made significant references to the English Revolution of 1688, which had overthrown the Stuarts.

Charles X, in order to prevent the threatened revolution, dismissed his prime minister and appointed a moderate Liberal to the post. But neither side was pleased, and the new minister had to go. Then the king, angered at the ingratitude by which his minor concessions were received, appointed an out and out reactionary ministry. The Deputies promptly gave it a "vote of want of confidence," and were as promptly sent home by the king. In the hope of quieting the agitation at home by military success abroad, Charles ordered a vigorous attack upon the pirate fortress of Algiers, where desultory warfare had been carried on for some time. The fortress fell, but too late to influence the elections. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the Liberals gained fifty additional seats. As a last resort, the king resolved upon a coup d'état. It cost him his crown.

B. The Revolution of 1830

639. The "July Ordinances." — Suddenly, without being ready for the consequences, the enraged monarch published a series of decrees, known as the "July Ordinances." These ordinances practically *suspended the Charter*. One forbade the publication of newspapers without the royal approval, another dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and a third promulgated new election laws, restricting the franchise to the richer landowners.

Metternich had foreseen this deed, and its probable results. He lamented the free press and the representative system in France; but he warned the French ambassador that an attempt to do away with these "plague spots" would ruin the dynasty. "The men of lead," he said, "are on the side of the Charter. Charles X should remember 1789."

640. The "July Days" — Fall of the Bourbons. — The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. The great mass of the people remained quiet and Charles expected no trouble. Forty-one journalists published a protest written by Thiers; though he and his followers thought only of legal resistance, not violence. There were, however, in Paris many old revolutionists, ready to go further. The Carbonari, advised by Lafayette in his old age, worked with feverish haste to organize a rebellion. On July 28 barricades arose all over the city, and furious fighting ensued between the royal troops and the republican mob under the command of Lafayette. For three days the streets of Paris rang with the din of battle, the Republicans steadily gaining. Then the moderate Liberals began to fear a repetition of the days of the First Republic, and, to prevent this, quickly organized a provisional government. *Louis Philippe*, a distant cousin of Charles and son of the Duke of Orleans of revolutionary fame (§ 535), was appointed Lieutenant-General of France. Meantime Charles resided quietly at St. Cloud, a suburb of Paris, totally blind to the danger. Regiment after regiment of the royal troops went over to the rebels. At last the king's eyes were opened. He withdrew the odious Ordinances, dismissed the ministry, and, finally, resigned in favor of his grandson. But all in vain. The temporary government merely accepted the resignation, and Charles went into exile, where he died a few years later.

641. A Limited Monarchy. — The legislature which Charles had tried to dissolve now met and elected Louis Philippe to the vacant throne, to the great chagrin of the Republicans. The "*citizen king*," as he was called, accepted the amended Charter. The old constitution had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added, "and by the will of the people." Louis Philippe ruled by election, and a constitution was forced upon him.

In this respect the Second French Revolution corresponded to

the English Revolution of 1688 (§ 460). In other respects it did not go so far. The most important changes are: (1) The right to introduce bills was given to the legislature; (2) the franchise was somewhat extended, but still there were less than two hundred thousand voters in a population of some thirty millions.

C. The Revolution of 1830 over Europe

642. Belgium. — Meanwhile the success of the French "July Revolution" stirred up risings in different parts of Europe. The most notable, and the most justifiable, of these occurred in the Netherlands. There the union of Belgium and Holland, decreed by the Congress of Vienna, had worked out to the disadvantage of the Belgians. Their share in the burdens of the state was disproportionately large, while the government constantly favored the northern section of the kingdom. King William I, a stubborn Calvinist, constantly interfered with the Catholic education of his Belgian subjects, and forced upon them Dutch language and Dutch officials. The long smoldering indignation burst into flames at the news of the "July Days" in Paris. The revolt spread rapidly, and, though checked several times, the Belgians with the moral support of England and France achieved their independence. A conference of the Powers in London declared Belgium independent and neutral forever.

643. Other Revolts. — Less successful was a rising of the *Poles* against the Tsar, to whom they had been delivered by the Congress of Vienna. The Poles fought with the courage of despair, but, deserted by every one, they were at last crushed with revolting cruelty by the Russian soldiery. They lost their separate constitution and became simply a Russian province.

In *Italy* and *Germany* there were numerous risings and riots, usually the result of machinations by secret societies. But, apart from a few concessions in some German states, they

achieved nothing. Of a new Spanish revolution we have to speak later (§ 800).

Reaction seemed once more victorious. Yet Metternich's system and the principles of the Holy Alliance had suffered somewhat. France left it and joined England in proclaiming "non-intervention." In the other countries of Europe the system continued for eighteen years more, but when the next Year of Revolutions came (1848), that system fell forever in Western Europe.

To comprehend its character, we have to study another, slow working revolution, begun long ago in England and now gradually extending over the continent.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger treats this period in Vol. III, §§ 380–396. For the contemporary religious history see MacCaffrey, I, Chap. I d-f. Macdonald, *A History of France*, Vol. III, pp. 246–297, may be consulted for a more detailed account of political events.

PART VI. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XLIV

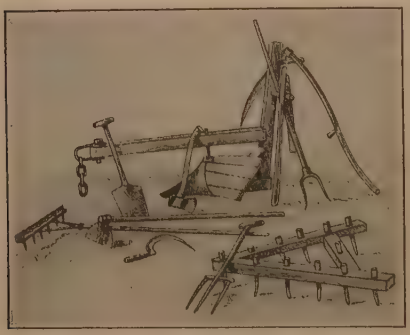
THE REVOLUTION IN METHODS OF WORK

644. What the Industrial Revolution was. — While France was giving Europe her first social and political revolution, with noise and blood, toward the close of the eighteenth century, England had been working out quietly an even greater revolution which was to change the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children over all the world. This "revolution" was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done; so we call it the "*Industrial Revolution.*" Though not wrought by the dazzling genius of kings and generals or the subtle minds of diplomats, it has more to do with the way in which you and I live to-day than all the political upheavals.

645. Industrial Conditions about 1775. — Our life and labor differs far more from that of our ancestors in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from that of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Frederick the Great and George Washington men raised grain, and wove cloth, and carried their spare products to market in almost precisely the same way in which these things had been done for centuries before. The Discovery of America had added corn (maize) and the potato to the world's food plants, and had enormously increased the production of sugar (in the West Indies) and so made its use more general. But in Europe itself a farmer rarely had a greater variety of vegetables in his garden than the ancient Roman farmer had. He scratched the soil with a clumsy wooden

plow, not unlike his Roman predecessor. He had no machines for horses to draw, except a rude harrow and a cart, almost as ancient in style. He sowed his grain by hand, cut it with the sickle, and threshed it out with the flail.

Carpenters', blacksmiths', and masons' tools were of ancient origin. All planing and other dressing of lumber was still done by hand, as was also the work now done by machines in furniture factories and joiners' shops. Merchandise was still carried from place to place on pack horses or mules, or sometimes in clumsy carts sinking to the axles in muddy roads; and travel was mainly on horseback, though coaches toiled along on a few main roads, six horses to each vehicle.



A Complete Assortment of Farm Tools in 1800.

No man living had ever dreamed of traveling by railway or steamship, or of communicating with absent friends by telegraph, or of reading by electric light or even by kerosene lamps. Household lights were dim, ill-smelling candles or smoky and flaring torches. If a householder carelessly let the fire in his fireplace go out, he borrowed live coals from a neighbor, or struck sparks into tinder with flint or steel. The few cities were still medieval. London was the only town in Europe that boasted of lamp posts; and there the light was supplied by a poorly burning oil. In Paris, on the main streets, the mud lay a foot deep in rainy weather. Arthur Young (§ 509), in 1787, wrote of Paris, — "Walking, which in London is so pleasant and clean that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman."

646. First Improvements. — *The first improvements came in England — in agriculture.* Early in the eighteenth century English landlords introduced a better system of crop rotation, raising roots, like beets and turnips, on the field formerly left fallow. This proved just as good for the ground, and it furnished more food and made it possible to keep more cattle. English farmers began to give much attention to breeding cattle and sheep, and so produced more beef and wool.

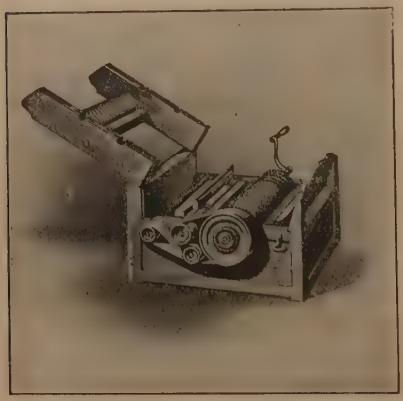
Then came mechanical inventions in agriculture. In 1785 the first threshing machine was invented, and the cast-iron plow appeared about 1800. This permitted deeper plowing and more rapid work. But for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground. Drills, seeders, mowers, reapers, binders, were still in the future; but in 1800 the era of farm machinery was just at hand.

The next change was in *transportation.* England began to improve her main roads about 1750, building "turnpikes," with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from the travelers, to keep up repairs. A Scotch engineer, MacAdam, gave his name to macadamized roads.

The ancients had frequently dug canals and used them to carry goods. Louis XIV and Frederick the Great had constructed a few in France and Prussia. But England gave them a wholly new importance by introducing the lock system, to permit boats to pass from one level to another. The first lock system was built in 1761, to bring coal to Manchester from a mine seven miles away. And before 1800 England was better supplied with canals than she had been with roads in 1700.

647. The change that was really to revolutionize the working society, however, came not in farming nor in transportation, but in manufacturing, — and first in spinning. — In Elizabeth's time the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the *distaff* and *spindle,* as it had been from time immemorial.

But in the seventeenth century the distaff was replaced by the *spinning wheel*, run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however, drew out only one thread at a time, and a weaver with his clumsy hand loom could weave all the thread that eight spinners could supply. Hence they began to think about a swifter way of securing thread. In 1764 *James Hargreaves*, an English weaver, invented a machine where one wheel turned eight spindles and spun eight threads, instead of one. The thread, however, was not satisfactory for all kinds of cloth; so in 1771 *Richard Arkwright* devised a machine which ran the wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates of speed, to draw out the thread, and he drove these rollers by water power, not by hand, and so called his machine a "*Water Frame*." Four years later *Samuel Crompton* combined the invention of Hargreaves with that of Arkwright and produced a machine with which one spinner could spin two hundred threads at a time.



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN. — For separating the seed from cotton.

Now the weavers had too much thread for the old-fashioned hand looms, where the threads were first drawn out lengthwise on a frame, and the weaver drove his shuttle by hand back and forth between those threads with the woof (cross threads). *Edmund Cartwright*, an Anglican clergyman, in 1784, invented the "*power loom*," in which the shuttle threw itself back and forth automatically. Then the weavers could keep up easily; and by later improvements, before 1900, it became possible

for one man to weave more cloth than two hundred could in 1770.

The next need was more cotton ready to spin. *Eli Whitney*, an American, then invented his *Cotton Gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much seed from the fiber as three hundred had been able to clean before. This was in 1793. In that year the United States exported 200,000 pounds of cotton. In 1800 the amount was 20,000,000 pounds, and three years later twice that amount. All this went to feed the new manufactures in England.

648. Better Driving Power. — To drive these new machines, water had largely replaced hand power; but water sometimes failed, and it was not present at all in many places where it would have been welcome. This need was supplied by James Watt's improvements on the steam engine.

The expansive power of steam was, of course, known long ago, and many had speculated on how it might be put to practical use. In the second half of the eighteenth century steam engines had been invented that could pump water, and they were used to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow, and they wasted steam and fuel. *James Watt*, an instrument-maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785, he had constructed an engine that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and which could transmit its power to wheels (and so drive machinery), by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In the same year steam was first used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.

But engines and power machines could be built in a satisfactory manner only from iron; and in 1790 the manufacture of iron was slow and costly, and the product was of inferior

quality. In that year, however, steam began to be used to furnish a new blowing apparatus which gave a steady blast of air, instead of the old bellows and like arrangements. Soon, too, better ways were found to change the brittle " castings " into malleable " wrought " iron.

649. Thus, by 1800, the age of " steam and iron " had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe remained closed against it for some years longer, owing to the wars of Napoleon and his Continental System; but on his fall it began to win its way there also.

Before we leave this age of invention, we must note two applications of the steam engine, and also a few separate inventions, in all of which America had a large share.

650. The Steamboat. — Some of Watt's engines, we have said, found their way to America before 1800. Here, in that day, the chief need was locomotion. And since there was no time at first to build roads over our vast territory, we wanted first locomotion by water. Rivers were used to carry goods easily down the current; but some means to force a boat upstream were needed. Therefore, in America, ingenious mechanics at once sought to apply the new steam engine to navigation.

As early as 1789 John Fitch, a poor carpenter with a wonderful inventive genius, built a ferryboat with paddles driven by a steam engine of his own make. But Fitch could not raise money to extend the use of his invention, though for some time he ran his boat up the river at Philadelphia. At the same time, Oliver Evans, another neglected genius, built a steam engine suited for locomotion, but he, too, failed to secure financial support. Soon after, however, *Robert Fulton* was more fortunate. He, too, met with one rebuff. He offered his steamboat to Napoleon whereby that baffled conqueror might transport the waiting army from Boulogne to England in spite of English sailing vessels (§ 598). Happily, Napoleon rejected

him as a faker — and so lost his best chance to conquer England. Some three years later Fulton secured money from Chancellor Livingstone of New York. In 1807, amid popular jeers, Fulton launched the *Clermont*, furnished with an engine from England, and made a trial trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany, at about five miles an hour. The next year a regular line of

Fulton's Steamer, the Clermont.

steamboats plied between the two cities, and men were eagerly waiting for their introduction elsewhere.

In 1811 the *Orleans* was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburg, to voyage to the distant city for which it was named. The War of 1812 interrupted steamboat building, but in 1820 sixty such vessels plied the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, and some of them were finding their way up the muddy Missouri, between herds of astonished buffalo.

651. The Railway. — If steam would drive boats, why not coaches as well? Experiments for land locomotives began at once. Short horse "tramways" had been used in some places in England for many years. A tramway was merely a line of rails on which carts were drawn more easily than on bare ground. Soon after 1800 Richard Trevithick in England used a steam engine to furnish power for a short tramway; but his was

really a stationary engine of the old type. What was wanted was a "traveling" engine. Several experimenters worked at the problem without success, until *George Stephenson*, in 1814, completed a locomotive which was used to haul carts of coal on tramways from mines to the nearest canal or river. In 1825 a passenger line twelve miles long was opened in England; and in 1828, in America, the aged Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, drove the gold spike that began the construction of the great Baltimore and Ohio line. The railway age had fairly begun. The tremendous importance of the railroads, however, did not show until some twenty years later. The early rails were of wood, protected from wear by a covering of iron "straps" — which had an awkward way of curling up at a loosened end. Fifteen miles an hour on early roads was considered an amazing speed.

652. After 1830 mechanical inventions to save time or to make human life more attractive or more comfortable followed

First Steam Passenger Train in America (November 12, 1831). — The engine was modeled upon Stephenson's "Rocket," which, some months before, had drawn a train from Manchester to Liverpool.

one another with great rapidity. A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The McCormick reaper (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1834, and multiplied the farmer's efficiency by twenty. Planing mills created a new industry in woodworking. In 1838 the English *Great Western* established *steam navigation between Europe and America.* In 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, began photography with his "daguerrotype." The magnetic telegraph, invented

in 1833 by the German scientist Gauss, was made effective by the American Morse in 1844. The other applications of electrical energy in the dynamo, the telephone, etc. belong to a later period. Of a more recent date, too, is the appearance of the far-reaching effects which these inventions had on the relations of nations to one another, on their policy and their quarrels.

CHAPTER XLV

THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS' LIVES

653. Immediate Results. — The introduction of machinery and of steam power showed at once (by 1800) several great results. The fundamental one was that *labor with the new machinery produced much more wealth*, that is, a greater abundance of material goods. This change ought to have been purely good. It should have meant a gain for all the world. Especially it should have meant more comfort and leisure to the workers. In reality, it meant something very different.

True, part of the increased wealth did go at last, and indirectly, to the common gain in lower prices. Every one, the workmen included, can buy cloth or hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution began. This is a gain. It makes possible more life and some better life. But the Revolution also resulted directly in much poorer life for just those who, we would have supposed, would be the first benefited. This was particularly true in the beginning. To understand this we must look once more at the condition of workmen before the invention of machinery.

654. Ruin of the Domestic System. — Under the *domestic system* (§ 418) all manufactures had been *handmade* (as the word *manufacture* signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But the workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of

to-day more than that of the modern factory worker. Usually they owned a plot of ground about their cottage and drew part of their support from its cultivation.

But when the Industrial Revolution came the hand workmen could not match tireless iron machines driven by steam. They could not, for instance, produce enough cloth — at the price at which it was sold after 1800 — to support themselves, even with their garden spots. The Industrial Revolution came swiftly — upturning the whole system of manufacturing before a hale man turned into an old one. The hand workers could not at once understand the drift of the times; they could not see why these new contrivances of wood and iron should render worthless the skill which was theirs through generations of painful toil. Great numbers of them kept up a losing fight with the machine, for their lifetime, under harsher and harsher conditions.

655. The Factory System and the Capitalist. — But the most serious evils fell not upon the workmen who kept up the hopeless fight against steam and machine, but upon the hundreds of thousands of workmen who accepted the change and tried to work under it. The new machinery was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, who hired workers to "operate" it. This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor. The old *slave system* gave way to *serfdom* in agriculture and to a *gild organization* in manufactures. Gilds gave way to the *domestic system*. And now the domestic system gave way to the present *Capitalist system*, or *Wage system*, or *Factory system*.

The *capitalist* was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England. He was not himself a workman, like the old "master" in the gilds or in the domestic system. He was only an "*employer*." He erected great buildings called factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary "raw

material" (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), and paid wages.

The workman now furnished nothing but his hands. Great numbers of men wanted work; and moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children, especially in cloth manufactures. So the capitalist could fix wages and hours of labor as he pleased. The workman was at his mercy. And if the capitalist was a new figure in high society, the *capitalless and landless worker* (*proletarian*) was a much more significant new figure in the "lower classes."

656. Thus the new manufacturing society was made up of two distinct and hostile classes. — Under the gild and domestic system, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be "master"; and at all times they lived on terms of constant intercourse with their masters, who worked side by side with them, shared their hardships, and took a fatherly interest in them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class, but, on the whole, *the line was as distinctly drawn* between the soft-handed capitalist and the hard-handed workman in 1800, as between the armored noble and stooped peasant in 1200. Moreover, the capitalist had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed not three or four, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands. He never saw them outside the factory, and did not even know their names except on the pay roll. There was no chance for real sympathy or understanding between the two classes.

The workman's work was more *monotonous* than before. The use of machinery was followed by a minute subdivision of labor. A workman who had formerly performed many different processes at different times, now spent his long day of labor in doing some simple set of motions over and over again, standing at one place from dawn to dark.

657. These changes, so far noted, are more or less permanent results of the Capitalist system. We have them still in our own day, but in 1800, in England, there was another result more immediately disastrous to the worker. *He was compelled to change his whole manner of life for the worse.* He must reach the factory within a few minutes after the first whistle blew, about sunrise, and stay there until sunset — all the time that it was light enough to work. So the capitalist built long blocks of ugly tenements near his factory, to rent; and the workmen moved from their rural village homes, with garden spots and fresh air, into these crowded city quarters.

The factory system produced cities with marvelous rapidity. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only four or five towns that had more than 6000 people. In 1800 cities had leaped into life everywhere; more than 100 towns counted 5000 inhabitants, and in 1891 the number of such towns was 622. At the same time the total population grew. In 1700 the entire population of England and Wales was somewhere between four and five millions. In 1800 it was eight millions, and then it doubled during the first half of the century and again in the second half.

The factory system has helped to produce rapid growth of population and of cities in all civilized lands; but nowhere else (except in the United States where immigration had added millions) has the growth been so enormous as in England.

But the growth of cities brought new problems, which added to the misery of the workers, and were not solved for a long time. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage collection. The masses of the factory workers dwelt in denlike garrets and cellars — a family stuffed into a squalid room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

658. The employment of women in the factories destroyed the home for a large part of the nation. But a worse feature, perhaps, was the employment of large numbers of children, often not sent there by their parents, but by greedy contractors. Parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families, and sold them to contractors, who auctioned them off, thousands at a time, to the great factories, where their life was a ghastly slavery.

Hours of labor, also for women and children, were much longer than now, ranging from twelve to sixteen a day, with no holidays except Sunday. It took a long time till law and parliament began to interest itself in these problems, chiefly because the capitalist controlled the legislative machinery of the country.

659. "Landlord England." — Another unhappy change, closely connected with the Industrial Revolution, *destroyed the small independent farmers in England*. The new profits in farming (§ 646) made landlords eager for more land. They controlled parliament; and that body passed law after law, after 1760, inclosing the "commons" for the benefit of their own class. The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture lands by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who, alone, had money to buy the new machinery coming into use. Small farmers had to sell out, and usually moved into the cities, there to swell the unhappy numbers of factory hands. In 1700, in spite of the older inclosure movement (§ 415), England had still some 400,000 independent farmers, who, by 1800, had practically disappeared, and rural England had become a country of great landlords. Since this change, the classes connected with the land in England are three, — *landlords*, *tenant farmers*, and *laborers*. The first class comprises a few thousand gentry and nobles; they own enormous estates which they divide into "farms" of from one hundred to three hundred acres and lease

them out to tenants. These tenants are now generally prosperous, but, of course, they do not own their land, and are, also in other matters, largely influenced by their landlords. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany, but in no other country have they ceased so completely to be owners of the soil as in modern England. France with a population only a little larger has more than twenty times as many landowners.

The Industrial Revolution applies especially to the change in manufacturing due to the use of machinery and steam, in the period from 1760 to 1820. The Agricultural Revolution began earlier and was of less importance. It helped on the Industrial Revolution, however, by furnishing workmen for the new factories.

For Further Reading. — On industrial conditions a concise treatment, especially designed for high school students, is to be found in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*, 203–223.

Exercise. — Note the transitions in rural labor in England: (1) serf and villein labor to about 1350, and then a decay of that system until it disappears, about 1450; (2) inclosures (for sheep farming), driving a large part of the peasantry from the soil, 1450–1600; and after a prosperous period, (3) the new period of inclosures for large grain farming, 1760–1800. Note also the transitions in manufacturing: the gild system to about 1600; the domestic system, 1600–1760; the factory system of to-day.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE REVOLUTION IN IDEAS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

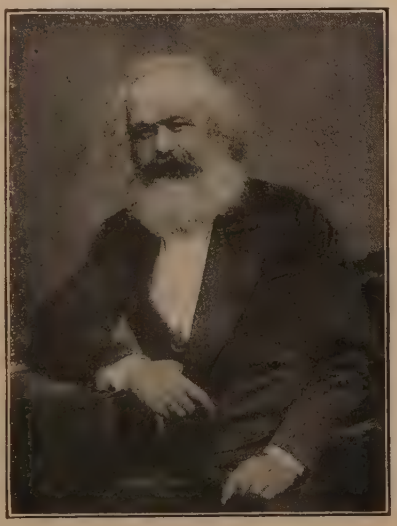
660. The "Let Alone" Idea. — The prosperous capitalist class resented all thought of interference in their business by government. Such interference in past times, they easily proved, had been foolish and harmful, even when best intended.

A group of scholars and writers put into form the new ideas about carrying on industry and producing wealth. They called their new science Political Economy. It was founded by Adam Smith, about the beginning of the American Revolution. The fundamental principle of his doctrine was that government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order. "Laws of supply and demand," it taught, were "natural laws" among men (as gravitation is in the physical universe) and could not be meddled with, except to do harm. Supply and demand must be left absolute to determine prices, quality of goods, wages, and other conditions of employment. Only so could the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" be secured.

This became known as the "*Manchester doctrine*," because it was so universal among manufacturers in that leading industrial center. It is also called by a French name, — *laissez faire* ("let alone" or "let it go"). English merchants accepted it no less readily than manufacturers, in their hatred of the old tariffs which hampered their trade; and it soon became almost a religion to the town middle class.

661. Socialism. — It is easy to see that this new doctrine suited the strong, but it was totally unchristian in its disregard for the weak. It produced prosperity for a few and misery for

the greatest number. The horrible conditions of the factory towns were its first fruits (§ 657). Gradually another view came into prominence and is to-day widely accepted. It is *Socialism*. While the " Let Alone " economists proclaimed absolute liberty for the individual, employer as well as employee, the Socialists go to the other extreme and preach absolute subjection to the state (understanding, however, a purely democratic state).



Karl Marx.

Socialism dates back to the French Revolution. The Third Estate, consisting chiefly of the middle classes and the capitalists of that time, had proclaimed liberty and equality for all, but practically reserved influence and power to themselves. In opposition to them, there sprang into existence a "fourth estate," the penniless proletarians (§ 657), to whom equality meant to be free and equal in misery. These victims of poverty became the first recruits of Socialism.

The first to raise the standard of Socialism was *Babeuf*, a Frenchman, who taught that all men are obliged to work, and that the government should apportion to each one his share of work, collect the products, and distribute the commodities. *Saint-Simon* held that industry should be the standard of all social institutions, and that, consequently, the workmen should be restored to the first place in society, of which they had been unjustly deprived. *Fourier* dreamed of a sort of human happiness, consisting in the gratification of all human instincts. But

the means of gratification, he taught, is organized labor. Every man, therefore, is entitled to remunerative labor and may demand it from the state, if he cannot obtain it elsewhere.

These three Frenchmen were contemporaries of the Revolution and profoundly influenced by its ideas, but also profoundly disgusted with the small amount of real advantage which this great upheaval brought to the lower classes.

662. Modern Socialists look on these early attempts as well-meant efforts of dreamers and unpractical enthusiasts. They trace their teaching to *Karl Marx*. Marx was born of Jewish parents, in 1818, in Germany. Later he and his family embraced Protestantism. After his studies at the university of Bonn he was admitted as private professor, but soon lost his position on account of his revolutionary ideas. He then went to France and later to England, where he spent the last forty years of his life in literary labors and the development of his system. This system is most completely explained in his book *Capital*, which for Socialists has become what Rousseau's *Social Contract* was for the French revolutionists. A brief summary is necessary for the understanding of modern Socialism.

Society as it exists to-day is not a natural product, but the result of injustice and spoliation. The sources of the evils that oppress the working classes are the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases in economic matters and the right of accumulating private property. An individual person may begin on a basis of equality with his fellows, but soon, by fair means or foul, may secure a great amount of wealth, set himself apart from his fellow-men, and thus destroy equality. Classes are formed, the few " capitalists " on one side, and the millions of workers on the other. To bring about a betterment of these conditions, the Socialists propose radical means. Private wealth is produced by the private ownership of the " means of production." Hence they are to be made property of the state. By " means of production " they mean all those things which

are not directly consumed, such as food and clothing, but are employed to produce more wealth, as land, mines, factories, raw materials, all means of transportation and public utilities. All these things have unjustly come into the hands of the capitalist, and should, therefore, go back to whom they belong, to the community or the state. To prevent the accumulation of such productive wealth in the future the state will take over the proper distribution of work and its products.

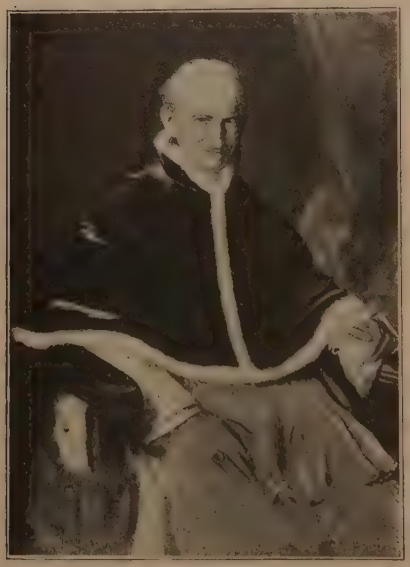
To achieve this change Socialists everywhere urge the workers to unite. "Unite and make the world your own," when all shall work, but none will have to work too much or too long. Not only nation-wide unions are to be founded, but a world-wide federation of labor is the Socialists' dream. Frequently, however, Socialists oppose legislation for the betterment of the working classes. This would only render the proletariat more contented and delay the great changes desired. "The wounds of the social body have to be kept festering," says one of their leaders.

663. The Catholic View. — Realizing the danger of these new and subversive doctrines, Catholic writers and leaders in many lands began to give their attention to the problems of social evils. Gradually they organized a movement for reform on Christian principles which has already won considerable success. The movement began in Germany (§ 786) in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it received its most powerful impulse from the authoritative pronouncements of *Pope Leo XIII.*

Catholics admit, of course, the evils which the Socialists propose to undo. But in tracing them to their sources and in suggesting the remedies they differ widely from their antagonists. The causes of the social evils are *not only economic, but moral and religious as well.* It is true that present economic conditions are far from satisfactory. Though production, on account of the introduction of machinery, has increased enormously, wages have not kept pace with that increase. Moreover, the

worker was formerly surer of his wage and less dependent on the employer. Now overproduction or the invention of new machinery may throw him out of work, or he may have to change from place to place unexpectedly and under great hardship.

But the moral and religious causes are not to be overlooked. The breaking loose from practical Christianity, so characteristic of the last two centuries, has developed an intense selfishness, a struggle for wealth in which each one seeks his own material advantage at the expense of his neighbor. It makes men look with bitter jealousy upon other more fortunate individuals. There is a widespread craving for excessive luxury, for living above one's means, for emulating the wealthy.



Leo XIII.

664. What, then, are the remedies proposed by Catholics?—Certainly not the adoption of Socialist views. That equality of men which the Socialists maintain is not true. Men are not equal in physical and mental endowments which make for success in competition. Private property in the means of production cannot be abolished without grave injustice to the owners and without depriving man of the strongest impulse to work and advance. Universal stagnation would be the consequence. The Socialists deliberately ignore, yea exclude, religion from coöperating in the solution of the great social

problem. They forget that man's happiness here below is not his ultimate end, that the Creator did not want equal wealth and equal material advantages for all. Many Socialist leaders have openly declared their hostility to all religion. Thus Karl Marx bluntly states, "The abolition of religion as the deceptive happiness of the people is a necessary condition for their true happiness."

The evils that afflict society to-day can be remedied, not by violent upheavals, but only by the *harmonious coöperation of the workers and employers, of the State and the Church.* The workers are to be encouraged to combine for mutual protection and resistance to oppression. The state, having at heart the temporal welfare of its citizens, should by wise legislation protect the workers, their rights, their health and morals, and that of their family. But the change of hearts which is so necessary for the cure of the modern evils is the principal task of religion. Hence the Church should be free to carry out her mission. She alone can effectively inculcate the duties of justice and charity, of forbearance and patience. She alone can console man in the inevitable sufferings of this life, not with vain hopes for an earthly paradise, but with the sure hope of reward hereafter. Happily, these ideas in recent times have been gaining ground, have favorably influenced legislation and everywhere revived the practice of genuine Christian charity.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the Catholic forces were poorly organized. Socialist ideas were in the air, even if not clearly understood; and they have much to do with the next period of revolutions in Europe, 1848.

For Further Reading. — There is a rich Catholic literature on Socialism and the Social Question. Probably the best criticism of Socialism in English is Cathrein-Gettelmann, *Socialism, Its Theoretical Basis and Its Practical Application.* A clear presentment of the Social Question, the history of Socialism, and the Catholic social movement, and one which is easily within the grasp of the high school student,

is Bishop Stang's *Socialism and Christianity*. Father Poland's pamphlet, *Socialism, Its Economic Aspect*, is a clear refutation of the fundamental tenets of Socialism on purely economic grounds.

Special Report. — A brief sketch of the Catholic social movement in Europe. See MacCaffrey, Vol. II, Chap. XII.

PART VII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848–1871

CHAPTER XLVII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

665. The "Orleans Monarchy." — Louis Philippe (§ 641) liked to be called the "Citizen King." He walked the streets in the dress of an ordinary prosperous citizen, with frock coat, silk hat, and a green cotton umbrella under his arm. As he owed his throne chiefly to the wealthy middle class ("Bourgeoisie") he relied on that class for support. For eighteen years, by skilfully picking his way between extreme demands, he managed to maintain himself in power. Still he was not popular. Perhaps he lacked insight into the French character. The nation had been accustomed to the glory of the Napoleonic era; it had often dictated the policy of Europe, posed as champion of "liberty and democracy." Louis Philippe was in their eyes too weak and unaggressive.

666. Policy of the King. — Louis Philippe wished above all to maintain peace, and abstained as much as possible from interference abroad. Peace was the desire of the middle class who were his chief support, and who prospered by the peaceful changes of the Industrial Revolution that just at this period transformed economic conditions in France. To retain the favor of the wealthier bourgeois he opposed any extension of the franchise, so that only the richer citizens enjoyed the right of voting. The middle class, too, held the military power, since it was organized into the National Guards — to which workingmen were not admitted.

In the legislature there were two main parties. *Thiers* (§ 638) led the *Liberals*, who wished a monarchy resembling that of England. At the same time they demanded an extension of the franchise and a more aggressive foreign policy. Thiers' life-long opponent, the historian *Guizot*, led the Conservatives, who opposed all further changes toward greater democracy. From 1840 to 1848 he was the chief minister, giving France the most stable administration since the days of Napoleon. But in its desire to preserve tranquillity the government ignored the need of reforms, partly made necessary by the changed industrial conditions. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt tax, to extend education, to reform the old-fashioned postal system, to improve the prisons, were alike suppressed.

The Catholics, who had been closely allied to the government of Charles X (§ 637), now assumed a more independent attitude. Under able leaders, like the brilliant writer and orator, *Count Montalembert*, they began to agitate for greater freedom in religious education, and, in general, for greater independence from the state. Guizot, though himself a Huguenot, was inclined to favor them more than Thiers and the old Republicans.

We have seen how the Seven Years' War left France practically shorn of all her colonies. Under Louis Philippe's rule rather timid attempts were made toward a new colonial empire, not in America or India, but nearer home, in northern Africa. Charles X had taken *Algiers* (§ 638) and now the French extended their territory westward as far as *Morocco*. But English jealousy and the fear of foreign entanglements prevented them from reaching the Atlantic. A more serious setback they experienced in *Egypt*. There the Turkish viceroy in a successful revolt renounced the authority of the Sultan and occupied territory outside of Egypt. France heartily supported the rebel, but a conference of England, Russia, and Prussia compelled him to give up most of his claims. Thiers, then minister of Louis Philippe, objected vigorously, and war seemed immi-

nent. But the king dreaded it, Thiers had to resign, and Guizot stepped into his place.

667. Guizot resorted to rather questionable means to maintain the ascendency of the middle class. — The franchise, we saw, was very narrow. Guizot organized the vast *patronage of the government* to obtain the continued support of the Deputies. In America the constitution forbids the President to appoint congressmen to paid offices, such as postmasters or custom-house collectors. But in France it was the regular practice to make members of the legislature "placemen" of this sort, as in England a century earlier (§ 465). This evil was the greater since in France the government appointed not only national officials, as with us, but also all local officials, like our own county and state officials and city mayors and chiefs of police. Thus the government had about 300,000 offices to buy votes with. Then when the election was over, the ministry strengthened its majority in the Chambers by appointing the members to profitable offices, or by giving lucrative business contracts from the government. It is easy to see how Guizot thus was able to create a complacent legislature.

Thiers, now the leader of the opposition, came forward with the demand (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, (2) to widen the franchise. In reality these proposals were to be the lever to unseat Guizot. Thiers himself, when in office, had made extensive use of the patronage. Guizot and his majority rejected the demand. Thiers, then, turned to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Mass meetings were held and discontent stirred up. The government forbade the agitation — and thereby brought on the *Revolution of 1848*. This revolution was the work of the Socialists, who had been growing strong, almost unnoticed by the leaders of either party.

668. Until 1825, when the Industrial Revolution was fairly completed in England, it had not yet begun in France. But in

the next twenty years it grew rapidly. While in 1825 cloth manufacture was still carried on under the "Domestic System," there were about 30,000 power looms in operation in 1846. The use of steam and the railway had, likewise, appeared so that in 1850 France counted more than 5000 steam plants. Late as this is, the Industrial Revolution came in France sooner than in any other country on the continent.

By 1848 a large factory population had grown up in cities like Bordeaux, Lyons, Toulouse, and Paris. Moreover, the French workingmen were influenced by the new socialistic ideas more than the working class of any other country. Nor is this a matter for surprise. These ideas had their origin in the French Revolution (§ 661), and, like all ideas of that turbulent period, developed most rapidly on their native soil. The chief spokesman of Socialism was *Louis Blanc*, a young editor, who insisted especially on the "right to work." Every man, he urged, has a right to profitable employment; to insure that right he wished the *government to establish workshops* in different trades and give employment to all who wanted it and could not get it elsewhere. In the end, he thought, the workers would manage and own the workshops. These and similar socialistic ideas appealed to the masses, already suffering from oppression by the capitalists and watching with bitter feelings the luxurious and vicious life of many among the upper classes. They now became the willing allies of Thiers. The old Republicans, led by *Lamartine*, who had been disappointed in the revolution of 1830 (§ 640), were ready to join in the attack upon the government. The secret societies, likewise, worked feverishly to organize risings.

669. The "February Days." — In 1848 the Liberals had arranged a great political demonstration in Paris, for February 22. The government prohibited it. The leaders obeyed, but all day the streets were filled with angry crowds, shouting for the downfall of Guizot's ministry. The National Guards, when

called out to disperse the crowds, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned, and Thiers took his place.

Tranquillity seemed restored, but that night a collision occurred between the military and the crowd in which some fifty people fell. The Republicans and the Socialists seized the chance to rouse the masses against the monarchy. Bodies of the slain were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city. Barricades arose here and there, but the troops quietly restored order. Next morning, February 24, the minister ordered the withdrawal of the troops. Thereupon dense masses of insurgents, armed workingmen, National Guards, marched from all sides against the palace of the Tuileries, massacred the guards and destroyed the property of the royal family. Louis Philippe fled in disguise and escaped to England. His rule had lost the support of the middle classes and collapsed; with it fell the short-lived ministry of Thiers.

670. The Provisional Government. — The Chamber of Deputies was about to proclaim the infant grandson of Louis Philippe as king when the room was invaded by a howling mob, flourishing muskets and butcher knives, and calling for a republic. In the midst of this tumult a few deputies who kept their seats hastily formed a "*Provisional Government.*"

This body was at once escorted by the mob to the Hôtel de Ville (the city hall), where it found another provisional government already set up by the Radicals and Socialists. By compromise, some of this latter body were incorporated in the first. The Provisional Government was now made up of three elements: Lamartine represented the *moderate Republicans;* Ledru-Rollin was the representative of the *Radical Republicans* ("the Reds"), who wished to return to the "Terror" of 1793; and Louis Blanc represented the *Socialists.* On the whole Lamartine proved to be the guiding spirit.

671. "National Workshops." — The difficulties before the new government were tremendous. The wealthy middle class

was sorely disappointed at the turn of events. They never wished or dreamed of a republic; for there could be no doubt that such a change would destroy their influence and bring the Socialists to the front. And so it proved to be. The Government, to appease the masses, took a fateful step: It affirmed the principle of the "right to work." A few days later this decree was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "national workshops" for the unemployed. In the panic that followed the "February Days" great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The Government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads, — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle.

Over one hundred thousand men, many of them idlers and agitators from other cities, were enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, the Government had no employment ready for such numbers. The enormous expense of the experiment had to be met by increased taxation. In the end the whole undertaking served only to give a formidable organization to a terrible force with which the new republic would soon have to reckon.

672. A new "Constituent Assembly," elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The Revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but felt no enthusiasm for a republic, and it abhorred the "Reds" and the Socialists. This, too, was the temper of the new Assembly. It accepted the Revolution, but it was bent upon putting down the Radicals.

As soon as this became evident, the mob rose once more (May 15) and burst into the legislative hall, holding possession for three turbulent hours. At last, however, some middle class battalions of the National Guards arrived to rescue the Assembly.

673. The "Days of June," 23–26. — The rescued Assembly decided to follow up its victory. On June 21, after making military preparations, it closed the "national workshops." This was a blundering end to a foolish experiment. The men of the national workshops rose, aided by their semi-military organization and commanded by leaders of military skill, though no one knew who they were. The Assembly appointed General Cavaignac to the command of the government troops. Both sides knew what was at stake: Order, or another "Terror." The conflict raged for four days, — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Over sixteen thousand men perished. Among the victims was the venerable Archbishop of Paris, who was shot when he mounted a barricade and tried to pacify the insurgents. Finally the superior discipline of the Assembly's troops crushed the rebels. Of the eleven thousand prisoners some were shot, others deported for life. The middle class now was once more in control of affairs.

NAPOLEON III.

674. The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. — The document was published in November, without being submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one House and for a four-year president, both to

be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later (December 10), *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president by an overwhelming majority.

Napoleon owed his election to his name. Since the exile and death of the first Napoleon a "*Napoleonic Legend*" had grown up which cast a halo about his memory. Bonaparte's crimes and tyranny were forgotten; he came to be regarded by the masses as a truly great patriot who was pursued by the Allies because he loved France so well. His portrait as emperor was to be found in half the peasants' cottages from Flanders to the Pyrenees. Brilliant writers and poets had made him a national hero. In countless village taverns his old soldiers told tales over their wine, of his victorious campaigns. In 1840 his remains had been brought back from St. Helena to Paris amid outbursts of enthusiasm.

Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become the laughingstock of Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of Socialism, Napoleon's name seemed the symbol of order and peace. He received over five and a half million votes, to about one and a half million for General Cavaignac, his next rival.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, 1852–1870

675. Preparation: Quarrel between Napoleon and the Assembly. — Napoleon had repeatedly pledged his faith to the constitution, but he plotted from the first to overthrow it. In this the Assembly played into his hands. Being essentially a middle class body, it was in mortal fear of the Radicals and the socialistic working classes. To check them it at once curtailed the freedom of the press and, in 1849, it "reformed" the election laws in such a manner as to deprive about three million workingmen of their vote. After the law was passed, Napoleon criticized it vehemently, and so appeared to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the masses made the middle class fear a new revolution; and that class, too, turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. The old Royalists lacked union, being divided into adherents of the grandson of Charles X and of Louis Philippe or his son. Moreover, since the clergy largely favored Napoleon and since the Royalists were most numerous among the Catholics, Napoleon had little fear of resistance from that quarter. All classes dreaded the close of Napoleon's four years' presidency and the possibility of another revolution. The constitution forbade a reëlection; and an attempt to mend this clause was defeated in the Assembly. As a consequence that body lost the support of all classes, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity.

676. The Coup d'État of 1851. — In semiroyal progresses through the country Napoleon had been preparing the nation for his plans. He freely found fault with the Assembly, and his speeches were filled with references to the "glory" of the

former French Empire, and to the benefits conferred upon France by "my great uncle." All important offices in the army and civil administration were put into the hands of his tools and trusted friends; and, on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history.

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly (Thiers and Cavaignac among them) — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards. These announced the dissolution of the Assembly, proposed a new government with Napoleon at its head, and promised an appeal to the nation for ratification.

The Assembly was dispersed by soldiers and most of the members imprisoned. During the next few days the Radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets, but the troops easily took them and restored order. The unsafe districts of France were put under martial law, and the police continued the work of "pacification" by numerous arbitrary arrests and transportation to penal colonies.

Under these conditions, on December 21, the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution, making Napoleon President for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of more than six million out of eight million. And everybody foresaw the next step. In November of the following year a still larger vote made the daring adventurer *Emperor of the French*, under the title Napoleon III. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.) On December 2, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon, he was solemnly enthroned. From this account it is plain how closely Louis Napoleon followed the footsteps of "my great uncle."

The unanimity in the vote was due partly to shameless interference at the polls. The army voted first, for an example. In many places the rural population was marched to the polls under military authority. Such measures, however, were hardly necessary to secure a large majority. Apart from a small number of Royalists, Republicans, and Socialists, France threw itself into the arms of Napoleon.

677. The "Second Empire" was modeled closely upon that of Napoleon I. — The people elected a Legislative Chamber (with a little more power than under the First Empire), but the emperor appointed a Senate and a Council of State, and, for some years, he kept in his hands the sole right of introducing laws. Moreover, of his own will, he filled all offices, made treaties, and declared war.

Political life was nearly suspended. The government presented for every elective office its own candidate, for whom the way was made smooth and easy. The opposition was seriously hampered in holding meetings and in using the mails for the spread of campaign literature. The police supervised the ballot boxes and, no doubt, sometimes "stuffed" them. Hostile newspapers were freely suppressed, and those favorable to the government heavily subsidized. An extensive system of espionage watched every suspected person. Under the "Law of Public Security" Napoleon could legally and without trial send suspects to penal colonies, as he had been doing illegally before. Upon the passage of this law (1858) an order was sent to every prefect to arrest a fixed number of persons in his department, using his choice in selecting them. The purpose was merely to intimidate the nation.

During the last ten years of his reign Napoleon grew more liberal. Greater freedom of debate was granted to the Chamber, and, toward the end, even the odious "Law of Public Security" was repealed.

678. The Empire gave to France great material and economic

progress. — Industry was encouraged. Paris and the government itself started vast new enterprises which gave employment to thousands of men. The capital and other leading cities were rebuilt upon a magnificent scale. Education and charitable work flourished. Napoleon displayed great splendor at his court; and the court set the pace for the upper classes and those who found themselves rapidly enriched by the progress of industry and commerce. But the moral tone declined proportionately, and the vices of high society increased the discontent of the working classes, among which there was a vast amount of misery and wretchedness. Socialism, which had received so severe a check in the "June Days," was far from dying out. From the smoldering ashes there was to leap a frightful conflagration when the glittering structure of the Second Empire collapsed before the foreign foe (§ 712).

679. Foreign Wars to 1860. — In 1852 Napoleon had declared "The Empire means Peace;" but he found himself irresistibly impelled to war, in order to keep the favor of the army and the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire. His foreign policy soon became aggressive; and the first eight years of his reign saw a series of victories that dazzled France. For forty years, — ever since the fall of Napoleon I, — Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them. The two most important wars of this period were the *Crimean* (1854–1856) and the *Italian* (1859).

a. France, for a considerable time, had under her protection the Roman Catholics in the Turkish Empire. *Russia* performed the same office in regard to the schismatical Greek Catholics. Tsar Nicolas, convinced that *Turkey*, the "sick man of Europe," could not last much longer, made use of his protectorate to put forward greater demands, thereby to provoke the Turkish Sultan to war, which would have enabled him to annex the best part, if not all, of the Turkish dominions. *England*, fearing lest Russia should advance to the Mediterranean and

endanger her route to India, ranged herself on the side of Turkey. Napoleon did the same, to maintain French prestige at home and abroad. The struggle was waged mainly in the Crimea, Russia's naval base,[1] and took its name from that Black Sea peninsula.[2] Russia was defeated, but no permanent results of importance were achieved. However, at the close of the contest, Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading Powers in a *Congress at Paris*, and France seemed again to have become the leader in European politics. Napoleon was then at the height of his power, and as a son was born to him just as the Congress was sitting, the future of the Napoleonic dynasty seemed assured.

b. The delegate sent to the Congress by Sardinia, an Italian state which had taken part in the Crimean war, was *Count Cavour*, the man destined to make modern Italy. He left the Congress with definite promises from Napoleon to assist Sardinia in driving the Austrians out of their Italian possessions. In 1859 Napoleon was called upon to redeem his pledges (§ 696). He came and won striking victories at *Magenta* and *Solferino*, near the scene of the early triumphs of the First Napoleon over the same foe; and then he made an unexpected peace, to the dismay and wrath of the disappointed Italians. For his pay, Napoleon received from Sardinia *Nice* and *Savoy*, and so recovered for France some of the territory which was lost in the second peace of Paris (§ 618).

680. But the second half of Napoleon's rule was a series of humiliations and blunders in foreign affairs. — Napoleon favored

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[1] The Crimea was the scene of the famous siege of Sebastopol, of the battles of Inkermann and Balaclava. Read Tennyson's "Light Brigade."

[2] In this campaign Florence Nightingale, a wealthy Englishwoman, with a band of devoted ladies, distinguished herself greatly in the care for the sick and wounded soldiers. The Red Cross organization for nursing the wounded soldiers is of later date. In 1864 an international convention was held at Geneva, Switzerland, which arranged that those who took care of the wounded should not be fired on in battle. Their emblem, the white flag with the red cross, is the flag of Switzerland with the colors reversed.

the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War and repeatedly urged England to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. Thus he incurred the hostility of the United States.

Then, in 1863, he entered upon a disastrous scheme in *Mexico*. That country, in one of its chronic revolutions, had repudiated its debts. Several European governments had sent fleets to its ports to compel payment to their citizens; but soon it became plain that Napoleon meant more than a mere collection of debts. Thereupon the other governments withdrew from the enterprise. Napoleon then sent a large army to overthrow the Mexican Republic and to set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, *Maximilian*, an Austrian prince, brother of the late Emperor Francis Joseph.

Napoleon expected (1) to secure to France a larger share in the Mexican trade; (2) to increase the prestige of France as an arbiter in the destinies of nations; and (3) to forward a union of the Latin people of Europe and America, under French leadership, as an offset to the ever growing power of the Anglo-Saxon states. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States; but his purpose seemed triumphant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon shamefully abandoned Maximilian to his fate; and the latter was soon overthrown by the Mexican Republicans, captured and shot.

Much more serious were a number of checks in Napoleon's attempts on the *Rhine frontier*. These brought about his fall in 1870. That story will be told after we have studied the rise of Germany.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 420–425. A lucid exposition of the events treated in this and the preceding chapter is to be found in Seignobos, *Europe since 1814*, chapters V and VI. Consult also Hazen and Hayes.

CHAPTER XLIX

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1848

681. The year 1848 was the "Year of Revolutions." — In central Europe Metternich's system had lasted until that time. Discontent, however, had long been rife. Two parties opposed the system: those who longed for a strong united Germany with reasonably liberal constitutions, and the more radical elements whose ideal was the First French Republic or a state founded on socialistic principles. Metternich himself — now an old man — saw the storm clouds. In January, 1848, he wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the February rising in Paris gave the signal for March risings in other lands. Metternich resigned and fled from revolutionary Vienna; and the thrones tottered all over Europe, — except in stable conservative England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia on the east. Even in these two the tremors of distant convulsions were felt.

Within a few days, in Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, the kings, to save their crowns, granted constitutions and many liberties. In every German state, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in Italy, in the leading states, — Sardinia, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples. In all those countries the administration passed for a time into the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform. Everywhere, too, the remaining feudal privileges were finally abolished.

Outside of France (§§ 665–674), the chief interest centers (1) in *Austria*, the storm center; (2) in the *Germanic Confedera-*

tion, so long under the control of Metternich; (3) in *Italy*, part of which was subject to Austria.

A. The Revolution in the Austrian Empire

682. Outbreak in Vienna. — In the provinces of Austria proper there had been, on the whole, little discontent during Metternich's administration. Restrictions on the press, absence of popular vote for parliament, were hardly felt by the common people who enjoyed tranquillity and a moderate amount of prosperity. Gradually, however, revolutionary ideas entered the country, here as elsewhere fostered by foreign secret societies and their emissaries. The Italian revolutionaries, especially, took pains to foment discontent in order to prepare the way for the overthrow of Austrian rule in Italy. These new ideas found their most fertile soil at the universities among the students.

March 14, two weeks after the French rising, the students of the university of Vienna began street riots, to the cry, "Down with Metternich." The mob of the city joined them, and Metternich resigned and secretly made his escape from the capital. The crowds about the imperial palace began to call for a constitution with freedom of speech and an elected legislature. The emperor promised these and other reforms and appointed a liberal ministry. National Guards were then organized, and a committee for the "defense of the rights of the people" was formed. But when this committee went further in its demands the ministry dissolved it. New riots followed, during which the weak Emperor Ferdinand left the city, and the whole government fell into the hands of the rioters and the newly formed National Guards. Faithful to the French model, they at once organized a "Committee of Public Safety."

683. Outbreak in Bohemia and Hungary. — But in the Austrian Empire the revolutionary movement was complicated by the racial problems. The monarchy included many peoples and several distinct states. Two of these now demanded more

self-government. These were Bohemia and Hungary. In the former the Slavic *Czechs* were the predominant race, in Hungary the *Magyars* (who are not Slavs, but originally a Mongolian tribe). The Bohemian Slavs summoned a congress of all Slavic peoples within the empire to Prague, the capital of Bohemia. Its purpose was greater freedom and greater union for all the Slavs within the empire. There was no thought of complete separation from Austria. In fact, Palacky, the president of the congress, is the author of the famous phrase, "If the Austrian Imperial State did not exist already, it would have to be invented." However, side by side with these moderate elements there were in Prague many extremists, university students, fugitive foreign revolutionists, and the like. It was this body that flew to arms and was subdued only after sanguinary street fighting by the Austrian troops. The congress broke up, without accomplishing anything.

The Hungarians demanded a separate ministry, the annual summons of their Diet, and the abolition of the censorship of the press. Ferdinand granted these demands, since for the present he was unable to resist with armed force. For the troops were needed in Italy where the revolution had broken out in the Austrian provinces there. (See *C.* below.)

684. The Hungarians were not satisfied with the concessions so far obtained. — Under the leadership of *Louis Kossuth*, a journalist with republican ideas, they began to sever one after the other the bonds of union with Austria. On the other hand they endeavored to tighten their hold on the Slavic peoples in Hungary, thus claiming liberty for themselves while denying it to others. But the Slavs were unwilling to bear the Magyar yoke and were encouraged in their resistance by the court of Vienna, to which, in the meantime, the emperor had returned. Jellachich, the Slavic governor of Croatia, marched against the Hungarian capital. The emperor, after an attempt to reconcile the Magyars had failed, appointed Jellachich com-

mander in chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, and civil war began. The new purely Hungarian army raised by Kossuth defeated Jellachich, who passed over into Austria. The Hungarian revolution seemed victorious.

685. Failure of the Revolution in Vienna and Hungary. — To prevent imperial troops from going to Hungary the revolutionary party organized a new outbreak in Vienna. The emperor fled again, but the troops that had quashed the insurrection in Prague now marched upon Vienna and were joined by Jellachich's forces. The city was stormed after bloody fighting, and the leaders that did not escape suffered the penalty of high treason (October 31, 1848).

In December of the same year Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and was followed by his nephew *Francis Joseph*. He at once gave a general constitution to the entire monarchy, which involved the abolition of all separate constitutions. The Hungarians refused to acknowledge the abdication of Ferdinand and the new constitution, declared their independence, and proclaimed the *Hungarian Republic* with Kossuth as president. The young emperor determined to crush the rebels, but his troops were defeated in several successive engagements. Kossuth and his friends were jubilant, but they had not reckoned with the possibility of foreign intervention. Such intervention now came from Russia. Tsar Nicolas, who feared that the revolution, if successful, might spread to his Polish territory, offered armed assistance to Francis Joseph. The young ruler accepted, and the combined Russian and Austrian armies soon put an end to Hungarian independence. Kossuth and others escaped, but a large number of Magyar leaders were put to death. Hungary lost its separate government and its Slavic provinces and was completely merged in the Austrian Empire. The galling memories of these events were obliterated only in 1867, when they received back their self-government and their lost provinces.

B. The Revolution in Germany

686. Prussia. — The news of the March risings in Vienna reacted on *Berlin*. But, again, the common people did not dream of violence and bloodshed. Only a handful of Radicals and Socialists stirred up revolt. Disturbances began on March 15. Three days later King Frederick William IV promised to work for a regeneration of Prussia and Germany by coöperation with representatives of the people. An immense crowd gathered before the royal palaces, ostensibly to thank the king. But with the cheers were mixed cries for the withdrawal of the troops and insults against the army. Two chance shots fired in the air turned the enthusiastic crowd into a raging mob. Barricades rose as if by magic. A murderous fight ensued from street to street; the soldiers were victorious, but only after about two hundred persons had fallen. The king, desirous of preventing further bloodshed, ordered the troops to withdraw and sent his brother William (later emperor) out of the city, as he was an object of special dislike to the people.

Next day the king was forced to stand bareheaded on the balcony of his palace while the funeral procession of the victims passed by. Numerous concessions were made to popular demands. The king called a Prussian Assembly that was to work upon a new constitution. He also tried to head the movement for German national union. "From now on," he declared, "the interests of Prussia will be absorbed by those of Germany."

687. The Frankfort Parliament. — The year 1848 saw in Germany a real "people's movement" for national unity and reasonable liberty. In March about five hundred delegates, rather informally chosen and in no sense representing the nation, met at Frankfort (the seat of the Diet of the Germanic Confederation) and prepared the way for a national assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage in every German state. The elections were duly held, the people taking an enthusiastic part

in them. On May 18 the first really representative parliament began its sessions in Frankfort. It elected Archduke John of Austria administrator, and gave him a responsible ministry. The old Diet of the Confederation recognized the new assembly and disbanded.

The parliament was made up of men of talent and lofty character but of very little experience in politics. It frittered away its time in debating on theories and bills of rights while all chance of securing rights was being lost. For in the meantime Austria, where the most determined resistance to any change in the Confederation was to be expected, had crushed the revolt in Bohemia (§ 683) and Italy (§ 692) and thus had her hands free for an eventual interference in German affairs. The king of Prussia had quarreled with his constitutional assembly and dissolved it; he himself, then, granted a constitution, but of very conservative character; his enthusiasm for popular assemblies began to cool off.

St. Paul's Church at Frankfort, where the Frankfort Parliament met.

Two questions of the greatest importance confronted the Frankfort Parliament and divided it into parties: (1) should the new German state be a monarchy or a republic; and (2) should the new nation include Austria with her vast non-

German population. On the first point they easily came to an agreement. The vast majority of the delegates would not hear of a republic. But the second question called forth endless debates. The party of Little Germany, as it was named, favored the total exclusion of Austria, while the Great Germany party demanded the inclusion of the Hapsburg lands, but was divided on the further question whether all of Austria or only her German-speaking peoples should be included. Intimately connected with these disputes was another point, whether Austria or Prussia should hold the leadership of the future German state.

The discussions on these questions were protracted until spring, 1849. Finally the parliament decided that Austria should be excluded and that the crown of the new German Empire should be offered to the king of Prussia. But unfortunately neither Austria nor Prussia would agree to these proposals. The former had in the meantime regained control over her rebellious provinces. In answer to the Frankfort resolution she curtly announced that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the Germanic Confederation nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible Austrian monarchy." And when, in spite of this, a delegation of the parliament waited upon the king of Prussia and offered him the dignity of German Emperor, he declined, declaring he would accept only if all the German states (that is, their princes) would give their consent. Privately, he held the Frankfort assembly in contempt as a body tinged "with the odor of revolution." As the consent of all the princes was out of the question, the hopes of the patriots were shattered. The parliament disbanded. Some of its more radical supporters started local revolutions here and there in the smaller states; they were quelled, chiefly with the help of Prussian troops. The leaders fled, some, like Karl Schurz and General Sigel, to the United States.

688. Other Attempts. — After the failure of the people Prussian statesmen tried another way of forming a German union, to the exclusion of all Austria. In the summer of 1849 Prussia entered into an alliance with several North German states, with the intention of gradually extending the alliance over all Germany. But Austria protested and organized the South German states into a counter-league. Then she demanded the restoration of the Germanic Confederation of 1815. For a while it seemed as if Austria and Prussia would go to war over the question of German unity, but the Prussian army was not ready, and the Tsar offered to aid Austria in Germany as he had done in Hungary. Frederick William IV, who in the meantime had given a constitution of his own to Prussia, feared to break a lance for a German constitution; in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850) he yielded to all demands of Austria.[1] The old Confederation with its powerless Diet at Frankfort was restored. The problem of unifying Germany was to be solved twenty years later, not by parliaments and conferences, but by the "blood-and-iron" policy of Bismarck.

C. The Revolution in Italy

689. A Review to 1815. — Italy had been in fragments since the days of the Roman Empire. The migration of nations and the settling of the barbarians on Italian soil had created a population different from the race that once had ruled the world. It was different, too, in the various parts of Italy. The North, where the Lombards had settled, became more Teutonic in character and temper, while the South remained more Latin. Throughout the Middle Ages foreign nations, the Germans, French, and Spaniards, had alternately ruled parts of the peninsula and left on them the traces of their character and institutions. This explains why down to the nineteenth century

[1] This was called the "Humiliation of Olmütz."

few, if any, Italians conceived the idea of a united and independent Italy. This idea was born under Napoleon's régime. His proclamations to the Italian people awakened hope for a new national life and his introduction of civil equality and uniform law paved the way for it (§§ 582, 591, 605).

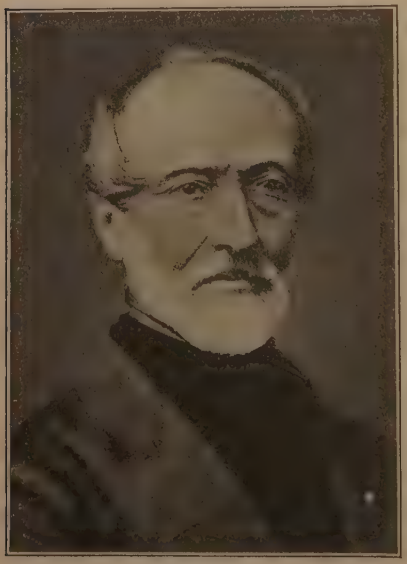
Then, when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon in 1813 and 1814, the generals of the Allies enkindled the enthusiasm of the Italians by glowing promises. An English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence"; and the Austrian proclamations announced: "We come to you as liberators. Long have you groaned beneath oppression. You shall be an independent nation."

690. The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. — Even some of the improvements of Napoleon were undone and absolutist conditions restored. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (§ 615), and most of the remainder of the peninsula was handed over to Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the South over the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes dependent upon Austria were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and the Two Sicilies lay the restored Papal States. In the northwest the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was given back to its native line of rulers, to whom the people were loyally attached. This and the Papal States were the only Italian principalities where the rulers were not dependent on Austria. But Sardinia, like the rest, was, until 1848, a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is a mere geographical expression."

691. From 1815 to 1848. — The story of the Italian revolutions of 1820 and of the interference of the "Holy Alliance" has been told (§§ 630–633). We have seen, too, that nearly all these revolutions were the work of secret societies, the Carbonari and others. In 1831, after the "July Revolution" in France, new revolts broke out in the Papal States and in the duchies;

they failed, partly for lack of popular support, as they were merely the work of conspirators. Austrian troops were marched into the affected districts and made short work of the insurrections.

The failure of the Carbonari in all the risings since 1820 induced *Mazzini*, a young lawyer of Genoa and an ardent admirer of the French Revolution, to found a new secret society. He called it "*Young Italy*." Its aim was the establishment of a united Italian republic which meant, of course, the overthrow of the Italian princes as well as the expulsion of the Austrians and the abolition of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. To achieve its end the new society was to use "thought and action," that is, literary propaganda and incessant insurrections. A fierce hatred of the Catholic Church as the principal enemy was one of its characteristics; many of its members hoped that the destruction of the Papal States would mean the end of the papacy. Young Italy spread rapidly through the peninsula and beyond it. It found imitators in France, Germany, Switzerland, and many other European states. The first risings organized by Young Italy occurred in 1833 and 1834, but they were speedily subdued. Mazzini fled to London and made that city the center of his intrigues and conspiracies. *Joseph*



MAZZINI.

Garibaldi, another member of the society who was destined to play an important part in later insurrections, fled to South America.

Another party of *Moderates* abstained from violent means. They sought to promote the cause of Italian unity by their writings by which the enthusiasm of the people was to be aroused. Usually these Moderates favored a confederation of the existing Italian states, somewhat after the pattern of the United States of America.

In 1846 the gentle and generous *Pius IX* ascended the papal throne. He was credited with liberal and progressive views, and his first acts justified these expectations. He began his reign with an extensive amnesty of political criminals who were in Roman prisons on account of their share in previous revolts. Relaxation of press censorship, the creation of a liberal ministry and of National Guards, and finally the appointment of a commission to draw up a constitution for the Papal States were measures that excited universal enthusiasm; many of the Moderates believed that the new pope would head a movement for the unification of Italy. But later he was ill requited for his generosity; many of those whom he had released from captivity at once began to intrigue against him, excited the people to demand impossible changes, and thus prevented sane and reasonable reform.

692. The Revolution of 1848. — On the news of the flight of Metternich from Vienna, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons (March 15) and set up provisional governments. King *Charles Albert of Sardinia*, to prevent an insurrection in his own state, put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement and declared war on Austria. Mazzini and Garibaldi returned, Naples and Tuscany joined Sardinia in the war; Pius IX was vehemently urged by the Roman Radicals to do the same, but as the common father of Christendom he steadfastly refused. England, on the other hand, se-

cretly and openly encouraged the rising and supplied arms and money.[1] But the tide turned against Charles Albert. The aged Austrian general, *Radetzki*, administered a severe defeat to the Sardinian king at *Custozza* (July 15), and pursued the retreating enemy as far as Milan, where the Austrian rule was

Pius IX and Members of the Papal Court.

reëstablished. Charles Albert then obtained a truce from the Austrian general.

Meantime the Radicals and Mazzinists in other states took matters in their own hands. In *Venice* and *Florence* they proclaimed the republic. Pius IX was driven from Rome by the revolutionary rabble that had gathered there from the entire peninsula (November 24). He found a temporary

[1] England's encouragement of the Italian revolts was prompted, partly by her sympathy with all liberal movements on the continent, partly by her desire to see a strong Italian state on the flank of Napoleonic France.

asylum in Gaëta near Naples. Mazzini and his friends then set up a *Roman Republic*, summoned a constitutional assembly which decreed the deposition of Pius IX, and decided for "pure democracy." The "patriotic" leaders, however, did not forget to fill their pockets with treasures stolen from the churches and religious institutions of Rome.

In northern Italy the radicals clamored for the renewal of hostilities against Austria. Charles Albert had to choose between that and the loss of his crown. He preferred war. But Radetzki won another brilliant victory at *Novara* (March 23, 1849), and Venice was retaken soon after. Charles Albert resigned in favor of his son, *Victor Emmanuel*. The defeat of Sardinia ended the revolution in the duchies.

The expulsion of the pope had aroused a storm of indignation in Catholic countries, especially in France. Louis Napoleon, then president of that country (§ 674), was forced by public opinion to send an expedition to Rome. The French troops stormed the city, and Mazzini and his friends sought safety in flight. Pius IX returned to Rome amid the wild rejoicing of his people. During the next twenty years (until 1870) a French garrison was stationed in Rome for the protection of the pope.

693. Summary. — The revolution as well as the attempts at national union had everywhere failed, chiefly because the movement was largely in the hands of radicals or unpractical theorists, whose words and actions offended the good sense of the majority. In Italy it closed with Novara (March, 1849), in Hungary with the fall of the Republic (July, 1849), in Germany with the humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz (December, 1850). A year later it closed in France with Napoleon's coup d'état (§ 676).

Still the problems remained. The popular demand for a greater share in the government would not stop. The union of the German states and the creation of a united Italy still

occupied men's minds. Both were to be accomplished in the near future, not by revolutionaries, but by unscrupulous statesmen.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 426–447. See works mentioned in previous chapter. On the revolution and the papacy read Maguire, *The Pontificate of Pius IX*, Chap. III–VII. Interesting information on the Italian secret societies and the revolution may be found in Parsons' *Studies*, Vol. V, Chap. XIV.

CHAPTER L

THE MAKING OF ITALY

694. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour. — The abdication of Charles Albert of Sardinia and the accession of Victor Emmanuel mark a change in the history of the making of Italy. Up to this time the driving forces had been *secret societies* and *republican agitators.* Now *Victor Emmanuel* and his chief minister, *Cavour,* assume the direction of the movement, using the secret societies, "Young Italy," and the Republicans, as their tools. Italy is not to be a republic nor a confederation of the existing states, but merely an *extension of the Kingdom of Sardinia.* One state after another will be annexed to Sardinia, and after the process is nearly finished the ruler of Sardinia will simply assume the title of "King of Italy."

CAVOUR.

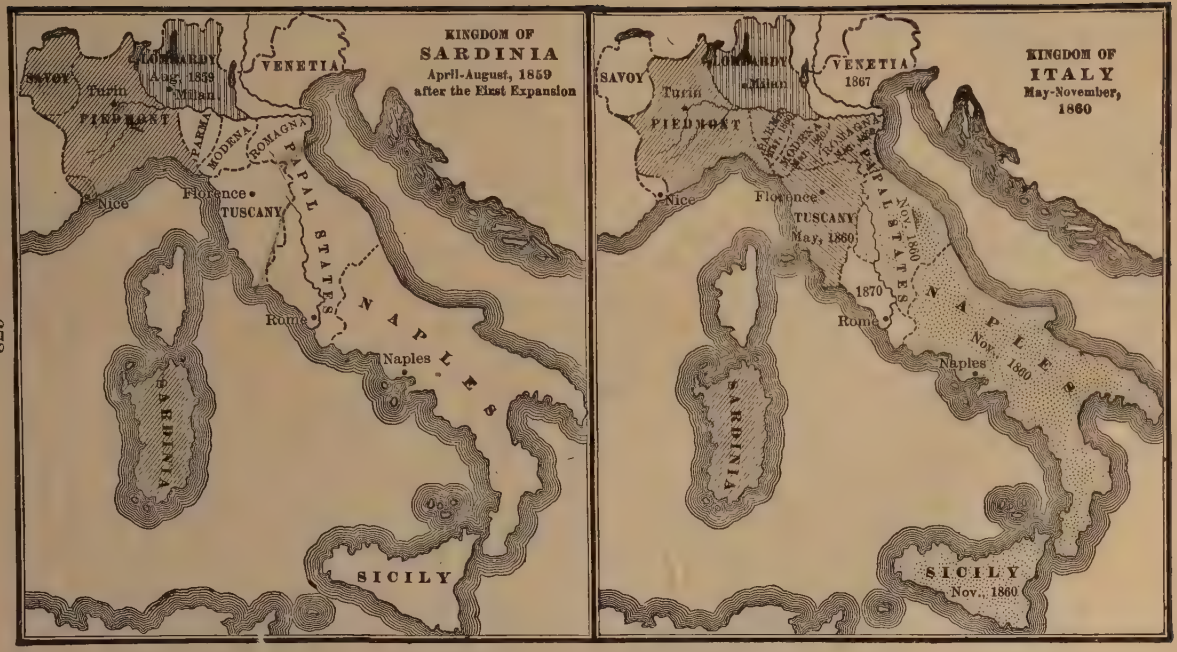
Count Cavour, one of the shrewdest statesmen of the nineteenth century, began his eventful career as prime minister of

Victor Emmanuel in 1852. The spirit which animated him showed itself soon in the wholesale suppression of monasteries and confiscation of their property, the deposition and imprisonment of protesting bishops. In order to accomplish his main object, the annexation of Italy to Sardinia, he strenuously labored to strengthen the military and economic resources of that little kingdom. The army was enlarged and remodeled after the Prussian plan, and the wealth of the country increased by reviving the shipping trade of Genoa. Sardinia had introduced a constitution in 1849, but the people were not yet ripe for an intelligent share in the government, and the king wielded as before almost absolute power.

695. Napoleon and Cavour. — The making of Italy meant war with Austria, for that state would never willingly relinquish its hold on the Italian provinces. The events of 1848 had proved that the Italians unaided were no match for the Austrian armies (§ 692). Cavour, therefore, endeavored to secure allies outside of Italy. He persuaded the king to send a small Sardinian detachment to assist France and England in the Crimean War (§ 679). Although Sardinian interests were in no way concerned in that war, it gave Cavour a chance to sit in the council of the Great Powers.

At the Congress of Paris, in 1856, his policy bore fruit. He had acquired a standing among the Great Powers and earned the gratitude of England and France, and he now made full use of it. In public discussions and private interviews he incessantly drew the attention of the European statesmen to the real and imaginary grievances of Italy. When the Congress adjourned he was sufficiently assured that in provoking a war with Austria he would have the assistance of France and the benevolent neutrality of the others.

696. First Step in the Sardinian Annexations. — After the Congress of Paris the war with Austria was the constant topic of correspondence between Cavour and Napoleon. The latter,



GROWTH OF ITALIAN UNITY, 1859–1870.

in promising his aid, was impelled, not so much by gratitude for the help received in the Crimean War, as by the desire to lessen Austrian power in Italy and to replace it by French influence. Cavour's pleadings with Napoleon were materially helped by an unexpected event. On January 14, 1858, a daring, though unsuccessful, attempt was made on Napoleon's life. The plot was carried out by an Italian revolutionist, Orsini, who had been expelled from Rome. Before his execution he wrote a letter to the French emperor and reminded him of the fact that as a young man he (Napoleon) had joined the Carbonari and had sworn to work for "the liberation of Italy." Napoleon took the warning. In a hurried interview with Cavour the two came to a definite agreement: in return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French (§ 618), and for a marriage alliance,[1] Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia with a French army, if Cavour could provoke Austria into a declaration of war.

Cavour then inveigled Austria into the attack. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring it his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of *Magenta* and *Solferino* (§ 679) drove the Austrians out of *Lombardy*, which was promptly annexed to Sardinia. This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy. The population of the growing state had risen at one stroke from five million to eight.

697. Venetia remained in Austria's hands, but Napoleon suddenly made peace. Cavour was enraged because of his breach of the promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But Napoleon had no wish that Italy should be one consolidated nation. His plans tended toward a *strong northern Italy* and in a vague way towards the *federation of all Italian states under the presidency of the pope*. Besides, public opinion among

[1] Victor Emmanuel was persuaded to sacrifice his young daughter by giving her in marriage to the dissolute Prince Napoleon, a cousin of Louis Napoleon.

French Catholics loudly condemned a policy which would eventually lead to the annexation of the Papal States. Cavour, to save his popularity, resigned in disgust, but he remained as before the soul of the Italian agitation.

698. Second Step: The Annexation of the Duchies. — At the beginning of the war, insurrections, carefully prepared by Cavour and his secret agents, had broken out in the duchies. *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Tuscany* had driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria) and set up provisional governments. At the peace, Napoleon had promised to Austria that the dukes should be restored. Seeing, however, the indignation of the Italians at his half-kept promises and having not yet received his promised reward, Nice and Savoy, he gave Cavour to understand that the former governments of the duchies should not be restored against the will of their inhabitants. Cavour took the hint. The matter was to be left to *popular vote*. Everything was managed so cleverly that, in March, 1860, the three duchies by large majorities declared for annexation to Sardinia. This was the second step in the making of Italy. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third and now became a state of eleven million people, comprising all Italy north of the Papal States, except Venetia.

699. The third step was due in its beginning to Garibaldi, who, in 1849 a republican, had now transferred his allegiance to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, he sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow-adventurers, to arouse rebellion in *Sicily*. Cavour, though he dissembled all participation in the expedition, had everything prepared for the success of the undertaking. The Sardinian embassy in Naples was the center of a network of intrigues spreading over the whole Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The loyalty of army and navy were undermined by bribery and conspiracy. After the expedition was safely under way Cavour, in a note to the Powers, expressed his "regret" at these illegal proceedings, but at the same time he

sent an order to the admiral of the Sardinian fleet, "Try to place your ships between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me." The admiral understood very well that he was to protect, not to hinder, the expedition. Other orders commanded him to furnish supplies and money to Garibaldi and to the conspirators in Naples.

Garibaldi landed safely in Sicily and won the island almost without bloodshed. Treason did the work. Crossing over to the mainland, he easily occupied *Naples*, from which the king had fled (September, 1860). Elated by these successes he thought of conquering the Papal States and Rome and of summoning Victor Emmanuel to Rome, to be crowned King of Italy. But Cavour thought differently. He did not intend to let the conquest appear as the work of Garibaldi; for in that case he might have lost control of the movement, and the republican element, numerous among the followers of Garibaldi, might have proclaimed the Italian Republic.

As early as August 31, Cavour had written to one of his agents, "An insurrection will break out in the Papal States from the 8th to the 12th of September. Whether it is suppressed or not, we shall intervene." The "insurrection" promptly broke out, but was easily suppressed by the papal troops. It consisted practically of an invasion of Garibaldian bands. Cavour then curtly summoned the papal government to disarm its troops, the existence of which was "a constant menace to Italian tranquillity." This "menace" consisted of a few thousand volunteers for the defense of the rights of the Holy See. Among them were the noblest names of France, Belgium, Austria, Ireland, and Canada. Before the answer of Pius IX came, Victor Emmanuel at the head of a Sardinian army marched into the Papal States. The papal army offered heroic resistance, but was simply crushed by overwhelming numbers. Leaving Rome aside, the Sardinian army marched south to take up the war in Naples and to check the mad march of Garibaldi. The latter

had done his work; his services were no longer needed, and the king disbanded his followers. Rome and the surrounding territory was left to the pope; the rest of the Papal States, together with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, were allowed to vote on the question of annexation to Sardinia. Cavour easily obtained an imposing majority in favor of annexation. The third step of the expansion of Sardinia into Italy was completed.

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

700. The "Kingdom of Italy." — Sardinia now comprised all the peninsula except Rome and Venetia; and it reached from the Alps to Sicily. The last annexations raised the population from eleven to twenty-two million. The next year, in February, 1861, the first "Italian Parliament" met at Turin and voted to Victor Emmanuel the title "*King of Italy.*"

Cavour's statesmanship had so far been triumphant. His next move was directed toward obtaining Rome as the capital of the new kingdom. He first tried negotiations with the pope, but Pius IX steadfastly refused to give up his remaining territory. An armed invasion would have brought Cavour in conflict with Napoleon, who still maintained a French garrison (§ 692) in the city of the popes, so he attempted to induce Napoleon to withdraw it voluntarily. The French emperor would have liked to please Cavour, but Catholic opinion in

France was strongly opposed to the measure, and the garrison remained a little longer. Meantime the parliament at Turin and the mob loudly clamored for Rome as the capital, and Cavour himself in a speech declared the possession of Rome an "absolute necessity for Italy." But soon after this speech he died (June 6, 1862), leaving to his successors the completion of his work.

The acquisition of the remaining provinces, Venetia and Rome (1866 and 1870), was intertwined with the making of Germany.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, 456–471. Maguire, Chaps. XX–XXIV. Seignobos, Chap. XI.

CHAPTER LI

THE MAKING OF GERMANY

A. The Expulsion of Austria from the Confederation

701. William I of Prussia. — In Germany the years from 1851 to 1861 were barren of political results. The old Confederation, which satisfied nobody, except Austrian statesmen, had been reëstablished. Two things had by now become clear to all: (1) If German unity was to be realized it had to be achieved under the leadership of Prussia; and (2) it could not be achieved without recourse to arms, as Austria would never willingly give up her predominant position in the Confederation nor permit the change of the Confederation into a real unified state. Under Frederick William IV, however, Prussia was not ready for action. Her military forces were weak, and the country was torn by the strife between the reactionary and liberal parties. But all was changed when, in 1861, Frederick William was followed by his brother, William I. *The preceding ten years had seen the making of Italy, the next ten years were to see the making of Germany.*

William I, destined to become the most idolized of German kings, was the prince who had been banished for a time to satisfy the Liberals (§ 686). He always entertained a very high idea of royal rights and had, for this reason, bitterly resented the weakness of his older brother in the face of the Berlin March riots. Still more, he tingled with indignation at Prussia's humiliation of Olmütz (§ 688), and he was determined that nevermore should Prussia be thus thwarted in her designs. With the rest of Germany he hoped for national unification,

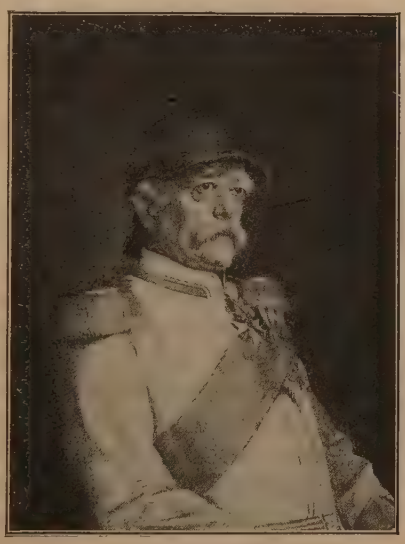
but he believed that unity could be achieved only after expelling Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

702. The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old class — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reënforced at need by levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia (§ 608). In 1807, after the disaster at Jena, Napoleon forced Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak by passing fresh bodies of recruits through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given two years' service; and part of each regiment was dismissed each year, and its place filled with new levies. Thus the Prussian army, according to Napoleon's own permission, was so cleverly managed as never to number more than 42,000 men at any one time. Those who passed out were held as reserves. After the Napoleonic wars were over Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make every man who was physically fit a trained soldier, but it had not been fully carried out. Since 1815 population had doubled, but the army had been left on the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so of the 150,000 youths who annually came of age for military service only 40,000 were drafted, while, in case of war, older and married men of the reserve had to take the field.

King William's first efforts were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits each year instead of only 40,000. This change called for an additional outlay of eight million dollars annually. The Prussian parliament, anxious to use the power but lately acquired, at first granted the money only under certain conditions, and, later, refused it altogether. William was determined not to give in; he would rather abdicate. But his advisers coun-

seled him to try a new minister. He finally yielded to their advice, and, in October, 1862, he summoned the man ready to carry out the royal will, parliament or no.

703. This man was Otto von Bismarck. — With him a minister stepped into office who was destined not only to uphold the army bill, but *to unify Germany* and to carry his country to the front rank of European states. Hitherto he had not figured very prominently in public life. He was known to be a country nobleman, a "Junker," of very conservative views. In the revolution of 1848 he had stanchly defended the royal prerogatives, to the delight of Frederick William, who sent him as Prussian delegate to the Frankfort Diet. There he realized the whole ridiculous imbecility of the Germanic Confederation, but also the unbending attitude of Austria in the question of German unity. He became convinced that the only state strong enough to bring about the creation of a German empire was his own Prussia. Needless to say, he was now heart and soul in favor of the new army bill which would strengthen Prussia for the coming struggle. The parliament still refused the money for the enlarged army, and so he ruled without parliament and for four years he collected taxes unconstitutionally.



BISMARCK.

Again and again the parliament demanded Bismarck's dis-

missal, and many violent scenes took place. The Liberals threatened to hang him, — as very probably they would have done if power had fallen to them by another revolution. Bismarck in turn railed at the Liberals contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron"; he grimly went on bullying or dissolving parliament, and the king steadfastly stood by him.

Meantime the army was greatly augmented. First of any large army, too, it was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading, repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders; and *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it the most perfectly organized military body in Europe.

Bismarck was now ready to carry out his selfish schemes. He needed only an opportunity. And it soon came. By a series of masterstrokes of daring and unscrupulous diplomacy he involved Prussia in three wars in the next seven years, the *Danish War* (1864), the *Six Weeks' War with Austria* (1866), and the *Franco-Prussian War* (1870–1871).

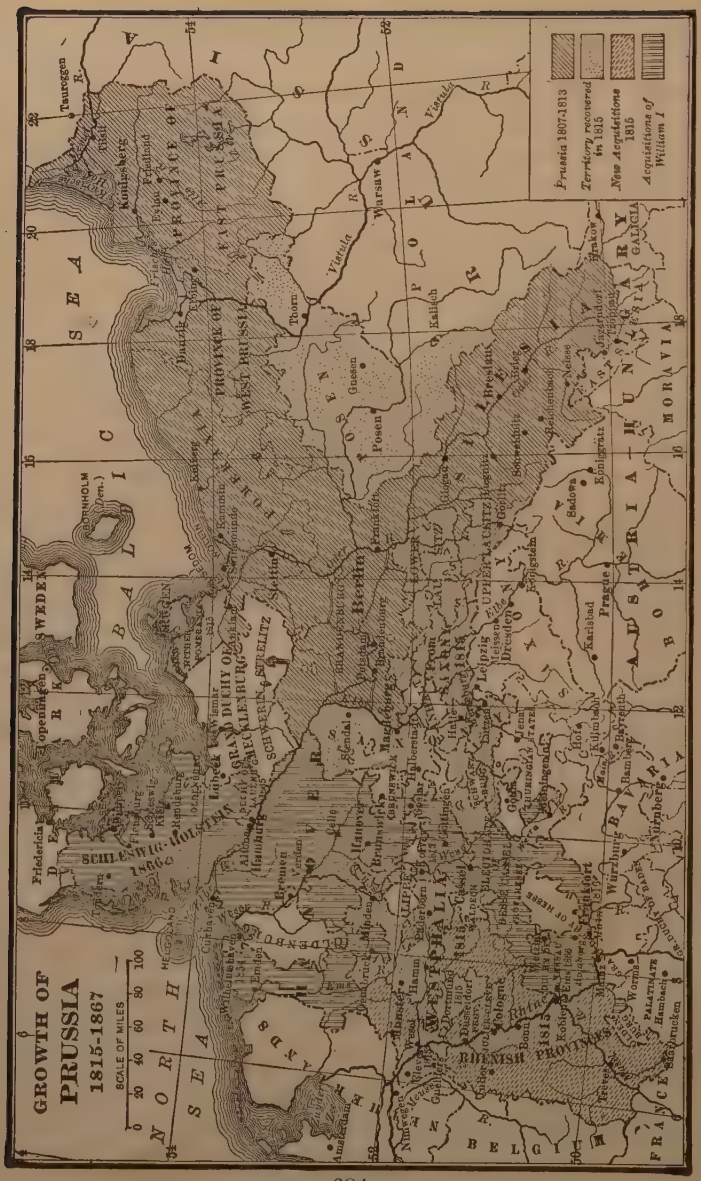
704. The Danish War. — The Danish king was also Duke of *Schleswig-Holstein*, two provinces at the base of the Danish peninsula. Their population, with the exception of the northern half of Schleswig, was entirely German. Holstein was, besides, a member of the Germanic Confederation. In 1847 the two provinces revolted against their Danish sovereign and expected help from Germany. Public opinion demanded energetic action, but the Frankfort Diet was too weak and vacillating to do anything. In 1863 a new Danish king adopted a constitution for his territories which made no distinction between Denmark proper and Schleswig, but simply treated it as Danish territory. This was a violation of a promise previously given, and gave Bismarck a chance to interfere. He persuaded his sovereign to conclude an alliance with Austria against Den-

mark. The two demanded the repeal of the new Danish constitution. Denmark refused and war followed. The little state was, of course, easily defeated and had to renounce all claims to Schleswig-Holstein *in favor of Austria and Prussia jointly.*

705. The Six Weeks' War with Austria. — Bismarck now had little trouble in finding a pretext for war with Austria. Quarrels arose at once over the administration of the ceded provinces. Austria wished to hand them over to a German prince and make them full-fledged members of the Confederation, while Bismarck's demands practically amounted to an annexation of both to Prussia. A treaty concluded at Gastein, which vested the administration of Holstein in Austria and that of Schleswig in Prussia, did not mend matters. When Austria encouraged Holstein to elect a native prince, Bismarck objected vigorously. To increase the chances for war, he now came forward with a proposal to reorganize the Confederation in such a way as to destroy the preponderance of Austria. The latter would not listen to the plan, and both prepared for war.

Bismarck with consummate skill had secured the *neutrality of Napoleon III.* Then he negotiated a secret *treaty with Italy.* That country longed for the acquisition of *Venetia,* which it failed to get in 1859 (§ 697). Bismarck now promised to the Italians that Austrian province if they would declare war as soon as Prussia had taken the initiative.

706. Meantime the excitement over the Schleswig-Holstein question became daily more intense. Austria convoked the Diet at Frankfort to settle the matter. Prussia declared this a breach of the treaty of Gastein and sent her troops into Holstein. Thereupon the Diet mobilized the armies of the Confederation. Prussia seceded, and the war began. All of the southern states ranged themselves on the side of Austria, as did also three of the northern states, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse.


GROWTH OF
PRUSSIA
1815-1867
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Prussia 1807-1813
Territory recovered in 1815
New Acquisitions 1815
Acquisitions of William I
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
POLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
GALICIA
MORAVIA
BOHEMIA
SAXONY
BAVARIA
BELGIUM
FRANCE
HOLLAND
HANOVER
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN 1866
GRAND DUCHY OF MECKLENBURG
SCHWERIN
STRELITZ
PROVINCE OF EAST PRUSSIA
PROVINCE OF WEST PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
POSEN
SILESIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
WESTPHALIA
RHENISH PROVINCES
HESSE
BAVARIA
WÜRTZBURG
FRANKFORT
PALATINATE
Berlin
Stettin
Danzig
Königsberg
Thorn
Posen
Breslau
Prague
Vienna
Warsaw
Cracow
Dresden
Leipzig
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Cassel
Frankfort
Cologne
Bonn
Aachen
Munster
Amsterdam
Copenhagen
Lübeck
Rostock
Wismar
Kiel
Flensburg
Friedericia
Tauroggen
Tilsit
Kalisch
Lemberg
Karlsbad
Nuremberg
Augsburg
Munich
Mayence
Coblenz
Trier
Metz
Strasbourg
Karlsruhe
Stuttgart
Ulm
Carlsruhe
Wesel
Düsseldorf
Elberfeld
Bielefeld
Minden
Paderborn
Hildesheim
Göttingen
Halberstadt
Magdeburg
Potsdam
Frankfort
Guesen
Kamin
Stettin
Colberg
Kolberg
Stralsund
Rügen
Wismar
Schwerin
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Copenhagen
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Malmö
Ystad
Kalmar
Gotland
Bornholm
Riga
Mitau
Dorpat
Reval
Pernau
Wilna
Kowno
Grodno
Bialystok
Brest
Pinsk
Kiew
Odessa
Kaschau
Pesth
Ofen
Debreczin
Szegedin
Temesvar
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Jassy
Bucharest
Kishinev
Kherson
Sebastopol
Simferopol
Taganrog
Rostov
Astrakhan
Kazan
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
Tula
Kaluga
Smolensk
Mohilev
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Voronezh
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Kiakhta
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Bokhara
Samarcand
Khiva
Tiflis
Erivan
Kars
Trebizond
Erzerum
Bagdad
Teheran
Tabriz
Ispahan
Shiraz
Kabul
Cabul
Peshawur
Lahore
Multan
Delhi
Agra
Lucknow
Calcutta
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Pondicherry
Calicut
Goa
Colombo
Kandy
Trincomalee
Aden
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Medina
Jeddah
Muscat
Bushire
Basra
Mosul
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Cairo
Alexandria
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Tangier
Fez
Mogador
Tripoli
Benghazi
Khartoum
Massowah
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Kilimanjaro
Tanganyika
Nyassa
Zambesi
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Natal
Zululand
Transvaal
Orange Free State
Cape Colony
Madagascar
Mauritius
Reunion
Seychelles
Socotra
Sumatra
Java
Borneo
Celebes
Ceylon
Sandwich Islands
Hawaii
Maui
Oahu
Kauai
Niihau
Molokai
Lanai
Kahoolawe
Tahiti
Samoa
Fiji
Tonga
Marquesas
Easter Island
Pitcairn
Galapagos
Juan Fernandez
Tristan da Cunha
St. Helena
Ascension
Fernando Po
Sao Thomé
Cape Verde
Canary Islands
Azores
Madeira
Iceland
Faroe Islands
Shetland
Orkney
Hebrides
Ireland
Dublin
Cork
Galway
Limerick
Belfast
Londonderry
Sligo
Wexford
Waterford
Kilkenny
Tuam
Ballinasloe
Athlone
Mullingar
Navan
Drogheda
Dundalk
Newry
Armagh
Omagh
Enniskillen
Cavan
Longford
Tullamore
Kilkenny
Clonmel
Tipperary
Limerick
Ennis
Kilrush
Tralee
Killarney
Bantry
Skibbereen
Kinsale
Youghal
Dungarvan
Waterford
Wexford
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Dublin
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Skibbereen
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But Bismarck and Moltke were certain of success. Superior equipment and leadership justified their hopes. In three days the Prussian armies overran the three northern allies of Austria. From Saxony they marched into Bohemia, where, on July 3, 1866, they met the main army of Austria at *Sadowa*. The contest was one of the bloodiest of the century; the Austrians suffered a terrible defeat, and the way to Vienna was open to the enemy.

Meantime the Italians had kept their part of the engagement and opened hostilities, but only to meet defeat on the old battlefield of *Custozza*. The Italian fleet, too, though superbly equipped, was badly crippled by the wooden ships of the Austrians off the coast of Dalmatia.

707. The Peace, nevertheless, gave *Venetia to Italy*. The other, more important, provisions come under two heads.

a. Prussia annexed *Hesse-Cassel*, *Nassau*, *Hanover*, and the city of *Frankfort*, the seat of the former Diet. These acquisitions consolidated her formerly scattered lands, since they filled the gap between her old territory and her possessions on the Rhine. She also kept *Schleswig-Holstein* with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. Her territory was enlarged by half, and her population rose from twenty to nearly thirty millions. No other German state approached this — now that Austria was no longer to be a German state.[1]

b. Austria did not lose any territory (except Venetia), but she definitely *withdrew from German affairs:* and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by the *North German Federation*. This union was placed under Prussian presidency and

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[1] Frederick the Great at his accession ruled over two and a half million subjects. This number was doubled during his reign, with some new territory. By 1815 it had doubled again, to ten millions. In the next half century (1815–1866) the population nearly doubled, without addition of territory. The Six Weeks' War had raised it to thirty millions. Trace the growth of Prussia on the (accompanying) map.

comprised all states north of the Main river. It was not a loose league like the old Confederation, but a true federal state, with essentially the same constitution as the later German Empire. Bismarck would have liked to add the southern states, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, to the North German Federation, but Napoleon III, jealous of Prussia's growing power, objected, and Bismarck dropped the scheme, though only for the time. He feared an alliance between France and the humiliated Austria.

B. The Founding of the German Empire

708. After Sadowa, Bismarck was the idol of the Prussian parliament. As soon as his purpose to expel Austria from Germany became known opposition against him practically ceased. The parliament passed enthusiastically the act of indemnity he requested for his previous unconstitutional actions, and gave him a hearty support that made it easier for him to complete his task.

709. Bismarck and Napoleon III. — After the Danish War, Napoleon had expected to get at least Luxemburg, with Prussia's consent, in return for giving her a free hand. And when the Six Weeks' War began he thought that his chance had surely come. Bismarck, in a personal interview with Napoleon, made sure of the latter's neutrality and "permitted" the French emperor to deceive himself as to a future reward. Napoleon's real plan, however, was to remain neutral at first, and to step in at the critical moment to save the vanquished. The vanquished, he felt sure, would be Prussia. In gratitude for his protection, Prussia would sanction his annexing German territory on the Rhine.

But the war was over, and over in a way contrary to his hopes, before Napoleon's armies were ready. The chance was passed; but Napoleon weakly tried negotiations. For he felt that popular clamor demanded some great achievement to

satisfy French ambition and to maintain himself on the throne. The emperor's popularity had been on the wane ever since his mad Mexican expedition had failed (§ 680). After the battle of Sadowa a strong Republican party declared it a French as well as an Austrian defeat, inasmuch as it was a step toward German unity, which would diminish French prestige and put an end to the time-honored interference of France in German affairs. Upon Napoleon fell the blame for having allowed matters to come to such a pass.

Neither were internal troubles wanting. The revolutionary and socialistic spirit of 1848 was still fermenting in the masses. A concession of Napoleon in the shape of a liberal constitution earned him little gratitude. Even in the army 50,000 votes were cast against it. No wonder, then, that Napoleon looked for extension of the frontiers to divert attention from domestic affairs.

Hence his negotiations with Bismarck. He suggested to him that France be permitted to annex parts of Bavaria (one of Prussia's antagonists in the Six Weeks' War), to offset Prussian annexations; in return France would give Prussia a free hand in reorganizing Germany. Bismarck was already planning a war with France, the only means, in his eyes, to bring the South German states into the North German Federation. This proposal of annexations of Bavarian territory delivered Napoleon into Bismarck's hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states. This terrified them into a secret alliance with Prussia. Now a war with France would fuse North and South Germany into one state.

710. The Ems Dispatch. — Bismarck, therefore, wanted war and used every means at his disposal to hasten it. But his success was made possible only by the folly and envy of the French statesmen. The immediate occasion for war grew out of a proposal of the *Spaniards* to place upon their throne a German prince, a distant relative of King William of Prussia.

Napoleon called upon William to prevent this, urging that it would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. The French press, in fact, loudly protested against having a German prince to the south as well as to the east of the French frontier. The prince then declined the proffered crown, and everything seemed peacefully settled. But Napoleon's advisers were bent upon humiliating Prussia. So the French ambassador was instructed to see King William at the little watering-place of Ems and to insist that the king should give a definite pledge that the Spanish offer, if renewed at any time in the future, would not be accepted. William very properly declined to do this. But his refusal, though firm, was so courteous that there was no cause for offense. An account of the interview was telegraphed to Bismarck, who skilfully condensed it in such a way as to make it appear that king and ambassador had insulted each other.[1] This "edited" account he sent to the press. As Bismarck hoped, France took fire and declared war (July 19, 1870). Never did a state rush more blindly to its fate.

711. The War (1870-1871). — To Thiers and others who opposed the war on the ground that France was not sufficiently prepared, the French minister of war gave the assurance, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's gaiter button," and the people in the streets of Paris shouted light-heartedly, "On to Berlin." But the first attempts to move troops showed that the government was honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency. Regiments lacked men. Arsenals were empty. Transportation was not ready where it was needed, and supplies of all kinds were of the poorest quality. The French soldiers fought with their accustomed bravery, but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled at every point. On the other

[1] See the original dispatch and Bismarck's version of it in Anderson's *Constitutions and Documents*.

hand, the Prussian army showed the same thorough preparation and energy which had brought so swift a victory in 1866. In twelve days after the declaration of war the Germans had put one and a quarter million of troops into the field and had massed most of them on the Rhine. Napoleon planned to *drive a wedge between the German North and South.* After the first victory, he calculated, the South would break away from the alliance with Prussia.

But that first victory never came. Instead, the French were defeated at *Wörth* and forced to fall back to the frontier. After a series of battles ending in the desperate struggle of *Gravelotte* one French army, numbering 170,000 men, took refuge in the strong fortress of *Metz.* Leaving a force to invest Metz, the main German army turned westward after the other half of the French forces under General MacMahon, and surrounded them at *Sedan* near the Belgian boundary. There the decisive battle was fought, September 1, that resulted in the surrender of the whole French army with Napoleon in person.

712. The Proclamation of the German Empire. — When the news of the disaster of Sedan reached Paris, the Chambers declared *Napoleon deposed* and set up a provisional government, the leading spirit of which was the Republican *Gambetta.* It decided to continue the war. Meantime the Germans pressed on to the siege of Paris, and soon completely cut off the capital from the provinces. Paris offered the most heroic resistance, and the exhausted provinces raised army after army to rescue the capital from the iron grasp of the Germans. For a time success seemed possible, but in the end it became apparent that the German ring could not be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; and on January 28, 1871, the city surrendered.

During the siege Bismarck completed the work of the unification of Germany. The South German people were wild with enthusiasm over the victories over the French, and Bismarck,

while this feeling was at its height, brought them all into the North German Federation. Then he arranged that the King of Bavaria in the name of other leading German rulers should ask the King of Prussia to take the title of *German Emperor*. And *on January 18*, while the siege of Paris was still going on,

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AT VERSAILLES, January 18, 1871. In the same palace the peace treaty between Germany and the Allies was signed June 28, 1919.

in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles, *William of Prussia solemnly assumed that title*. The act was soon ratified by a parliament representing all Germany.

713. Peace. — The provisional government set up after Sedan represented only Paris and had, therefore, no authority to make peace. After the fall of the capital an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a National Assembly. It met towards the close of February and elected Thiers "head of the Executive Power." The first task of the new head was to make peace with Bismarck. The terms were hard. A war indemnity of one billion dollars was exacted by the Germans. The province of Alsace and part of Lorraine, including the

strong fortresses of Strassburg and Metz, were annexed to the new German Empire, although the vast majority of the population of these provinces was passionately attached to France. In fact, hundreds of thousands preferred to leave their homes rather than to submit to German rule. Bismarck himself, it is said, had misgivings, but the military leaders insisted that their annexation was necessary in order to give the empire a strong western boundary.

714. Thus Germany was made, not by the people's representatives assembled in the Frankfort Parliament, nor by the agitation of later revolutionary enthusiasts, but by the daring and unscrupulous diplomacy of Bismarck, details of which, later on, he himself shamelessly revealed. Such methods can recommend themselves to those only who, like Bismarck, believe that statesmen in their political acts need not be restrained by the moral law. Their dazzling success, moreover, presented a strong temptation to his successors to follow similar methods and thus to sow the seeds of distrust and future wars. Such methods, sooner or later, are bound to bring disaster upon their authors.

On the other hand, we must not underestimate the value of earlier efforts. The Frankfort Parliament and the flood of literature it produced awakened in all minds a strong desire for union to put an end to the disgraceful centuries of discord and foreign interference. Hence, when the new empire was proclaimed most of the best men of the nation gave their hearty approval to the accomplished fact.

The subsequent story of France and Germany will be told in another chapter.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, III, §§ 478–486 and 496–514. For a clear and fair account read Holt and Chilton, *European History 1862–1914*, Chap. IV–VII. The general histories of Hazen, Hayes, Seignobos devote much space to this period.

PART VIII. GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1815

CHAPTER LII

POLITICAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

A. The First Reform Bill

715. Political Conditions in 1815. — In the eighteenth century, through her participation in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 482), in the Seven Years' War (§ 498), and the Napoleonic wars, England acquired a world-empire. During the same century she inaugurated that silent yet mighty change in human life, the *Industrial Revolution*. But in one respect, in *political progress*, that period is singularly uninteresting; except for the accidental progress in the matter of ministerial government (§ 464), England actually went backward in freedom.

Parliament had never been a very democratic body, and, after 1688, it shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords. This came about largely by accident.

The old English kings had summoned representatives from whatever borough they pleased, though custom gave a borough, once represented, a right to send a member ever afterward. At first this power to "summon" boroughs was used wisely to recognize towns as they grew up. But the Tudors, in order better to manage parliaments, called representatives from insignificant hamlets. These were "*pocket boroughs*," — owned or controlled by some lord of the court party.

This bad condition was made worse by natural causes. When in the eighteenth century manufactures developed in the north and west the population shifted to these parts; large cities grew up where formerly pastures and heath covered the land.

But these new towns could not get their representatives into parliament; for after the "Restoration" of 1660 the king no longer enjoyed the right to create boroughs, just when that power might have been used to public advantage. On the other hand, in the south and east, old parliamentary boroughs had dwindled down to fifty or fewer inhabitants, but still continued to be represented in London. In a few cases the borough had actually disappeared or had been submerged by the encroachments of the sea. Still a descendant of the ancient owner had the right to elect himself to parliament. Thus the elder Pitt, who guided England's policy during the Seven Years' War, entered the Commons as a member from Old Sarum, when not a vestige of the old town remained, simply because his grandfather had bought the soil where the town once stood. In many small places with only a few voters there was no real election. A neighboring landlord on whom the people depended as tenants would propose the candidate and force his election.

Others were known as "*rotten boroughs*." That is, the few voters sold the seat in parliament as a regular part of their private revenue. Thus, in 1776, the little town of Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, as all voting was viva-voce, and as the polls were held open for two weeks, there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

716. Attempts at Reform, 1815–1832. — Progressive individuals had long seen that parliament did not represent the nation, and urged reform. But after 1688 the energies of the English went to the long French wars and left little interest for domestic affairs. Moreover, during the long period from 1760 to 1820 the king was determined to prevent reform. *George III* felt that his indolent predecessors had allowed the kingly power to slip from their hands, and he resolved to get it back once more. This, of course, was much easier with a parliament made up largely of members from pocket boroughs

that could be controlled than with a parliament that really represented the nation. Besides, when the Americans raised the cry "No taxation without representation," it would have been rather inconsistent to grant representation at home while refusing it to the colonies. The French Revolution threw England into the opposing camp, and, for a while, democratic ideas became very unpopular. During nearly all this time the Tories were in power, who, by tradition, opposed all movements in favor of popular government. When in 1820 George IV followed his father on the throne he assumed the same attitude towards political reform.

717. Some small gains, however, were made before 1830. — In 1825 the parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in *labor unions*, — which had always before been treated as conspiracies. In 1828 the *Dissenters*, and the next year the *Catholics*, secured greater political rights (§ 742). A beginning was made, too, in the reform of the atrocious laws regarding *capital punishment*.

The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some parliament had fixed the death penalty for it, and no later parliament ever revised the code, so that, by 1800, the number of "capital crimes" had risen to over two hundred, ranging all the way from stealing a woman's handkerchief to arson, or murder. In 1823, at last, after long agitation by the reformer Romilly, parliament struck the death penalty from one hundred offenses.

718. The Reform Bill of 1832. — In 1830 George IV was succeeded by his brother *William IV*. He had the reputation of being more favorably disposed toward reform than his predecessor. At the same time, too, the French "July Revolution" (§ 640), with its far-reaching effects on the continent, added strength to the reform party in England.

At that time the accession of a new sovereign involved a general election for parliament. The *Whigs* returned stronger

than they had been in the preceding parliament, and they promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The *Duke of Wellington*, the hero of Waterloo, was then prime minister and a Tory. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes of legislation, and "that to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered in any country whatsoever." This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of parliament. He had to resign, and the Whigs came into power with *Earl Grey* as prime minister. In the House of Commons Lord *John Russell* was the chief representative of the ministry. He drew up the bill of reform. It aimed (1) to distribute the representation somewhat more fairly, (2) to extend the franchise to a somewhat larger class of voters. The manner of voting was not to be changed, as Earl Grey objected to the secret ballot.

Representation was to be taken away from fifty-six "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, and thirty more places, each of them of less than 4000 inhabitants, were to give up one seat. The eighty-six seats gained in this way were to be given to new boroughs hitherto not represented. The right of voting was extended to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth $50 a year, and to the whole "farmer" class in the country (§ 659). Farm laborers and the artisan class in towns (who lived in tenements or as lodgers) were still left out.

719. The Struggle. — To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the very foundations of society. Fierce debates took up month after month. In March, 1831, the "second reading" of the bill was carried by a majority of one vote. It was plain that the Whigs were not strong enough to save the bill from undesirable amendments. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve parliament and to "appeal to the country" for better support.

The dissolution proved that the ministry meant to stand or fall on the bill. People everywhere showed their joy over the attitude of the ministers, and the general elections returned a large majority in favor of the bill. Russell introduced it again, and this time it passed the Commons by a majority of 109. Then it was sent up to the Lords, who calmly voted it down (September, 1831).

Thus one session of the new parliament was wasted. The excitement and indignation at the Lords rose to such a pitch that England seemed on the verge of revolution. In December the Commons took up the bill again and gave it a still greater majority. The Lords did not venture to reject it altogether, but they tacked on so many amendments that it fell far short of its original purpose.

The king has always the power to make new peers at will. Earl Grey now demanded from the king to create enough new peers to save the bill. William IV refused, and Earl Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories were unable to get a majority, so the king had to recall the Whigs. Earl Grey again insisted that the king compel the Lords to give in. Finally William reluctantly signed a note on which Grey had written "The king grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not necessary actually to create new peers. The Tory Lords withdrew from the session, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

720. Incidentally the long contest had settled two important points: (1) It showed how the *Commons could control the Lords*, and (2) it proved that the ministers are *not the king's ministers*, except in name, but that they are really the *organ of the House of Commons*. The royal power has thereby been greatly reduced; since the king can act only through his ministers and since they are able to impose their will upon him, they,

and not the king, really rule Great Britain. But this will be better understood when we study the British Constitution (§ 728).

B. Reforms in the Victorian Age

721. Queen Victoria. — The first Reform Bill introduced a new era which we call the *Victorian age*. In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece *Victoria*, then a girl of eighteen, whose reign filled the next sixty-four years. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl. She was not brilliant; but she grew into a worthy, sensible, good woman, deeply loved by her people and admired by all the world. In 1840 she married Albert, the ruler of a small German principality, and their happy and pure family life (blessed with nine children) was an example rather new to European courts for generations.[1]

Queen Victoria at the Time of Her Coronation.

There was still much in the British Constitution that was undeveloped, and

[1] The crown of Hanover since George I (1714) had been joined in personal union to that of Great Britain. But since the Hanoverian law excluded women from the throne, Hanover passed to Victoria's uncle, the duke of Cumberland, her nearest heir. The separation was peaceful and satisfactory to both parties.

the difficult problems arising out of the change in parliament and cabinet might have led to dangerous complications. But the queen never lost sight of the principles of liberty on which her sovereignty rested, and exerted her influence on the side of moderation and prudent concession.

The Victorian age was a period of *brilliant literary achievement.* True, Burns and Scott, Wordsworth and Macaulay, had initiated this golden age before her reign. But Browning, Tennyson, Dickens and Thackeray, Carlyle and Ruskin, are great names chiefly associated with the Victorian age.

722. New Leaders. — The first Reform Bill gave the vote to 650,000 people, or to one out of six grown men. It marked the end of the Old Régime in England. Political power passed from the narrow landlord class to a more broad-minded middle-class aristocracy. For more than forty years (1790–1830) parliament had openly been contemptuous of public opinion. Thenceforth it has been nearly always promptly responsive to that force, and reform crowded upon reform.

DISRAELI.

During the next forty-two years (1832–1874) the Tories (Conservatives [1]) were in power less than one sixth of the time. After that they, too, adopted a more liberal policy toward the lower classes and secured longer leases of power. The man who did much to bring about that change was Disraeli, the real leader of the party through the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

[1] Soon after the great Reform Bill the name *Conservative* began to replace Tory, and *Liberal* replaced Whig.

Disraeli (later *Lord Beaconsfield*) was by race a Jew, though he later outwardly attached himself to the Anglican Church. He was an author and a brilliant orator. As a politician he had no very fixed principles, but his shrewd mind told him that the influence and power of the Conservatives depended upon the concession of reforms.

An even more important figure was Disraeli's great adversary, *William Ewart Gladstone*. Gladstone entered parliament in 1833, and soon proved himself a powerful orator and master of debate. Besides, he was an authority on financial questions. He began his career as an extreme Tory, but by degrees he grew more Liberal, and thirty years later he succeeded Lord Russell as the acknowledged leader of that party. For thirty years more he held that place, — four times as prime minister,[1] — and at the close of his career many considered him an extreme Radical. Some of his early friends accused him of being inconsistent, but the world at large accepted his simple explanation, "I was brought up to distrust and dislike liberty. I have learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my changes." For the last twenty years of his life he was widely revered as England's "Grand Old Man."

[1] Reference Table of Administrations:

	Liberals	*Conservatives*
1830–34	Grey	
1834–35		Peel
1835–41	Melbourne	
1841–46		Peel
1846–52	Russell	
1852		Derby
1852–58	(1) Aberdeen (2) Palmerston	
1858–59		Derby
1859–66	(1) Palmerston (2) Russell	
1866–68		Derby
1868–74	Gladstone	
1874–80		Disraeli (Beaconsfield)
1880–85	Gladstone	
1885–86		Salisbury
1886	Gladstone	
1866–92		Salisbury
1982–95	(1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery	
1895–1906	(1) Salisbury (2) Balfour	
1906–16	Campbell-Bannerman Asquith	
1916–	Lloyd George	

After this general survey we will turn to some details of England's progress in the Victorian age.

723. The Conservatives at once accepted the result of 1832, as that party in England always does when a new reform has been forced upon them. But they emphatically declared against further concessions to the poorer classes, and in this they were supported by many Liberals, and by none more heartily than by Lord John Russell. The middle class now shared political power with the aristocracy, and they had no mind to extend it to others. But outside of parliament and outside of the ruling middle class there was the large mass of workingmen who knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and their public demonstration, and who felt that they had been cheated out of the fruits of the victory. This class continued restless, but they lacked leadership, and, in ordinary times, their claims secured little attention. There were, however, two marked periods of agitation, — one just before 1848, and another before 1867. The first was futile, the second led to a new Reform Bill.

724. The earlier of the two agitations was the famous Chartist Movement. — Even before 1832 there had been an extensive agitation for a more radical change than that proposed in Russell's Reform Bill, and the extremists had fixed upon six points to struggle for: (1) universal manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualifications for membership in parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the secret ballot, and (6) annual elections. In 1837 the Radicals renewed their agitation, and the "*Six Points*" were embodied in a *Charter*. Excitement grew from year to year, and in the forties many Chartists looked forward to rebellion. Men armed and drilled, and the alarmed government took precautions. In 1848, upon the news of the continental revolutions, the Chartists adopted the resolution: "All labor shall cease till the people's Charter becomes the law of the

land." This was the first attempt at a national strike for political purposes. But the movement was poorly organized. After some riots and some bloodshed it subsided, overawed by the military display of the middle-class government.

725. The next agitation had its origin in the sufferings of the unemployed while the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for the English factories. This time no one thought of force; the agitators could safely count on winning, through the rivalry of the two political parties. The Conservatives were then in power, and fear of the Liberals induced them to pass the *second Reform Bill* in 1867. It gave the franchise to all householders (owners or renters) and to all lodgers who paid at least $50 a year for their rooms. This bill benefited the artisan class, and raised the number of voters to over three millions. But, owing to the low rents in England, many unmarried men were still excluded from the suffrage.

726. The Third Reform Bill, 1884. — The seven years after 1867 were filled mainly with legislation for social reform (§ 737) for which most of the credit belongs to Gladstone's ministry. Then, after a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and concerned chiefly with foreign matters, Gladstone took office again, and the *third Reform Bill* enfranchised the unskilled laborer and the servant class. Shortly afterward the whole of England was divided into parliamentary districts more resembling our own congressional districts. This raised the electorate to over six million voters. . . . But manhood suffrage remained limited by property qualifications until 1918. In that year parliament by a new electoral act abolished practically all restrictions and, at the same time, extended the franchise to women. This act more than doubled the English electorate.

727. Reforms in Local Government. — The extension of the franchise by the three Reform Bills applied only to parliamentary elections. Local government remained aristocratic. In the country, practically all affairs of the parish and the

county were managed by a Board of Justices of the Peace, taken from the local gentry and appointed for life by the crown. *In the towns* the government was usually vested in a mayor and a council who were virtually self-elected for life. Needless to say, this system permitted gross abuses. In 1835 a *Municipal Reform Bill* proposed that in certain specified towns the municipal council should be elected by all those who pay local taxes. After long and stubborn resistance by the Lords it finally became law. From time to time new towns were added to the list until, in 1882, it was provided that any town might adopt this form of government.

In the country the change came later, chiefly because the rule of the gentry was honest. But between 1888 and 1894 election of officers by the taxpayers was introduced. This infused new life and a spirit of enterprise into the rather obsolete and inefficient administration of the counties and parishes.

These reforms made English local government a model for all other democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils; party politics have little or no influence on local administration. Efficient men of high professional standing provide English cities with a government which costs less and gives more than in American cities. And the scandals which sometimes disgrace our city governments are unknown.

C. The British Constitution

728. Its Character. — We have just seen how the three reform bills gave the people a much greater share in political power than they had possessed before the nineteenth century. The form and appearance of the monarchy have remained unchanged. *In theory the king* still makes laws, declares war, makes peace, and carries on the government. *In practice*, however, all legislative power is exercised by *parliament*, and all executive power rests in the hands of *Cabinet* ministers who act in the king's name. To us practical Americans it seems

odd that England should retain so much of the pomp and splendor of royalty after its power has nearly vanished. But Englishmen cling with reverence and affection to their king, and never dream of doing away with forms under which the nation has grown so mighty and prosperous. There are some, too, who think that the nation has gone a little too far in curtailing the power of the monarch. Should this view one day prevail it would be easy to give more practical significance to the form already existing.

Another feature that seems strange to an American is that the Constitution of Great Britain is *not embodied in a written document*, like the Constitution of the United States or the constitutions of most continental states. It rests solely on respect for tradition and custom, which is a very prominent quality of the British character. It has grown up in the slow growth of centuries, and it can be amended at any time by an ordinary act of parliament. And since it is legally not superior to parliament *no act of parliament can be declared unconstitutional.*

729. The Cabinet. — The center of the whole machinery of the government is the Cabinet. In reality it is a committee selected from the two Houses of Parliament, counting usually from sixteen to twenty members. The king chooses the prime minister or head of the Cabinet, and the latter then selects his colleagues. But the king's choice is greatly limited by the requirements (1) that the members of the Cabinet shall be taken from the party that has the majority in the House of Commons, and (2) that its head and members shall be those whom that majority recognizes as its leaders. If there were any doubt as to which one of several men is the leader, the matter would be settled by a conference. In 1902 Balfour was chosen by the Conservatives in such a conference.

Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department of government, — Treasury (Exchequer), Foreign Affairs, War, and so on. Their leading assistants in all these depart-

ments — some twenty men — together with the heads of the departments form the *ministry*. The chiefs themselves constitute the inner circle, the *Cabinet*.

The Cabinet is really "the Government," and is often referred to by that title. It is the real executive as well as the guiding force in the legislature. In their secret meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policies. In parliament they introduce bills and defend them. In the executive departments over which they severally preside they carry out these policies. In this way a unity and consistency of action is given to the government which is wanting in most other states. Indeed, the union of executive and legislative powers is the principal characteristic of the British government. In the United States neither the President nor the members of his cabinet are allowed to have seats in Congress or to take part in debates. They are forced, therefore, to use roundabout means to secure the passage of laws which they consider necessary. In England the prime minister and his colleagues must be members of parliament, and they are naturally its leaders. The ministers take the chief part in transacting business. For example, no vote of money can be proposed except in the House of Commons and by one of the ministers. In fact, the ministers are practically responsible for every bill that is passed. Either the ministry introduces the bill, to begin with, or at least permits and adopts it. If it is not willing to do that, it either defeats the bill or is itself defeated. But it cannot escape responsibility to the nation.

730. "Appeal to the Country." — Another vital difference between the American and British system of government lies in the fact that when the British ministry loses the support of the majority in the House of Commons it must either resign or "*appeal to the country.*" If it chooses the latter, the king (nominally, of course) dissolves parliament and orders a general election. If the ministers are sustained by the voters they

remain in office and have thereafter a majority favorable to their policy. If the opposition party secures a majority at the polls the ministers must resign, and the leader of the victorious party is called by the king to form a Cabinet; the former ministers then become leaders of the opposition. Usually not more than three weeks intervene between the dissolution of one parliament and the coming into office of a new House. Moreover, members of the House of Commons *do not have to be residents of the districts which they represent.* If, therefore, a prominent member of either party is defeated in his district it is easy to find a seat for him from some other constituency. Thus great statesmen, like Gladstone, can spend the greater part of their lives in continuous service in the House of Commons, either as members of the Cabinet or as leaders of the opposition.

731. From this account it will be clear why the British government is sometimes called the most democratic form of government of any great modern state. As the parliament may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of ascertaining the popular will on any important question, that body will be more responsive to public opinion than (for instance) the Congress of the United States. No deadlock between the executive and legislature is possible. True, bills have to get the consent of the Lords before they become law. The House of Lords consists of about six hundred members, all appointed for life, and therefore independent of the popular will. But continued resistance on the part of that body is little to be feared ever since, in 1832, the king threatened to "swamp" the Lords, that is, to appoint as many new members as are needed to form a majority in favor of a Cabinet measure. In 1914 the House of Lords was rendered still more "harmless" (§ 748) so that now practically all power is vested in the Commons, thus rendering the parliament more truly representative of the British people.

For Further Reading. — For English history of this period consult Lingard-Birt, pp. 586–619. A more connected narrative is to be found in Hazen, Chaps. XVIII–XXII. See also Hayes and Seignobos. Justin M'Carthy's *Epoch of Reform* is a brilliant account of the period of 1830–1850. Robinson's *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. II, contains much source material. For a detailed description of the British Constitution read Macy and Cannaway, *Comparative Free Government*, Part II, or Woodrow Wilson, *The State*.

CHAPTER LIII

SOCIAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

732. Reform by the Grey Ministry, 1832–1834. — The thirties were a period of social as well as of political reform. In England *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present; Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems. Public men, like *Wilberforce*, *Romilly*, and *Shaftesbury*, urged reform in parliament. And the study of the Industrial Revolution has taught us that there was, indeed, crying need for reform (§§ 657, 658).

After the Reform Bill of 1832 the new parliament, elected on the basis of the enlarged franchise, had a large Liberal majority, and, during the next three years, passed a number of important social measures. It freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, paying the colonists a hundred millions for their loss. It took away from the Irish peasants the burden for supporting the Anglican clergy (§ 743). It abolished some more excesses of the absurd and bloody criminal code (§ 717). And, finally, it commenced an era of factory legislation to free the downtrodden working classes of the English industrial centers. But this calls for a more extended notice.

733. Labor and Factory Legislation. — The heartlessness and greed of employers had so widely disregarded the welfare of body and soul of the employees that the state long before this period should have taken radical measures of relief. Something had, indeed, been done at an earlier date, but such relief

as was given did not proceed from an enlightened understanding of the real conditions. Thus, by the "*Workhouse Test*" the indigent received support only if they entered a workhouse, which was looked upon as a degradation by the poor. Later this test was abolished, to make room for a still more unsatisfactory law. The state gave additional wages to certain very poorly paid laborers. This only increased the number of idlers and humiliated the honest but poor people.

Saner views began to prevail after 1832. In the next year Lord Ashley secured the passage of a "factory act," limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week. Some provision was made, too, for the education of children and for a few holidays; and the employment of children under nine (!) was strictly forbidden. About half of all the children employed (some 30,000) were freed by this law.

Most of the manufacturers fought the bill bitterly, but public opinion was so aroused by the revelation of the appalling conditions in the factories that the bill became law. Subsequent acts still further limited the labor of women and children.

But this legislation applied only to factories. In 1840 a parliamentary commission made public the horrible conditions of women and children in the coal mines, — stunted, crippled, misshapen wretches, living in brutal slavery. Children began to work underground at five or six years of age, and rarely saw daylight. The working hours were from twelve to fourteen a day. In the wet underground passages, two to three feet high, women were compelled to crawl back and forth on hands and knees, hauling great carts of coal by chains fastened to their waists. A law forbade underground labor by women and children. Later acts added still more to the protection of the working classes against their exploitation by the capitalists. It must be said, however, that England, in comparison

with some continental states, has been rather slow to remedy the evils of the Industrial Revolution.

734. The "Oxford Movement." — About the same time when England awoke to the need of social reform, a remarkable movement began within the Anglican church which later led to quite unexpected results. With the advent of the Hanoverian kings there came over The Established Church a wave of indifferentism which killed all spirituality. The Anglican bishoprics furnished the party in power with valuable means of rewarding political support. The bishops appointed by the government usually had little care for the spiritual welfare of the flock committed to their charge, while the lower clergy consisted largely of men who had chosen the clerical state on account of its social and financial attractions.

Cardinal Newman.

To remedy this state of things, a number of Anglican clergymen, mostly professors and scholars of the famous university of *Oxford*, banded together, to work for a *spiritual revival of the Established Church*. Their leader was *John Henry Newman*, a man equally distinguished for his literary and scholarly attainments and for his high moral and religious aims. The adherents of this "*Oxford Movement*," as it was called, held that the Anglican Church had become infected with Protestant doctrines and practices and should, therefore, be freed from

them, so as to be more like the early Christian Church. The modern Roman Catholic Church, too, in their opinion, had gone astray and introduced teachings which were not the teachings of Christ. Hence the only safe course for reformers, like themselves, was to choose a "middle way" between Catholicism and Protestantism. In 1833 they began to issue a series of pamphlets or "*tracts*," in which they set forth their views. These aroused widespread attention. Almost all England took sides either for or against the "Tractarians," as the authors of these pamphlets were called. But gradually Newman and many of his followers became convinced, especially through a more thorough study of the past, that the Catholic Church of former ages was the same as it is to-day. And they had the courage of their conviction. In 1845 Newman (later cardinal) and his friends made their *submission to the Catholic Church*. His reception proved the signal for large numbers to follow. Gradually nine hundred Tractarians were converted to the true faith, and the stream of individual conversions steadily increased.

In 1850 Pope Pius IX *reorganized the Catholic Church in England* by establishing bishops and dioceses as they exist in Catholic countries. For a time there was a great amount of protest and denunciation against this "papal aggression," but the storm was soon allayed, and the Catholic Church pursued its work peacefully and with increasing success. During this same period of religious revival the odious penal laws were repealed one by one. But of this we shall have to speak later (§§ 740–743).

735. Repeal of the "Corn Laws." — Meantime the reforms made necessary by the Industrial Revolution extended to other matters besides factory legislation. The Conservative ministry of Peel (1841–1846) was marked by the abolition of the "Corn Laws." These laws put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. The purpose was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs

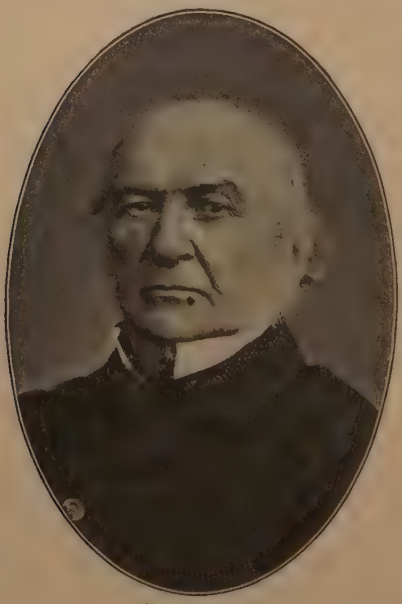
in England so as to make sure of a home supply. During the Napoleonic war this policy was, perhaps, justifiable. The profits, however, had gone mainly to the landlords, who exacted such high rents from their tenants as to annul the advantages which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. Besides, the increase in population made it impossible for England to produce enough foodstuffs anyway, and thus the landlords' monopoly of breadstuffs became an intolerable burden to the starving multitude.

In 1838 the *Anti-Corn-Law League* was organized by Richard Cobden and John Bright, and carried on a campaign through the press and by means of great public meetings. Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish leader (§ 742), joined the movement and became one of its principal orators. Gradually the big manufacturers came to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, since to enable the workingmen to live they had to pay higher wages, and thus their great influence was drawn to the side of reform.

Finally, in 1846, a huge calamity added its weight to the same side of the scales. This was the *Irish Famine*. The famine was caused by the sudden failure of the potato crop, then almost the only article of food for the poor Irish peasants. Despite generous alms from all parts of the world, two million people died of starvation, and about a million more emigrated to America. The English government had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible calamity in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to do away with the tariff and to let food in free; in spite of some bitter opposition from his own party the reform was adopted.

736. "Free Trade." — Peel was at once overthrown by a party revolt, but the Liberals now took up the work and carried it further. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, by 1852, England had become a "free trade country." This policy was never seriously questioned until 1903. For

some years previous to that date, to be sure, some of the Conservative party talked of a policy of "*fair trade*," or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures; and finally, 1903, *Joseph Chamberlain*, a member of the Conservative Cabinet, declared that the time had come for England to adopt a policy of that kind and at the same time to secure closer trade relations with her colonies. In 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made their campaign on this issue. Although so far they have not carried their point, there is a growing conviction in England that "free trade" principles will be partly or entirely abandoned.



GLADSTONE.

737. Gladstone and Disraeli. — For some twenty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws England saw little legal reform, aside from the extension of free trade and of the factory legislation already mentioned.

Then, after the Reform Bill of 1867 (§ 725), came Gladstone's reform administration (1868–1874). In 1870 it established alongside of the old private and parochial schools, a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, Board Schools, almost non-sectarian in character. The private schools were subsidized by the state, though, at a later date, the burden was thrown upon the religious denomination to which they belonged.

At the universities, religious tests were abolished. After that the recipients of degrees (unless they are candidates for the Anglican ministry) do not have to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican creed. This opened Oxford and Cambridge to Catholic students. Gladstone's ministry, moreover, did away with the purchase of office in the army, introduced the ballot, gave legal rights to labor unions. It disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland (§ 745). But these numerous reforms aroused no small amount of hostility. When, therefore, in 1874, parliament was dissolved the Conservatives under their brilliant leader Disraeli won by a large majority.

Gladstone's administration had been chiefly engaged in domestic reform. In its foreign relations it was exceedingly peaceful. Disraeli characterized this as weakness which "compromised the honor of England." Consequently he threw himself into foreign affairs and tried to excite English national pride by aggressive utterances and conduct. Queen Victoria was declared "*Empress of India*"; the Boers of the Transvaal were forced into a war so that England might seize their lands; and, in 1878, when Russia defeated Turkey (§ 846), and seemed on the point of excluding the Turk from Europe, Disraeli interfered. In the Congress of Berlin (§ 848) he saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia from the Mediterranean.

Gladstone had carried on a strong campaign against the policy of supporting the Turks and of perpetuating their tyranny over Christian peoples. This appeal to the moral sense of the English people, together with setbacks of Disraeli's policy in India and South Africa, brought about the return of the Liberals to power (1880). Gladstone, again prime minister, passed the Third Reform Bill (§ 726) and other beneficial changes. But he soon found himself occupied with the Irish Question, the thorniest in English politics. The importance of the relations between England and Ireland deserves a special chapter.

CHAPTER LIV

ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

738. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. — Conditions in Ireland after the passing of the *Penal Laws* (§ 467) were wretched beyond description. As a result of the plantations and the Penal Laws regarding property, six sevenths of the land belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their income there. Those who remained in Ireland made up the ruling class of the country. The vast majority of the people was Catholic. A few of these, especially in the West, were country gentlemen; some more were tenant farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for English landlords and living in mud hovels, — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

Farmers and laborers alike were "*tenants at will.*" That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was a sharp competition to get farms and cottages, so that the landlord could make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he commonly found out at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasant thriftless and hopeless, and the fact that the law of their masters was used only to oppress them aroused in their breasts hatred for all English law; hence we need not be surprised that at times the island became the scene of desparate insurrections.

Still more galling were the measures taken to *eradicate the Catholic faith* in Ireland. No nation in Christendom is more

devoutly attached to that faith. Though English tyranny could ruin the land and reduce its people to abject poverty, it never for a moment succeeded in shaking the foundations of Irish faith and Irish devotion to the Holy See. Irish priests, though harassed and hunted down by English agents and paid informers, never ceased to minister to their stricken people. Hence the traditional reverence and love of the Irish for their priesthood.

All hope of the Irish for the return of the Stuarts had vanished long ago, and they had accepted the House of Hanover, expecting relief from loyal submission to the existing sovereigns. Yet bigotry was so strong that under the first two Georges persecution, instead of abating, became rather more intense.

739. But during the second half of the eighteenth century a more generous sentiment towards the Irish gradually gained the upper hand.—Several causes contributed to this happy change. (1) After the last unsuccessful attempt of James II's grandson to regain the English crown, in 1745, the Irish ceased to build their hopes on the Stuarts, and the Stuart party in Ireland disappeared. Hence the charge of disloyalty could not well be maintained. (2) England, during the Seven Years' War and during the Napoleonic period, was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France and her allies, and it was felt that a persecuted and enslaved Ireland might prove a real danger to England. If, for instance, a French force should land there, Irish Catholics might join it and set up an independent Irish government under French protection. Irish volunteers in French service had proved on many a continental battlefield (§ 495, note) that under capable leaders they were a dangerous foe. It would be wiser, it seemed, to enlist these redoubtable fighters in the British army and navy from which they were debarred by the Penal Laws. (3) Even the English landlords began to reconsider their attitude toward the Irish. Many of the latter, since they could not safely invest in land, turned their

energies to trade and commerce and not without considerable success. English landlords who by riotous living had wasted their fortunes were anxious to sell their land; but the wealthy Irish would not buy it so long as the Penal Laws made its possession insecure. Much as these landlords hated and despised the Catholics, their money was as good to them as that of Protestants. (4) A great change, too, had come over the ideas of people since the Penal Laws were passed. Bigotry had largely given way to religious indifference; the bitter feelings stirred up by the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were dying out. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution helped to spread new ideas of liberty and toleration. Gradually the ruling Protestant class of Ireland began to feel ashamed of the treatment they had meted out to their Catholic countrymen. Some among them became, in fact, the most ardent advocates of the oppressed Catholics, and none more than the illustrious orators *Edmund Burke* (1729–1797) and *Henry Grattan* (1746–1820).

740. The First Irish and English Relief Acts. — The American War brought the first relief to Ireland. Under the leadership of Grattan the Irish parliament passed an act permitting the Catholics to purchase and transfer landed property. By the same act bishops and religious were allowed to live in Ireland (1778). Four years later Grattan secured greater independence to the Irish parliament. But Catholics were still excluded from it, nor could they take part in parliamentary elections.

The year 1778 also brought some relief to English Catholics. But when an extension of these acts to Scotland was proposed a violent storm of bigotry burst forth all over Scotland and England. In London the mob, instigated by Lord Gordon and his Protestant Association, delivered a large number of Catholic chapels and dwellings to the flames; for five days anarchy reigned in the capital, until the troops restored order.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was followed by more

generous relief, both in England and Ireland. Parliament legalized the public worship of the Catholic Church, and the establishment of Catholic schools. It also admitted Catholics to some minor offices. The French Revolution had forced many French priests to seek refuge in England. Their exemplary conduct under many privations helped greatly to remove many prejudices.

741. The Irish Insurrection of 1798 and the "Union." — The *Irish parliament*, more independent since 1782, was far from representing the Irish nation. Of its three hundred members two hundred came from "pocket boroughs," that is, they were appointed by some rich landowner. The Catholics had neither seats nor votes. To bring about a reform of the Irish parliament, Wolfe Tone, a Presbyterian from the North, founded the society of *United Irishmen* embracing both Protestants and Catholics. The English government, however, skilfully aroused the old religious bitterness and thus weakened the society. Moreover, a secret organization, the *Orange lodges*, inflicted every kind of outrage upon the Catholics, and these, especially those who were members of the United Irishmen, retaliated. Usually the magistrates took sides with the Orangemen, and an undisciplined soldiery, mostly recruited from the Orange lodges, was let loose under the pretense of restoring order. The horrible outrages at last goaded the Catholics into rebellion. They relied on help from France, but it came too late, and the rising was crushed with wanton cruelty.

It took 150,000 men and cost 30,000 lives to suppress the civil war, but it hastened the English prime minister's (the younger Pitt's) favorite plan, the abolition of the Irish parliament. Most of the Irish leaders were now dead or banished. By bribes and promises Pitt prevailed upon the Irish parliament to vote away its own existence. The *Act of Union* (1800) put an end to the Irish legislature, and gave instead to Ireland the right to send representatives to the parliament in London.

742. Daniel O'Connell. — For a while the cause of Ireland made little progress. Dissensions broke out and hampered united action. But after 1820 Irishmen again had a leader who knew how to win the enthusiastic support of all classes. This was *Daniel O'Connell*, a young Catholic lawyer. Gifted with marvelous eloquence, untiring energy, and boundless courage, he swayed Irish hearts and Irish votes so completely that he has been called "the uncrowned king of Ireland." In 1823 he founded the *Catholic Association* which gradually spread into every town and village of the Green Isle. The Association enabled O'Connell to put his ideas before the whole nation rapidly and effectively.

Daniel O'Connell.

In 1828 the British parliament was opened to all irrespective of their religion, that is, membership in the Anglican Church was no longer necessary for officeholders and members of parliament (§ 456). The Test Oath, however, which contained a declaration against the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist (§ 456), still remained in force and barred the Catholics from the parliament. Taking advantage of his right of election, O'Connell came before the people of County Clare as candidate for the House of Commons. In spite of the government's efforts, he was elected by an overwhelming majority. During the campaign he openly declared that if elected he would present himself before parliament but would absolutely

refuse to take the infamous oath against the Holy Eucharist. The excitement grew so intense that the government feared another civil war. To prevent it, Wellington and Peel decided to bring in an act abolishing all the civil and political restrictions on the Catholics. The act was passed a few days before O'Connell presented himself before the House of Commons. Henceforth all public offices (a few excepted) and seats in the Lords and Commons were open to Catholics.

743. The Repeal Agitation. — In 1830, O'Connell at the head of an Irish delegation entered the English parliament. One of the first questions that engaged their attention was the *Established Church in Ireland*, a branch of the Anglican Church. It was still supported by the tithes exacted from the impoverished Irish peasantry, though the vast majority of them were Catholics and did not accept its services. Often the whole congregation consisted of the parson and his sexton. O'Connell was unable to bring about its abolition, but the tithes were transferred from the tenants to the landlords (1838).

Then O'Connell began his famous agitation for the *repeal of the Union of 1800*, and the reopening of a separate Irish parliament. Enormous meetings were held all over Ireland, and the Irish leader's eloquence never rose to greater heights. But in 1843 the English government forbade these meetings; O'Connell exhorted his followers to submit. Irish liberty was to be gained by constitutional means, not by violence. Hotter heads, however, were disgusted at this moderation. Some withdrew from his leadership and founded the "Young Ireland" party, after the model of the continental revolutionary societies that played so prominent a part in the political upheaval of 1848 (§ 691). Moreover, the terrible Irish famine (§ 735) checked the agitation. In 1847 the great Irish leader died, leaving his work unfinished. Next year, the "year of revolutions," the "Young Ireland" society tried insurrection, but the attempt was nipped in the bud.

744. The next twenty years saw no progress.— In 1866 came another rising, — the *Fenian Conspiracy*, organized to a great extent by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. It had no chance to succeed, but it showed the extent of Irish disaffection, and thus convinced many of the English Liberal party that something must be done for Ireland. Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took up the task.

745. Now a new era opened in Irish history. — The Anglican church in Ireland was "disestablished," that is, entirely abolished (1869). This act was followed, in 1870, by the first of a long series of important reforms of the *land laws*. Two things were attempted: (1) In case of eviction, it was ordered, that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long terms, and at low interest, to the tenants so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended and improved these laws until the peasants began to be true landowners, with a chance to develop habits of thrift and industry.

746. Meantime in 1870 a group of Irish members of parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," that is, a separate Irish parliament. Soon afterward the same leaders organized the "*Land League*," to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For a time the Liberal ministries frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly, on the ground that it encouraged crime against the landlords. At the same time, indeed, that the government was passing the beneficent land laws, it was also passing "Coercion Acts," to establish martial law in Ireland. The Coercion Acts were resisted by the Irish members with a vehemence seldom before seen in an English parliament, while outside the indignation was still greater. Many Irish leaders were put in jail. But this only made matters worse. In Dublin two prom-

inent English officials were assassinated, and various threats showed how high Irish feeling ran.

747. Suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. — In the new parliament of 1884 the Liberals were too weak to control the Commons without Irish support. But eighty-six of one hundred and five Irish members were "Home Rulers." To win their continued support, Gladstone, in 1886, came forward with a plan for Home Rule and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

But the Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and the ruin of the British Empire, and they were joined by many Liberals who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The bill was defeated, but it made the issue in the next election a few years later. In 1893 Gladstone tried to have another Home Rule measure carried. This time the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. Moreover, even in the Commons the majority was small. The Irish members themselves had split into two factions, chiefly because a section opposed their leader, Parnell, on personal grounds. Gladstone, therefore, felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to "swamp" the Lords. Soon his advanced age compelled him to retire from parliamentary life; the Liberals, left without a leader, went for a time out of power.

748. The Conservatives and Unionists tried to conciliate Ireland by extending still further the system of government loans to the Irish peasantry, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism; moreover, they granted a kind of local "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils, like those of England. The Irish members in the meantime kept up the agitation for national Home Rule, but for a time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in the question. At any rate it was clear that nothing could be done until the power of the House of Lords was broken.

This happened in 1911. Five years before that date the

Liberals had come into power. Various measures proposed by the Liberal majority in the Commons were voted down by the Lords. In 1909 the Liberal leader *Lloyd George* came forward with a radical tax reform. The Commons passed it but the Lords quickly threw it out. Sure of the support of the country, the Liberals now resolved to "mend or end" the Lords. By threatening to create five hundred Peers the ministry forced the Lords to give their consent to a bill which practically reduced them to a non-entity. Under its provisions any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not; and any other measure approved by the Commons in three successive sessions becomes law in spite of the veto of the Lords. As the bill for Home Rule in Ireland was passed three times, in 1912, 1913, and 1914, it was put on the statute books.

David Lloyd George.

But while the majority of Englishmen have become reconciled to the idea of a special Irish parliament, *fierce opposition arose in a small section of Ireland.* Four counties in the north-east of the province of Ulster, where the English and Protestant element is dominant, absolutely refused to be governed by an Irish parliament. Such a body, they maintained, composed almost entirely of Irish Catholics, would be hostile to the interests of this section of Ireland. And when these "*Ulsterites*" saw that they could not prevent the passage of the Home Rule

Act by legal means, they threatened rebellion. Volunteers were enrolled and drilled, and arms were brought into the country. The Irish Nationalists (the Home Rule party) made similar preparations. Civil war seemed imminent. But the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 postponed the issue. The English ministry secured an act suspending the operation of Home Rule until after the War.

For Further Reading. — MacCaffrey, II, Chap. II. Johnston and Spencer is well suited for high school students. See also Canon d'Alton's excellent article on *Ireland* in the Catholic Encyclopedia. For the more recent events consult Hayes, II, pp. 319–330, or Holt and Chilton, pp. 511–518.

CHAPTER LV

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

749. Of all peoples the English are the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semibarbarous races. — The British Empire covers eleven million square miles, or over three times the area of the United States, and its population numbers four hundred millions, or about one fourth of the whole human race. Forty millions of this number dwell in the British Isles, and about twelve million more of English descent live in self-governing colonies, — mainly in Canada and Australia. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples.

750. The outlying possessions are of two kinds: (1) those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

751. Some of these colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada and Australia, and, not quite so completely, of Cape Colony. These colonies are said to have "*responsible governments.*" The English ministry appoints a *Governor General,* whose powers resemble those of the king in England. *But the people of the colony elect the local legislature; and the real executive is the local ministry, "responsible" to the legislature,* as the ministry in England is to parliament.

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. — This class of "*crown colonies*" comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population, of course, is mainly non-European.

GIBRALTAR. — From the Spanish shore.

752. India is a huge crown colony. Until 1857 it remained under the control of the East India Company, but in that year came the *Sepoy mutiny*, — a rising of part of the native soldiers, — and when order had been restored, India was annexed to the British crown. The English ministry appoints a Viceroy and a Council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts the English officials are assisted by the native officers, and to some extent by elected councils of natives.[1]

The English are making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect

[1] Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English "agents."

municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. The officers of the old East India Company were sometimes rapacious robbers, oppressing the natives to fill their own and the Company's coffers; but since India became a crown colony, English rule, for the most part, has been wise, firm, and just, and has aimed at the good of the natives. India pays no taxes into the English treasury; indeed, she is a drain on that treasury, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth. The petty, constant wars, which formerly were always wasting the land, have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent in a century, — and to-day nearly three hundred million people dwell in India.[1] England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of that ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages); and 5,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades.

Still, acute critics maintain that all this is superficial, and that except as to numbers, and except that the people have been forced to stop burning widows alive, the condition of India is little better than before, and there seems to be no attachment among the natives for English rule. The Hindoos cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Whether England can leaven this vast mass and lift it to a higher life is one of the great problems of the future.

753. Egypt in name was one of the tributary states of Turkey until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully, and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed,[2] restored order, and "occupied" the country.

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[1] Read Kipling's *William the Conqueror*.

[2] England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869. In 1875 the English government (Disraeli's administration) bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property.

After that time, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice," and the Khedive understood that this advice must be followed. Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too, and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head.

When England put down anarchy in 1881, the ministry declared that the occupancy would be only temporary. This statement of Gladstone's ministry was made in good faith, and was in keeping with other parts of Gladstone's modest foreign policy. None the less, it has long been certain that no English government will willingly give up Egypt; and in 1914, during the great European war, England announced a full protectorate. The possession of that country, together with the mastery of the Suez Canal, insures the route to India; and Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended far toward Central Africa.

754. One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the development of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon colonies of England.— The loss of the American colonies had taught a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

This event took place in Canada in 1837. The two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. There had been a growing dissatisfaction because the legislatures did not have a more complete control over the finances and over the executive; and the accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, *recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels should be granted.* Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were united and were granted "*responsible*" *ministries*. England, in name, retained a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never even been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government

was granted to the Australian colonies, and, in 1872, to Cape Colony.

755. South Africa is not an altogether satisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists "trekked" (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. A few years later the British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal river. These "Transvaal" settlers became involved in serious difficulties with the native blacks, and a native rising threatened to exterminate Europeans in South Africa. England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers rebelled, and, with their magnificent marksmanship, destroyed a British force at the *battle of Majuba Hill*. Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he magnanimously withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined, and much ground was left for future disputes.

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them all political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers saw that England had determined to force them to a policy which would put the government of the little land into the hands of these foreign immigrants ("Outlanders"), and they declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten, of course; and England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government, without any discrimination against her recent foes.

756. Federation of Groups of Colonies. — In 1867 another great advance was made by the organization of the Dominion of Canada. This is *a federal state*, similar to the United States, composed now of eight members. The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the eight states has its own local legislature and ministry.

Parliament Building at Ottawa.

A similar union of the seven Australian colonies into one federal state was agitated for many years; and, after two federal conventions and a popular vote, it was finally established on the first day of the twentieth century.

Finally, in 1909, the four South Africa states were combined into a similar federation, with the name, "The Union of South Africa."

Thus three new English nations were formed, — each large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States when its independence was achieved).

757. Imperial Federation. — The Boer War and the great European struggle of 1914 showed that there was a strong tie between England and her self-governing colonies; for, both times, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada all made liberal gifts of troops and money to assist the mother country.

The bond which holds together the Anglo-Saxon parts of the Empire is, however, almost wholly one of sentiment. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would hardly be able to hold it. At present the colonists in these lands have no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward foreign nations.

This evil is largely offset by the fact that the English navy affords protection to the Canadian and Australian trade, so that these great and wealthy countries are practically freed from all burden of military and naval defense. Still, the situation is not altogether satisfactory. A Canadian may properly wish a voice in the policy of the Empire; that is, he may wish to be a citizen in as full a degree as if he lived in England: and England may properly think that Canada ought to contribute something to imperial defense. It has been proposed to meet both these wants by some form of *Imperial Federation*.

This means that the different parts of the Empire would be left their present parliaments for local matters, but that the management of matters that concern the Empire as a whole would be turned over to a new parliament made up of representatives in fit proportion from England and her colonies.

For Further Reading. — Hazen, Chap. XXII. A good longer account may be found in Woodward's *Expansion of the British Empire*. Guggenberger, III, §§ 602–613, gives a good outline of the Boer War.

PART IX. WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

CHAPTER LVI

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC

A. The Paris Commune

758. The National Assembly had hardly arranged peace with Germany (§ 713) when it was confronted with a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege all adult males of the capital had been armed as National Guards. When the siege was over every one who could get away from the distressed city temporarily removed, including one hundred and fifty thousand of the wealthier National Guards. Paris was left to the mercy of the radical and socialistic element. These men had kept their arms, concealed a powerful artillery, and preserved their military organization. They now set up a government of their own by choosing a "*Central Committee.*"

In the meantime the National Assembly had established itself at Versailles. The radical Republicans of Paris suspected that the *Assembly wished to restore the monarchy.* In fact, a large majority of the members of the Assembly were monarchists, as events soon were to prove. Besides, the Assembly incurred the wrath of the poorer classes of the city by two unwise measures. It insisted on the immediate payment of rents and notes which had been suspended during the siege, and it stopped almost entirely the payment of the National Guards, although it was for many the only means of subsistence until normal

conditions returned. The Republicans and Socialists used these harsh measures to stir up the masses and to gain their support for their plans. These plans aimed at the restoration of the First Republic and at revenge for 1848 (§ 673).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like two hostile camps. The Parisians prepared feverishly for the coming struggle. On March 18 the Assembly sent a detachment of troops to secure the artillery of the National Guards. A mob gathered to resist them. The troops refused to fire, and looked on while two of their officers were seized and shot by the mob. Then a considerable number of these National Guards which had hitherto obeyed the Assembly went over to the rebels.

759. The Commune. — Meantime Paris decided to hold an election for a "*General Council.*" The Radicals and Socialists obtained a large majority. The General Council, acting with the Central Committee, set up the Commune and adopted the red flag, March 20, 1871.

The program of the Commune advocated extreme local self-government for all France. For in 1848 the Socialists and Reds had learned that the country districts were overwhelmingly opposed to them. If each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the Radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in Paris and in other large cities.

On account of their demand for this semi-independence of the towns or "communes" the Paris rebels are properly called the "*Communards.*" However, since many of them were Socialists and as such opposed to private property, which according to them should be held in common, they are often referred to as "*Communists.*"

France, though still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the war, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle classes felt, moreover, that the right of private property was at stake; the Commune had in fact inaugurated such a "Reign of Terror" and plundered so much private

property that the worst fears seemed well grounded. Hence the Assembly of Versailles had the support of the bulk of the nation.

760. The Struggle. — On April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops which had been released from German captivity. The struggle lasted for two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the rebels as regular combatants and executed those that fell in its hands. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes that remained in Paris, among them the Archbishop of Paris and about two hundred priests, and threatened to shoot three of them for every one of its soldiers shot after surrender.

The bombardment of Paris by the forces of the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been. After the defenses were sufficiently weakened the troops forced their way into the city. Several sections were already in flames. For the next eight days anarchy reigned in the unfortunate city. Bands of men and women, supplied with petroleum, ran hither and thither, firing public buildings and private houses. The famous Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and other palaces, museums, and art galleries were delivered to the flames and entirely or partly destroyed. Meantime desperate fighting surged from street to street. The Versailles troops pressed on across barricades and burning squares, eager to save the hostages. But they came too late. The Archbishop and sixty-two others were murdered by the frenzied mob. At last the bloody struggle ended with the death or capture of thousands of Communists.

France was in no mood to show mercy. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to penal colonies where many succumbed to the tropical climate. As in 1848, the middle classes had their revenge, but the mem-

ories of 1848 and 1871 only served to *increase the bitterness between bourgeoisie and proletariat.*

B. The Definite Establishment of the Republic

761. The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace.— In choosing it the people had thought of nothing else. It was limited by no constitution and it had no definite term of office. Certainly it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

The *Republican party*, under their leader *Gambetta*, had been loudest in clamoring for war, and the same party had continued the war after Sedan. Now, after it was over, the people elected men who could be counted upon not to renew it rashly. As it happened the majority of these men were monarchists. Everybody expected the monarchy to be set up within a short time, and the Assembly did not take that step only because the monarchists were divided into rival groups, each with its own candidate for the throne, *Imperialists* (Bonapartists), *Orleanists* (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and *Legitimists* (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). The Republicans were in the meantime very active among the people; republican sentiment increased rapidly. The monarchists in the Assembly realized that a new election might bring a Republican majority; and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republicans for a dissolution.

762. Presidency of Thiers and MacMahon. — Peace had been made and the Commune crushed. Now the Assembly felt compelled to replace the provisional government (§ 813) by some more regular form. Accordingly, Thiers, hitherto the provisional head of the state, was elected *President of the Republic.* In truth, however, the government remained provisional. The majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a

monarchy at some favorable moment, and they gave Thiers no fixed term of office.

Still his presidency lasted two years longer. During this time France bravely took up the work of *reconstruction*. The educational system and the army were reorganized, the latter after the Prussian model. Then France was freed from foreign occupation. It had been agreed that the war indemnity should be paid in installments through three years, and German garrisons were to remain in France as a security for payment. But in eighteen months the last franc was paid, to the astonishment of friend and foe alike. A large share of the credit for this rapid payment belongs to the French clergy, who untiringly exhorted the people to free their beloved country from the invader.

THIERS.

Thiers himself was an old Orleanist; but he saw that to establish the monarchy was to risk civil war. Accordingly he allied himself with the moderate Republicans in the Assembly. This soon led to friction between the president and the Royalist majority, and, in May, 1873, a coalition of Royalists forced him to resign.

In his place the Royalists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. For some months the restoration of the monarchy seemed almost certain. Legitimists and Orleanists

had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The monarchists had the machinery of government in their hands and were just ready to proclaim the monarchy when the two factions split again. The rupture was due to the stubborn attitude of the future king on some points of detail, notably whether the flag of France should be the tricolor, the emblem of the Revolution of 1830, or the white lilies of the Bourbons. The Count of Chambord indignantly rejected the "symbol of the Revolution" and declared he would not give up the flag of his grandfather. On this formality the negotiations broke down.

763. Then, in 1875, the Assembly adopted a republican constitution. Slightly modified by later amendments, it is the constitution of the present French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The Constitution is very brief, because the monarchists preferred to leave details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt it to a monarchic government. The word "republic" did not appear in the original draft, but was later introduced, indirectly, by amendment. Originally the constitution spoke of a "Chief Executive"; an amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic." In 1884 another amendment declared the republican form of government "not subject to repeal," and royal princes were made ineligible for the presidency. (The Count of Chambord had died the year before.)

764. The Constitution. — The legislature consists of two branches, the *Senate* and the *Chamber of Deputies*. There are three hundred Senators, holding office for nine years. One third goes out each third year. At first seventy-five of the members were to hold office for life, but in 1884 life membership was abolished. The Senators are appointed by electoral colleges made up of deputies, delegates of communes, and others. The Deputies are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years.

When the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies agree that it is desirable to amend the constitution, or when it is necessary to choose a president, the two Houses meet together, at Versailles, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name of *National Assembly*. A simple majority vote of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The *Executive* consists of a *president*, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of the *ministry* he appoints. The president has much less power than the President of the United States. He is little more than a figurehead. He can act only through his ministers.

The ministers, as in England, are the real executive. They wield enormous power, directing all legislation, appointing a vast multitude of officials, and carrying on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but in practice, he always must name those who will be acceptable to the Chamber, and the ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority of Deputies to support its measures, or when it fails to give a satisfactory explanation of its actions.

France, like most continental states, has not two great parties, such as the Conservatives and Liberals in England or the Republicans and Democrats in the United States. Instead, there are from seven to ten parties none of which can count on the steady support of the majority of voters. Neither are the party lines well defined. Individual members and smaller groups of Deputies frequently abandon their colleagues on particular issues. As a consequence, the majorities supporting a ministry often melt away in a very short time, and the ministry has to resign. Rapid and bewildering changes of ministries have been characteristic of modern political life in France.

765. The Republicans in Power. — Even after the adoption of the new constitution the Assembly did not at once give way to a new legislature. But almost every "by-election" (to

fill a vacancy upon death or resignation) resulted in a victory for the Republicans; and by 1876 that party had gained a bare majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly, and the new elections created a Chamber of Deputies two thirds Republican. The Senate was still monarchic, and, with its support, MacMahon tried to keep a monarchist ministry. The Republicans objected vigorously. Then the president and the Senate dissolved the House of Deputies (as the constitution

The Chamber of Deputies, Paris. — From across the Seine river.

gives them power to do when they act together), and the ministry changed prefects and local officers all over France, in order to control the elections. But the Republicans under the leadership of Gambetta returned even stronger to the House of Deputies than before. This body then withheld all votes of supplies until MacMahon had appointed a Republican ministry. In 1879 the renewal of one third of the Senate gave the Republicans a majority of that House also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected to the presidency Grévy, an ardent Republican; and thus all branches of the

government machinery came under the control of the Republicans.

Since that time the republican form of government has never been seriously threatened. The Third Republic has proved more stable than any other form of government that France has had since 1789. True, there have been occasional dissatisfaction and hopes for change. In 1885, General Boulanger, a Bonapartist and an ardent advocate of a war of revenge against Germany, plotted to become master of France, but his whole scheme collapsed ignominiously. While former governments of France were often the work of a small but determined faction, the Third Republic has the support of the nation at large.

C. France To-Day

766. The Religious Question. — Modern France has been rather unpleasantly conspicuous for a bitter religious struggle. The Catholic Church, to which at least 87 per cent of the French people belong, was the object of constant attacks on the part of the republican government. This requires some explanation.

During the terrible calamity of 1870–1871 nothing could have been more loyal than the attitude of the Catholics, clergy and laity. They vied with each other in arousing and maintaining the patriotic efforts of the nation, and, after the war, they again were in the forefront in healing the many wounds inflicted by the war. In the early seventies a wave of religious fervor swept over the country, and the prospects for the future seemed bright.

The difficulties of the Catholics began with the choice of the new form of government. The National Assembly was strongly Catholic. But it was also, as we have seen, strongly Royalist (§ 761), and so were the majority of the bishops and priests and of the leading Catholic laymen. Their attitude can be understood only from the peculiar circumstances of French history since the Revolution of 1789. That movement had been in-

tensely hostile to the Church and waged against it a war to the knife. The Jacobin leaders inveighed not only against the rights of the clergy, but against religion in general. And ever since that time republicanism was identified with the anti-christian forces, while the monarchists usually were more inclined to respect the rights of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary to say that the Church is not opposed to any form of legitimate government, be it monarchic or republican. But its leaders naturally favored that party from which it expected less hostility.

Just now in the debates on the future form of government the Republicans were led by Gambetta, a fierce and fiery enemy of Catholicism. No wonder that the French Catholics almost in body joined the opposing party. This gave the Republicans a pretext for persecution as soon as they came into power. Gambetta rallied his forces by the slogan, "Clericalism is the enemy," meaning, of course, the enemy of the republic.

767. No sooner was the republic firmly established than the antichristian campaign began in earnest. — From 1876 to 1886 various laws excluded the clergy from public institutions, the army, the hospitals, and other houses of public charity. *But soon the struggle centered around the question of religious education.* In 1886 all religious teaching was banished from the public grade schools. Private schools (corresponding to our parochial schools), however, were allowed to continue, and they flourished exceedingly, though harassed in various ways by the government. The teachers were in almost all cases members of religious orders, and the government realized that so long as these orders existed the private schools would continue successfully to compete with the state schools. Hence the religious orders had to be suppressed.

When, in 1878, the great Leo XIII ascended the papal throne he at once set to work to bring about a better understanding between the Catholics and the Republicans. But his efforts were

thwarted partly by the stubborn attitude of the Royalist Catholics, partly by the antichristian measures of the Republicans. For a while the Catholics endeavored to form a distinctly Catholic party for the defense of their rights at the polls, but the attempt failed because they could not agree whether it should be Royalist or Republican. In 1892 the pope made another attempt to unite the Catholics in loyal support of the Republic and in defense of their interests. But again, after some measure of success, the old dissensions broke out.

Meanwhile, within the Republican ranks the power steadily passed from the Moderates to the Radicals. Finally the latter felt strong enough to deliver decisive blows. In 1901 a law was passed *forbidding all religious orders* and congregations who would not apply to the government for authorization *to teach in any French school, public or private.* A number of them left France at once; others applied for authorization but were rejected and expelled. This, of course, ruined many private schools. Nearly 15,000 of them were closed by 1904.

Then the Republicans proceeded to sever all connection between Church and State. In 1905 *they abolished the Concordat of* 1801 (§ 589) which Napoleon had concluded with the Holy See. This meant that all state support to the Church was withdrawn. The buildings, churches, seminaries, residences of the clergy, etc. became property of the government. The churches are still open to Catholic worship, but only on suffrance by the government. It is not yet possible to foresee all the results of these iniquitous laws. Certainly the French Catholics with great courage have taken up the task of providing for the maintenance of the Catholic religion and of Catholic education under the changed conditions. The Great War (1914) has been the occasion of a marked religious revival, and it is to be hoped that with the return of peace the French Catholics will bury their old dissensions and present a united front to the onslaughts of infidelity.

768. The Administration of France. — France is divided into eighty-six "departments." Each department has an executive office, called a prefect, and a General Council. The prefect is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and he may be removed by the same authority. He appoints the police, postmen, and other local officers. The General Council is elected by the people, but its decrees on local taxation, expenditures, and other matters are subject to the supervision of the government at Paris. Indeed, the central government may dissolve a departmental council at any time and order a reëlection.

The thirty-six thousand communes[1] of France vary in size from the great city of Marseilles to rural villages with only a few hundred people. For all of them there is only one system of government. Each has a mayor and a council. Before 1884 the mayor was chosen by the Minister of the Interior; since that time he is elected by the municipal council. However, he is still under the control of the central government, which may revise his actions or even remove him from office. Likewise, the acts of the municipal council are subject to the approval of the prefects; the Paris government may even dissolve it.

From this it will be clear that the French system of government is much more centralized than ours. It wields an enormous power, reaching down to minute details of local affairs. The large number of offices within the gift of the central government give it a powerful hold on the country and enable it, especially, to exert a great influence on the elections. Political scandals, favoritism, and "graft" have been a rather prominent feature of the Third Republic.

769. Education is free, compulsory, and strictly regulated by

[1] There are two other local divisions, intermediate between commune and department. These two middle divisions are less important. The *canton* is the unit for the administration of justice. The *arrondissement* is the unit for the election of a deputy to the national legislature, like our congressional district.

the state. That is, the government appoints the teachers and prescribes the course of studies. In higher education France holds a prominent place. Its universities and libraries, its museums and art galleries, are among the best in the world and attract many foreign students. Modern France, as the France of Louis XIV, has again achieved great literary and artistic distinction. French taste and French fashion, on account of their refinement and elegance, possess a peculiar charm even over foreigners and set the standard in many countries. French writers, too, through their talent for clear, precise, and elegant expression, have won recognition far beyond their native land. But, unfortunately, some of the greatest lights among them have contributed not a little towards the spread of infidelity and the glorification of vice. Still it is likewise true that much of the best Catholic scholarship and literature hails from France.

770. The People. — A noteworthy fact about the French people is the large number of small landowners and the prosperity of the peasantry. Half the entire population live on the soil. The great mass of the cultivators own little farms from five to twenty-five acres each. The soil is fertile, and the farmer knows his business well. He and his fellows in the trades and professions are very thrifty. The French have rightly been called "*a nation of little savers.*" They are, for the same reason, a nation of money lenders. France, before the Great War, had almost become the world's banker, and many a huge loan had been floated and many a foreign enterprise financed by the French bankers. France furnished England cash for the Boer War (§ 755), Russia about three billions for the development of that country, and American bankers and capitalists the sums needed to tide over the "crisis" of 1907–1908. Her own national debt is held, not like the American or English, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some three million French people, — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, farmers, — in small amounts. The French government encourages this

tendency of the common people to save and to invest by issuing bonds of very small denominations, — even as low as one franc (20 cents).

A less favorable aspect of French society has given much cause for discussion and some concern to French statesmen and patriots. While the population of all European countries during the nineteenth century has increased rapidly, that of France has remained almost stationary. Thus, during the second half of the century her old enemy across the Rhine has grown by over twenty-one millions while France gained less than three millions. The causes of this phenomenon are manifold and need not detain us here. The average Frenchman maintains a high standard of comfort and does not wish to be burdened with a large family. The government has tried various means to encourage large families, but without much success. The only remedy will be a return of the masses to practical Christianity.

771. Colonies. — About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. The century-long duel with England was then half over. " New France " was written on the map across the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi; and the richest lands of the Orient seemed within the French grasp. Thirty years later saw France stripped of all her possessions outside of Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean, in the Antilles, and some small ports in India (§§ 495–498).

But in the nineteenth century France again became a colonial power. In 1830 she gained a foothold in Algiers in North Africa. The little territory grew, through constant savage and bloody wars, into complete military occupancy of entire *Algeria;* and in the early years of the Third Republic civil rule was introduced. Since 1880 it is not so much a foreign possession as a part of France, separated from the rest by a strip of sea. It is divided into three departments which are ruled

essentially like French departments. Under the French administration something of that fertility and bloom which had made it one of the finest Roman colonies returned to the desolate Barbary Coast.

In 1881 France seized *Tunis*, to the east of Algeria, as a "protectorate," that is, France controls its relations with foreign governments, but leaves it to manage its own internal affairs, — except that the French enjoy special privileges in the country. In 1904 France began to reduce *Morocco* to a like condition.

The rest of the vast colonial empire, apart from these possessions in North Africa, has been acquired since the Franco-Prussian War (except for a small beginning made by Napoleon III); but the seizure of territory has very commonly been based upon ancient claims connected with the period before the French Revolution. In Asia, France controls the greater part of the peninsula of *Indo-China*. In Africa she kept hold upon *Senegal* from her ancient colonial empire, and since 1884 she has acquired huge possessions on both the east and west coasts, besides the great island of *Madagascar* (see map of Africa). In America France holds *Guiana* (or Cayenne), the notorious penal colony where so many political exiles succumbed to the murderous climate, and a few islands in the Lesser Antilles. In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887, she secured *New Caledonia* and several smaller islands.

Though France has these vast possessions, she is not a colonizing nation. Large parts of these regions are almost uninhabited, or peopled by savage tribes, and are under military government. The total population (not counting the protectorates) is about forty-one millions. But even in the settled portions the European population is small. The French, as a rule, do not emigrate. The fertility of the home soil and the scant increase of the home population do not urge the average Frenchman to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The total area of the colonial

possessions is about four million square miles, of which about three and a half millions are in Africa. All the settled and orderly regions have a share in self-government, and some of them have representatives in the legislature at Paris.

772. Though France has not sent many of her people as settlers to the colonies, she has achieved distinction in another field of world-enterprise, **evangelization**. In that heroic band of *missionaries* which the Catholic Church sends to every quarter of the globe to carry out her Divine Founder's injunction "Go ye and teach all nations," the French missionaries easily stand in the forefront. In the ease with which they adapt themselves to all climes and all nations, in the intrepidity with which they face hardship, danger, and death, they exhibit the best and noblest traits of the temper of France, the France of the Crusades and of medieval chivalry. To-day the majority of missionaries are Frenchmen, and a great part of the sums needed to carry on the mission work is contributed by the generous French Catholics. Besides, the apostolic and scholarly labors of these missionaries have done much to maintain French influence and French prestige in Asia Minor, India, China, and elsewhere.

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIII. For the struggle between Church and State see MacCaffrey, I, Chap. VIII. Macy and Cannaway, or Wilson, may be consulted for good outlines of the government.

CHAPTER LVII

GERMANY AFTER 1871

A. The Government

773. A Federal State. — The Germanic Confederation (1815–1867) was a *confederacy* of sovereign states, a union even weaker than that of our American states under the Articles of Confederation. The German Empire was a true *federal state*, like our own present union.

It had this peculiarity, however, that it was the only strong federal state in existence made up of monarchies. Of the twenty-five states composing the Empire, four were kingdoms, (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg); eighteen more were duchies, grand duchies, or principalities; and only three were republican in character, — the city republics, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. Each of these twenty-five states had its own legislature and executive. Alsace-Lorraine, the territory wrested from France in 1871, had never full state rights. In 1911 it was given a constitution with a native upper and lower House, but the executive (governor) remained an appointee of the Emperor.

774. The Reichstag. — The German national legislature consisted of two Houses, the Lower House, or *Reichstag*, and the Upper House, or *Bundesrath*. The former was made up of representatives of the people. The members were elected by manhood suffrage, in single districts, like our congressmen, for a term of five years. There were, in 1914, 397 delegates, 236 of which came from Prussia alone. This system calls for a periodic reapportionment of the representatives, to suit

changes in population in the various districts. But while in the United States we have such a reapportionment every ten years (after every census) Germany until 1914 had none. In the meantime the population in some districts had doubled and trebled, while in others it had remained stationary, but the representation of the former was the same as that of the latter. This inequality operated chiefly against the Socialists. Thus, in the elections of 1912, the Socialist vote was more than twice that of the next largest party (the Center), but their representatives in the Reichstag were 112 and 89 respectively.

Every measure had to pass the Reichstag to become law, but, though that body had the power to initiate legislation, it seldom did so, because it had little chance of seeing its bills passed by the Bundesrath, unless it had had first made sure of the approval of the government. Even financial bills did not need, as in England and the United States, to be first introduced in the Reichstag. Moreover, the appropriations for the army were usually granted for a number of years, and once granted could be recalled only with consent of the Bundesrath.

775. The Bundesrath. — That body was really an assembly of the delegates, or ambassadors, of the various *sovereigns* of the Empire. It consisted of sixty-one members appointed by the executives of the different states in fixed proportions. Prussia had seventeen, seventeen of the smaller states had one each; and the other eight states had from two to six each. These delegates were usually instructed; that is, they voted in a body either in favor of or against a measure as they were told to do by the government of the state they represented. Since this body practically initiated all legislation and since it framed the budget, it was really the most important branch of the legislature, and the Reichstag was practically limited to accepting or rejecting Bundesrath measures.

But the Bundesrath was more than that. *Its powers were partly executive.* From its members were formed some of the

THE GERMAN EMPIRE
1871-1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180 200
NORTH SEA
HELGOLAND
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Kiel Bay
FEHMARN
Kiel
Lubeck Bay
Lübeck
Cuxhaven
Altona
Hamburg
Harburg
Elbe
Oldenburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Weser
Aller R.
Zuyder Zee
Amsterdam
THE HAGUE
NETHERLANDS
Ems R.
HANOVER
Hanover
Brunswick
Osnabrück
Münster
LIPPE
Hildesheim
Detmold
BRUNSWICK
Halberstadt
Bernburg
Maas
Rhine
WESTPHALIA
Essen
Dortmund
Nordhausen
Crefeld
Düsseldorf
Barmen
Cassel
WALDECK
Mulhausen
Elberfeld
BRUSSELS
BELGIUM
Cologne
Mülheim
RHINE
Aachen
Bonn
Gotha
Erfurt
THURINGIA
PROV.
Coburg
Frankfort
Hanau
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Mosel
LUXEMBURG
Treves
Darmstadt
Würzburg
Bamberg
Worms
Mannheim
Kaiserslautern
PALATINATE
Heidelberg
Fürth
Nuremburg
Rheims
FRANCE
LORRAINE
Metz
Heilbronn
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Nancy
Strasburg
ALSACE
WURTEMBERG
Danube
Ulm
Augsburg
Lech R.
Isar
Munich
Frieburg
Mülhausen
Constance
SWITZERLAND
TYROL
4 6 8 10 12
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Memel
Memel R.
Tilsit
BORNHOLM
Gulf of Danzig
Konigsberg
Pregel R.
Danzig
Stolp
Elbing
EAST PRUSSIA
WEST PRUSSIA
PRUSSIA
Allenstein
RÜGEN
USEDOM I.
WOLLIN I.
Grandenz
Stettin
Bromberg
Netze R.
Thorn
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Warta R.
Oder R.
BERLIN
POSEN
Posen
Warsaw
Frankfort
Guben
Kottbus
Forst
POLAND
Bautzen
Görlitz
Liegnitz
Breslau
Zittau
Schweidnitz
Neisse
Vistula R.
Ratibor
Krakow
Prague
GALICIA
MORAVIA
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
Danube R.
VIENNA
Budapest
1. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen
2. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
3. Saxe-Weimar
4. Saxe-Altenburg
5. Saxe-Meiningen

most important committees of the Empire, and through them and under the guidance of the Chancellor it officially instructed the various ministers and heads of departments.

776. The Emperor was not a ruler, at least in theory, but rather the president of the federation of states. This presidency was hereditary with the king of Prussia, — somewhat as if the governor of New York were ex-officio President of the United States. The Emperor had almost absolute *control over foreign relations*, declared defensive and (with the consent of the Bundesrath) offensive war. He supervised the execution of the imperial laws, but as there were no imperial officials to carry them out, their execution was intrusted to the state officials, and his powers in this respect were rather limited.

His chief authority came from the fact that he was master in Prussia, not only in Prussian but also in imperial affairs. As sovereign of Prussia he instructed the Prussian delegation to the Bundesrath. With his seventeen delegates and those of some smaller states which usually voted with Prussia he really controlled that most important branch of the legislature. Moreover, the chairmanship of nearly all important committees belonged to Prussia, and therefore to the appointees of its king. And last but not least, the Emperor selected all the ministers of Prussia as well as of the Empire.

777. The Chancellor was at the head of both ministries. Bismarck was the first to fill this position. In reality the Chancellor was the only minister, as all the heads of the other departments were subject to him. He countersigned every act and decree of the Emperor and thereby, according to the constitution, assumed the responsibility for them. But the constitution failed to define exactly in what this responsibility consisted, and in practice it amounted to nothing more than occasional sharp criticisms of the Chancellor by the Reichstag. Unlike the English or French prime minister, he was not obliged to resign if outvoted by the Reichstag.

Amendments to the constitution were made just as ordinary laws were passed, except that fourteen negative votes in the Bundesrath were enough to veto a proposal. Thus the king of Prussia alone, or the smaller states alone, or the South German states alone, could prevent a change.

778. Prussia and the Other States. — The population of Prussia is about two thirds that of entire Germany. Her king was the Emperor, the head of her ministry was usually also Chancellor of the Empire, and her military system was extended as far as possible throughout the whole Empire.

The Prussian constitution, until recently, was the one granted by Frederick William IV (§ 687). The legislature (Landtag) consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives. All males had a vote in the election of the Lower House, but according to a peculiar system which gave an undue advantage to the wealthier citizens. The people did not vote directly for the candidates but for electors. There were *three classes of voters*, and each class was entitled to the same number of representatives. The first class was made up of the largest taxpayers, who together paid one third of the taxes; the next largest taxpayers, paying another third, formed the second class; and the rest of the people, who paid the remaining third, formed the third class. It is clear that the first class was the smallest and the third the largest. But since each class had the same number of representatives the wealthier taxpayers were by far better represented than the poorer working people and the peasants. In 1907, for instance, the first class cast 153,808 votes, while 2,591,950 voted in the third class. There are other European states that have not yet adopted universal and equal suffrage, but nowhere had the vote of the richer classes a more powerful influence than in Prussia.

The Great War resulting in Germany's defeat has upset the whole machinery of government in that country. At present (1919) it is not possible to say what will take its place.

It seems, however, certain that the antiquated features which have just been described will not be revived.

779. Administration and Army. — The management of domestic affairs was honest and frugal. The officials were usually well trained to perform their duties efficiently and economically. Notably in the administration of the large cities the German officials have achieved undeniable success. But bureaucratic arrogance and their habit of meddling in everything made them often odious to the people.

The Prussian army system had been extended over entire Germany. At twenty each man was obliged to enter the ranks for two years' service. For five years more he belonged to the active reserves, with two months each year in camp. This took the soldier to his twenty-seventh year. The next twelve years he formed part of the territorial reserve (Landwehr). As a matter of fact, however, in times of peace it was impossible to bring every man into the ranks. Exemption was allowed not only to those who suffered from physical defects, but also to the only son of a widow, to clergymen and others. Young men who passed through higher institutions of learning spent only one year in active service.

The army on peace footing comprised all those who were undergoing active training. In case of war this body and the active reserves were ready for offensive operations, while the territorial reserves were to perform garrison duties and to guard lines of communication. In case of actual invasion all other males between seventeen and forty-five, or the army of emergency (Landsturm), were to be called out. This system enabled Germany to put over five million trained men into the field.

It is plain that the maintenance of such enormous forces constituted a heavy burden and a constant drain on the nation's resources. But the Prussian victories in 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of its advantages, and since that time almost every large state has adopted it, with slight modifications. No doubt, certain good results come from the military discipline, but on the whole it is the most woeful waste of energy that the world has ever seen. It is also a *constant temptation to war.*

A military power has a multitude of highly trained officers and manufacturers of military engines who are anxious for war, because of the opportunities to achieve distinction or to augment their revenue. "*Militarism*," too, is often one of the results of the existence of great armies, and it was certainly a prominent feature of the German Empire. By this term we understand the tendency to subordinate everything to military efficiency and to expect less from a peaceful discussion of difficulties with other states than from intimidation and threats with the sword.

780. The Emperors. — William I was personally a man of simple habits and good intentions, but in public life he disappeared behind the towering figure of Bismarck, who as Chancellor guided the domestic and foreign policy of the Empire until 1890. In 1888 Frederick III succeeded his father. He was very popular, even in the southern states where the events of 1866 were not easily forgotten. He had long been hostile to Bismarck, and, being an admirer of the English constitution and the husband of one of Queen Victoria's daughters, he might have brought about important changes in the government, but he was suffering from a fatal disease at the time of his accession which carried him off after a reign of three months.

William II then ascended the throne. He soon showed that he meant to be no mere figurehead but to take a large personal share in the government. A conflict with the all-powerful Bismarck was unavoidable, and two years after William's accession the Iron Chancellor was suddenly dismissed from office. He retired to his estates, where he did not preserve an altogether dignified silence, but frequently indulged in bitter criticisms of the "new course." He died in 1898.

781. After that time William II himself directed the policy of the Empire. He displayed an abundant self-confidence that frequently led him to disregard the advice of his ministers. The results of this personal government were on the whole not

satisfactory. At first he seemed to be bent upon establishing good relations with all of Germany's powerful neighbors. But his autocratic inclinations and sudden changes of opinion caused no little uneasiness and embarrassment to the nation, while his frequent references to Germany's "shining armor" and her great mission irritated the feelings of others. In the management of domestic matters the Kaiser's restless activity was more productive of results. During his reign industry and commerce developed at a tremendous rate until they were surpassed only by Great Britain and the United States.

The emperor was a *thorough believer in the "divine right" theory* (§ 425), and he repeatedly stated it in striking form. "The will of the king is the supreme law," runs one of his emphatic utterances. "The noblest task of the state is to protect the weaker classes of society and to aid them to higher economic development. . . . But this must be done by the state and not by the people," is another of his undemocratic statements. And in an address to a body of teachers he told them to teach that the French Revolution was an "unmitigated crime against God and man," thus proving himself unable to distinguish between the beneficial results and the excesses of that movement.

B. Recent Movements

782. The Kulturkampf. — The new German Empire was hardly established when Bismarck inaugurated a *persecution of the Catholics*. During the last thirty years of the Confederation the Catholic body had grown in numbers, and, above all, in religious fervor and unity of purpose. This aroused the jealousy of the conservative Protestants, who were wont to look upon Prussia as an essentially Protestant state in which the members of the official Protestant church alone were to possess weight and influence. The Liberals, on the other hand, who had been foremost in advocating a united Germany under Prussian leadership, worked for a different end. The nation was to dissociate itself entirely from any positive religious teaching; and the state, with the help of the state schools and

the legislature, was to secure absolute control over the intellectual life (the Kultur) of the nation. And since the Catholics more than any other religious body opposed irreligious education, the Liberals naturally regarded them as their principal enemies. The struggle, therefore, upon which they entered was in their view a conflict between two civilizations (Kulturkampf) a civilization without God and a civilization based on religion. But the real leader in the onslaught on the Catholic Church in Germany was Bismarck himself. Flushed with his recent successes he believed that the complete unity of the Empire demanded the absolute subjection of the Church to the State. This meant of course for the Catholics separation from the Holy See; and Bismarck hoped, indeed, that eventually it would be possible to create a sort of German National Church wide enough to embrace both Protestants and Catholics. But he was doomed to bitter disappointment.

Shortly before the Franco-Prussian War, Pope Pius IX summoned to Rome a great *ecumenical council*, to be held in the *Vatican palace* (1868–1870). Among other important decisions this council defined the *infallibility of the Pope*, that is, it declared that the Roman Pontiff when addressing the entire Church and defining a point of faith or morals cannot err. Though the dogma was in the end almost unanimously accepted, during the debates preceding the final vote many bishops opposed its definition on various grounds, principally on the ground that it was untimely. Outside of the council, especially in Germany, an outcry was raised against this "new papal aggression." And since many of the German bishops in the council were among those who objected to the definition, Bismarck hoped to win them over to his schemes. But the bishops one and all refused to listen to his proposals, and when the dogma of infallibility was finally accepted by the Council they all loyally submitted. Then the Iron Chancellor resorted to force and with the help of the strong Liberal element in the

Reichstag he passed a series of laws, designed gradually to wean the Catholics from the influence of the Holy See. In 1871 the Catholic section of the ministry of worship was suppressed and the preaching of the clergy was put under the surveillance of the police. The next two years saw the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and other religious orders from the territory of the Empire. At the same time there began a campaign of persecution against the Catholic *Poles* in the eastern provinces, attacking their religion and their language. Then the clergy was deprived of all influence over the schools. All these measures were so many violations of the Prussian constitution which explicitly guaranteed religious liberty. To remove this objection and to clear the ground for still more drastic legislation Bismarck and his parliamentary majority simply annulled the respective articles of the constitution.

783. Then followed the notorious "May Laws," so called because they were passed in the month of May of three successive years (1873–1875). They suppressed the free exercise of papal jurisdiction in Germany, interfered with the proper education of the clergy in the seminaries, prevented bishops from punishing disobedient members of their flocks, and deprived them of the free appointment to ecclesiastical offices. Salaries were stopped; fines, imprisonment, or exile threatened bishops and priests who refused to submit to these brutal laws. Various rewards and favors awaited those who acquiesced. Yet it was all in vain. "*We shall not go to Canossa*" (§ 228), confidently boasted Bismarck in the Reichstag, but soon the magnificent resistance of the Catholic body forced him to acknowledge defeat. Bishops, priests, and laymen rose as one man for the defense of their faith. The May Laws were everywhere quietly but resolutely resisted. Hundreds preferred prison and exile to ignominious submission. Under the brilliant leadership of Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, and others the Catholics formed a *political party*, called the *Center*. It increased from election

to election and finally held the balance of power in the Reichstag. By its unity of purpose and action, its unflinching devotion to Catholic principles, and its strictly lawful methods, it won the admiration of right-thinking people all over the world and inspired many of those who suffered for the same cause in other lands with new courage and determination.

784. Gradually Bismarck realized that he had undertaken a hopeless task and started on his bitter "journey to Canossa." The election of a new pope (1878), the wise and peace-loving Leo XIII, smoothed the way for him. One by one the iniquitous laws were repealed or were allowed to drop into oblivion. The pope, on his part, conceded as much as he could, granting, for instance, to the government a restricted veto on candidates for bishoprics. When Bismarck went out of office, in 1890, the Catholics had recovered most of their former rights, though not all their grievances have been removed. The religious orders returned, one by one, and the Great War (1914–18) opened the Empire again even to the Jesuits. William II, on the whole, followed a conciliatory policy. It is, however, the opinion of many observers that the Kulturkampf may be renewed under a different form. Sincere toleration, such as we enjoy it in America, has never been the program of the ruling classes in Germany.

785. Socialism. — One of the reasons why Bismarck changed his attitude toward the Catholics was the *alarming growth of Socialism*. After 1848 the principles of Karl Marx (§ 662) began to take root in Germany, chiefly through the activity of his zealous disciples, Engels and Lassalle. It made little progress until in Germany as in other countries the Industrial Revolution had created the large army of industrial workers. Then the workingmen began, not only to form labor unions for the defense of their rights, but to found a new political party, known as the Social Democratic Party. It based its platform on the teachings of Karl Marx. In 1875 that platform was

boldly published with demands not only for the relief of the laborers but for a greater democratization of the Empire. In the elections of the same year the Social Democrats polled some four hundred and forty thousand votes.

Bismarck took alarm, and three years later he had a law passed to *suppress socialistic agitation.* It prohibited public meetings, publication of socialistic literature, and associations having for their purpose " the subversion of the public order." Two attempts made on the emperor's life on the part of anarchists furnished him with the pretext for these harsh measures. Although the Socialist party contained at that time many anarchistic and revolutionary members, such drastic measures in no way checked the advance of Socialism, but rather helped it; for the Socialists were not slow to excite the masses by pointing to the tyranny of the government. However, the rapid growth of the movement must at least in part be attributed to the contempt for religion fostered by the anti-religious Liberal agitation during the Kulturkampf.

786. Bismarck himself soon saw the futility of his measures and adopted a different policy. *The state, by social legislation, was gradually to remove the real grievances* of the workingmen and thus to remove the sources of discontent. The Socialist leaders, he expected, would then soon be without arguments and hence without followers. He, therefore, advocated in the last decade of his public career a number of reforms which gradually developed into a complete system of social legislation and which has to some extent been imitated by other countries. Its principal feature was a *threefold obligatory insurance of the workingmen* (1) against accidents, (2) against illness, (3) against old age and incapacity to earn a livelihood. The necessary funds were obtained by assessing the workingman for a small percentage of his wages; but the employer and, in some cases, the state also contributed a share. Thus, for instance, one kind of insurance provided an income for workmen incapacitated

by sickness. Every wage earner was obliged to take out this insurance, and, to this end, was assessed to about three per cent of his wages. The money thus obtained constituted about two thirds of the existing sick funds, the rest being made up by the employers. In case of illness the insured, as a rule, received free medical treatment and at least half of his daily wage. This kind of insurance was so widely introduced that the various sick funds paid annually about twenty-five million dollars in sick benefit money. The other systems of insurance worked in a similar manner. The success of these measures in relieving poverty and distress was very gratifying. Other acts against child labor, long hours of work, danger to the moral and physical health of the laborers followed one another during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Bismarck, however, does not deserve all the credit for these beneficial reforms. He was guided not so much by a sense of justice toward the weaker classes as by a desire to combat the spread of Socialism. Hence he constantly wavered between real reform and repression, and many of the best features of Germany's social legislation were passed only after his dismissal from office. The party that most consistently worked for the uplift of the poorer class was the Catholic Center. Long before Bismarck took any interest in the matter, *Ketteler*, the great bishop of Mainz (§ 663), saw the evils of the factory system and maintained that it was the duty of the state to protect the workingmen. When, after the Kulturkampf, the Catholics found time for constructive work they, through their splendidly organized Center party, advocated most of the reform bills and secured the necessary majorities in the Reichstag.

787. But these reforms did not check the progress of Socialism. — For a short while, indeed, the relative strength of the Socialists diminished, but after 1890 it grew rapidly and constantly and now bids fair to remain for a long time the most powerful political organization of Germany. In 1871,

in the first elections held after the establishment of the Empire, the Socialists cast 124,000 votes, or about four per cent of the total; in 1890 1,427,000, or about twenty per cent, and in 1912 4,239,000, or nearly thirty-five per cent of all the votes. During the same period their representatives in the Reichstag increased from two to one hundred and ten, and this figure would have been still higher if the arrangement of the electoral districts had not operated against them.

But it must not be supposed that all the voters for the socialistic platform were, strictly speaking, Socialists.[1] A large part of *vague discontent with the government* and with its autocratic character found expression in votes cast for Socialist candidates. The other parties, with the exception of the Center, were slow in demanding certain reforms, as for instance, the reapportionment of the electoral districts and the responsibility of the ministers to the parliament. Hence the dissatisfied part of the voters were driven into the arms of the Socialists, especially in the Protestant sections of the country, where the Center party, on account of its Catholic character, could not gain any foothold.

In recent years the Socialist leaders fell out among themselves. While in the nineties of the last century the Socialists usually opposed all legislation for the betterment of the working classes on the ground that such legislation merely delayed the general upheaval of society, some of their present leaders advocate more coöperation with other parties and hope for a gradual transformation by peaceful means. At the same time they attack some points in the Marxian system which older Socialists considered as essential, and propose a revision of that system. Some bitter controversies in the Socialistic camp have been the consequence of these differences of opinion. Whatever the future

[1] In 1912, for instance, when the Socialists polled over four million votes, there were only 970,000 enrolled Socialists, including over one hundred thousand women who had no votes.

has in store for Germany it seems certain that the numerous and well-organized Socialists will play an important part in any settlement.

C. Trade and Colonies

788. Industrial Progress. — The old Germany was essentially an agricultural country, and its foreign trade was of little consequence. After 1880 German manufactures, encouraged by high protective tariffs, mounted by leaps and bounds, and the label "Made in Germany" began to appear on all sorts of articles in all parts of the globe. The German manufacturers acquired a reputation for skill and accuracy, and easily adapted themselves to the needs of various nations. Before 1900 German commerce surpassed that of all other nations, except England and the United States, although the natural resources of that country are in most respects inferior to those of its rivals. In the meantime agriculture was not neglected, but promoted by the application of the most scientific methods. Indeed, the *intimate coöperation of the scientist and the practical worker* is characteristic of Germany's economic progress.

789. Population and Colonies. — German population increases very rapidly. In 1815 the states included in the later German Empire had a population of 25 millions. In 1911 the number was almost 65 millions. This increase resulted for a time in a large German emigration, which went mainly to the United States and South America.[1] Partly to secure commercial advantages for her citizens abroad, and partly in hopes of keeping the future German emigrants under the German flag, the government, after a period of indifference, adopted the policy of acquiring colonies.

[1] Of late years, emigration has declined. In the nineties, it was from 200,000 to 300,000 a year. Between 1910 and 1914, it has been under 30,000 a year. The rapid development of German industry has furnished industrial opportunity at home.

Bismarck announced this plan in 1884. At that time Germany had no possessions outside of Europe; and as she was late in entering the nineteenth century scramble for foreign possessions she had to be satisfied with what was left by her more fortunate rivals. In *Africa* she acquired vast colonies mainly on the Guinea coast and in the southwest and southeast. In the *western Pacific* she owned several valuable groups of islands. Shortly after 1890 she began acquiring concessions for railroads and mines in *Asia Minor* from the Turkish government, and this rich region, so long abandoned to barbarians, promised, before the outbreak of the Great War, to become one of the most important fields for European enterprise.

In 1898 another field opened which seemed even more promising. The murder of certain German subjects in *China* was made the excuse for a long lease on a valuable Chinese port, Kiau Chau, with a large adjacent territory. From this center Germany acquired a "sphere of influence" in eastern China, in which German capitalists developed mines and built railroads, as the Russians were doing in the north and Frenchmen and Englishmen in the south. Germany was rapidly converting a rich section of China into a German dependency; but early in the Great War of 1914 Japan expelled her from China.

As a colonizing nation Germany has not been very successful. The government has been steadily losing money with its colonial undertakings. Capitalists in small numbers went to Asia Minor and to China, but they did not go to Africa; and the mass of German emigrants went to America, giving up German citizenship, chiefly because the existing German colonies with their tropical climate deterred the German emigrant. German colonies contained a population of some 14 millions in 1911, but only twenty thousand of these were white. It was often rumored that the government was anxious to obtain possessions in South America, where German emigrants might make their homes; and but for the Monroe Doctrine of the United

States some attempts would perhaps have been made in this direction.

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIV. MacCaffrey, I, Chap. X, has an excellent narrative of the Kulturkampf. Woodrow Wilson's *The State* gives a clear treatment of the constitution. For the domestic and foreign policy of Bismarck and his successors consult, beside the general histories of Hayes and Hazen, Holt and Chilton, *European History 1862–1914*.

CHAPTER LVIII

ITALY SINCE 1870

790. The Constitution of Italy is essentially that given to Piedmont-Sardinia in 1848. It provides for a limited monarchy, somewhat after the type of the French government of Louis Philippe, but more liberal. By custom, as in England and France, the ministries resign when they no longer have a parliamentary majority. Local government and administrative courts are patterned after the French model.

At first high property qualifications were required for voters. The electoral law of 1895 extended the franchise to all male citizens who had reached the age of twenty-one and who could read and write. This still excluded about half the adult males. In 1912 universal manhood suffrage was introduced which at one stroke increased the number of voters from three to eight millions. The Socialists profited most by this measure.

The government of United Italy abolished most of the old private schools conducted by members of religious orders, and replaced them by its own system of public education. Primary instruction is gratuitous, compulsory, and under state supervision, but attendance is not well enforced. Although illiteracy has somewhat declined, nearly one half of the people cannot read and write. The cause lies partly in the poverty of many families, which forces them to make their children wage earners before they are twelve years old, partly in the quality of the teachers, whose salary is often below that of a workingman. Frequently, too, those teachers become the apostles of Socialism and infidelity. The higher educational institutions are often

excellent, and in many fields Italian scholars hold an eminent place.

At its birth the kingdom of Italy was far behind other states in material progress. Its proper task was to provide for education, to repress brigandage, and to develop the resources of the land. In all this something has been achieved, but the government has been hampered by its poverty and by the tremendous expenditures for military purposes; sometimes, too, by the greed and dishonesty of the higher officials.

Taxation is crushing; and still, much of the time the government can hardly meet expenses. A fourth of the revenue goes to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest is for military purposes, leaving only a small part for the more peaceful tasks of the government. To make ends meet the administration has been driven to desperate financial expedients. Salt and tobacco have been made government monopolies, the state runs a lottery, and taxation upon houses, land, and income is so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry. Moreover, to relieve the financial stress, the Italian government has resorted to the old expedient of annexing ecclesiastical property. The great Catholic institutions in Rome and elsewhere have been partly or entirely deprived of their income. But while education and religion have been seriously injured, the hope for financial prosperity has failed to materialize. On the other hand, frequent cases of embezzlement of public funds, involving high officials and even ministers, have been a scandal to the nation.

The economic distress has led to political and socialistic agitation. The government usually met this by stern repressive legislation. Riots and bloodsheds and local revolutions were often accountable for large parts of Italy being in "state of siege" or under martial law. Socialism in Italy, as in other countries, has increased tremendously and has become a real danger to existing institutions.

791. Colonial and Territorial Questions. — On account of the economic misery large numbers leave Italy each year, mainly for North and South America. Partly in hope to retain these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up the policy of securing colonial dependencies. Attention was first turned to Tunis, but when France there anticipated Italy the latter acquired valuable territory on the *Abyssinian* coast in Northeast Africa (1885). From 1889 to 1896, indeed, Italy held a protectorate over all Abyssinia; but in the latter year an Italian army was destroyed in the interior, and Italian control was again reduced to the coast district of *Eritrea*. Up to the present time, however, emigration has not been directed in any considerable degree to this possession. In 1911–1912 Italy seized *Tripoli* from Turkey, renaming it *Libya*.

One other territorial ambition has long been before the public, the so-called "*Italia Irredenta*" (Unredeemed Italy). By this Italians understand the Austrian Trentino on the southern slopes of the Alps, with a population of about three hundred thousand souls, largely Italian in speech. There has been, too, a desire to incorporate into modern Italy the eastern Adriatic coast, a part of the former Republic of Venice. Italy entered the Great War to secure these coveted territories.

792. The Roman Question. — There is another serious problem which divides public opinion of Italy into two hostile camps. We have seen (§§ 696–700) how the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia made modern Italy by annexing one after the other of the small Italian states restored by the Congress of Vienna. In 1860 only two provinces, *Venetia* and *Rome* with its surrounding territory, were still outside of United Italy. The former was acquired in 1866 (§ 706). The latter fell into the hands of the Piedmontese in 1870. Up to that year Napoleon III, forced by public opinion, had kept a small garrison in Rome for the defense of the remaining territory of the Holy See. But at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War he with-

drew that garrison. The Piedmontese hoped that an insurrection would break out in Rome and furnish them with a decent pretext for intervention and annexation. But no such outbreak occurred. In the meantime Napoleon had been defeated at Sedan. This freed the Italian government from all fear of France. The Italian troops then marched upon Rome, and, nearly three weeks after Sedan, on *September 20, 1870*, after a short skirmish with the small papal army they entered the city of the popes. In October Victor Emmanuel ordered the people to vote for or against annexation to Italy. Great care was taken to secure an imposing majority; many papal sympathizers were put under arrest; on the other hand prisoners were released; boys under age, foreigners and "patriots" from all parts of Italy were induced to swell the number of voters, and everybody was allowed to vote as often as he liked. These measures were hardly necessary, for Pope Pius IX forbade all loyal Catholics to take part in the plebiscite. Thus the Sardinian king easily obtained a large majority in favor of annexation. But Pius IX energetically protested against these proceedings, and neither he nor his successors accepted the settlement. During the following year the Italian parliament passed a series of laws, called the "*Laws of Guarantees*," professing to regulate the relations of the Italian government to the pope. The latter was to remain in full possession of the Vatican palace, to be recognized as an independent sovereign, to be free to communicate with all parts of the world, and to receive an annual pension of $600,000 for the maintenance of the papal court and the papal offices. Attacks on the person of the Holy Father were to be punished in the same manner as offenses against the king The popes never accepted the money, and as a protest against the Italian usurpation they refuse to leave the Vatican palace; for in doing so they would be forced to traverse territory held by the Italian government, and according to international custom this would amount to a recognition

of the Italian title to that territory. At first, too, the popes warned the Italian Catholics not to take part in the elections, but recently this prohibition has been somewhat relaxed, to offset the rapid increase of the socialistic and radical vote. This is the situation at present. It is evident that the *Roman Question* cannot be settled by a Law of Guarantees, having no greater stability than the majority of an Italian parliament. The position of the Holy Father, whose subjects are to be found in every nation, cannot, even apparently, be made to depend on any nation. The Laws of Guarantees may be repealed at any time by an Italian parliament. As a matter of fact, they have been repeatedly violated by Italian subjects, without so much as a word of protest from the Italian government. We may sincerely hope that the Italian people may preserve their long wished-for independence and unity, but we must insist, too, that as long as the security of the Holy Father and his freedom in the exercise of his sacred office depend merely on the good will of fickle parliamentary majorities, *the Roman Question cannot be regarded as settled.*[1]

For Further Reading. — Hayes, II, Chap. XXIII, 2. On ecclesiastical history read MacCaffrey, I, Chap. XVIII. The article on *Italy* in the Catholic Encyclopedia contains clear and reliable information.

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[1] In recent years many Catholic writers, especially in Italy, have advocated a solution of the Roman Question without restoration of the papal territory. According to their view the independence of the Holy See would be sufficiently safeguarded if it were guaranteed by international law and not merely by an act of the Italian parliament. The pope himself is of course the sole judge of what constitutes an effectual protection of his position as head of the Universal Church. So far the Holy See has not expressed its view on the matter.

CHAPTER LIX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

793. After the revolution of 1848 (§ 682) a reaction set in against the democratic and revolutionary tendencies of the age. This reaction lasted until 1859, the year of the unfortunate Italian war with Napoleon III (§ 679). The social reforms, the abolition of the feudal burdens of the peasantry and of the privileges of the nobility were *not* undone, but a determined effort was made to curtail local government and to centralize all political power in the government at Vienna. Especially between 1850 and 1860 the young Emperor Francis Joseph and his leading statesmen seemed to know only one remedy of the many ills of the Danubian monarchy, to restrict as far as possible the rights of the various nationalities. The government made itself especially odious by its *attacks upon the various languages of Austria-Hungary* and its attempts to *Germanize* the schools, the press, and the courts.

When, however, the defeat of 1859 revealed widespread dissatisfaction, particularly among the Bohemians and Hungarians, the emperor awoke to the necessity of conciliating these provinces. Liberal reforms were begun, and a sort of parliamentary system of government was adopted. But Hungary remained sullen, and after the next Austrian defeat at Sadowa (§ 706) it became necessary to satisfy that country at any cost. The emperor and Francis Deák, the Hungarian leader, arranged a *compact* (1867), which was then ratified by the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments. This compact formed, until recently, the constitution of Austria-Hungary.

REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-Hungary
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Roumanians
GERMANY
RUSSIA
BOHEMIA
(Czechs)
MORAVIA
GALICIA
(Poles)
(Ruthenians)
(Slovaks)
BAVARIA
LOWER AUSTRIA
(Germans)
UPPER AUSTRIA
SALZBURG
STYRIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
(Slovenes)
VENETIA
(Italians)
TRENTINO
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
(Roumanians)
TRANSYLVANIA
BUKOWINA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
(Serbs)
DALMATIA
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
SERVIA
MONTENEGRO
ROUMANIA
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Pilsen
Iglau
Olmutz
Brünn
Budweis
Troppau
Krakow
Kashau
Czernowitz
Tokay
Erlau
VIENNA
Neustadt
Raab
BUDAPEST
Gran
Komorn
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Graz
Trent
Laibach
Trieste
Karlstadt
Agram
Venice
Istria
Fiume
Versecz
Pancsova
BELGRADE
Klausenburg
Kronstadt
Zara
Florence
Ragusa
Rhine R.
Inn R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Po R.
Theiss R.
Marosz R.
Temes R.
W. Kokos R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Sereth R.
Aluta R.
10
15
20
25
45
50
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE IN PART
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
L.L. POATES, ENG., N.Y.

794. Austria-Hungary thereby became a dual monarchy, a federation of two states. Each state had its own constitution, its own parliament, its own system of law and local government. The two had the same monarch, who was emperor in Austria and king in Hungary, and whose powers differed in the two states. Moreover, each state had its own ministry, but there was a common minister of war, of finance, and of foreign relations. There was a common army, but besides this each state maintained a kind of territorial reserve (the Landwehr in Austria and the Honved in Hungary). There was a curious kind of common parliament, the *Delegations*. In reality this consisted of two committees, each comprising sixty members, the one chosen by the Austrian parliament, the other by the Hungarian. They met one year at Vienna, the next at Budapest. If the two bodies disagreed, equal numbers from the two met and settled the matter by vote, without debate. The chief purpose of these Delegations was to supervise and control the work of three common ministers.

795. The Race Question. — Austria has been rightly described as a " tangle of races and a Babel of tongues." Eleven different languages, besides numerous dialects, were spoken within her boundaries. At the opening of the Austrian parliament the official oath was administered in eight languages. Nearly half the population were Slavs, broken up, however, into many branches, *Czechs*, *Croats*, *Serbs*, *Slavonians*, *Poles*, *Ruthenians*. A fourth was *German*, a fifth *Magyar*, and the rest were *Italians*, *Roumanians*, and others. If we regard the Slav subdivisions, the Germans were more numerous than any other people. They numbered eleven and a third millions. The Magyars came next with nine millions. Of the Slavs, the Czechs (Bohemians) led with nearly six millions.

After the compact of 1867 the Germans were the ruling race in the Austrian half of the dual monarchy. Though they were inferior to the Slavs in numbers, they controlled the parliament.

The unequally distributed franchise gave them an unduly large representation, and quarrels weakened their Slavic opponents. In spite of the confusion in the demands of the various parties, two distinct political tendencies appeared with sufficient clearness, one making for greater centralization of power in the government at Vienna, the other advocating a reorganization of Austria after the model of the compact with Hungary. The former was the favorite program of the Germans and the smaller Slavic races, while the latter was the ideal of the larger Slav peoples, especially the Czechs and the Poles. The Emperor Francis wavered between these two extremes, and thus the politics of Austria presented the spectacle of great instability and confusion. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the parties striving for greater independence from Vienna were constantly gaining ground. The Czechs of Bohemia especially were growing rapidly in political strength. They were as prosperous and cultured as the German provinces, and demanded, if not complete separation from the Hapsburgs, at least a position in the Empire similar to that of the Hungarians. But in this they were vehemently opposed by the German inhabitants of Bohemia, who formed about one third of the population of that province. This faction was warmly supported in its opposition by the Germans in the other Austrian provinces, and even by its kinsmen in the German Empire. These were unwilling to abandon their fellow-Germans in Bohemia to Czech rule. Many attempts were made by the Vienna government to meet the wishes of one party or the other, but no satisfactory solution was found for the racial problem in Bohemia. On the contrary, every measure of the government provoked fierce hostility on the part of the less favored race. In revenge, the slighted party usually resorted to obstruction in parliament. Violent scenes in that body were of frequent occurrence, and many sessions ended without having accomplished anything. In 1907 full and equal man-

hood suffrage for all local and parliamentary elections was introduced. The Czechs thereby gained considerably, and the Germans in Bohemia became so intimidated that some of them openly expressed a desire for annexation to the German Empire.

796. In Hungary similar difficulties existed between the ruling Magyar race and the scattered Slavic peoples. Until the outbreak of the Great War, however, the Magyars were more successful in maintaining their ascendency than the Germans in Austria. The Croatians alone were allowed certain privileges; elsewhere in Hungary the Magyars, despite violent protests, slowly but effectively imposed their language and law upon the various Slav fragments. Representation in the legislature at Budapest was so apportioned as to give the vast majority of the seats of Magyar constituencies, though the other races made up half the population. Universal manhood suffrage was never adopted. That reform, together with greater safeguards for the language and customs of the non-Magyar elements, formed the chief desires of the Hungarian Slavs. As even influential Magyar leaders began to recognize the justice of these claims, there appeared some hope for a better understanding in the future. But the Great War and its disastrous results for the Hapsburg monarchy has taken the task of solving these racial problems out of the hands of Austrian statesmen.

797. The future of the peoples included in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy is more uncertain than that of any other people. The problem of arriving at a satisfactory settlement is bristling with difficulties. Nowhere are the demands of the various races and parties more irreconcilable. In the past they often threatened the very existence of the state. Still, acute observers have often declared that some kind of union among the various races in this "whirlpool of Europe" is a political necessity for themselves and for Europe in general, and that a

complete dissolution would lead to endless strife. A division of the territory according to the races inhabiting it seems well-nigh impossible. *These races everywhere overlap, and natural boundaries, like rivers and mountains, fail in most cases to divide one people from the other.* Hence interminable boundary disputes and petty wars will probably be the result of any attempt at complete separation. This will undoubtedly retard the economic and cultural progress of the peoples involved. Moreover, we must not overlook the bond of a common religion, for of the fifty million inhabitants of the former Hapsburg monarchy over thirty-six millions are members of the Catholic Church. The rest are divided among Protestant sects and the Greek schismatic church, or are Jews or Mohammedans. In some cases, notably with the Slavs in Hungary, difference in religion separates them from their kinsmen of the neighboring states. The true solution of these problems requires a keen regard for the political and economic needs as well as for differences in language and racial peculiarities.

798. In foreign policy Austria, since 1866, was entirely excluded from Italy and Germany. She turned, therefore, toward her neighbors in the south. At first, markets in the Balkan territory and the exploitation of these hitherto undeveloped regions were the chief objects of Austrian statesmen. But a complicated situation arose after the formation of the independent Balkan states, partly inhabited by people similar in race and language to those that formed such a considerable portion of the subjects of Austria-Hungary. We shall have to study this question later, in connection with the Near Eastern problem (§ 848).

For Further Reading. — See the general histories of Hayes or Hazen. If the Cambridge Modern History is accessible to the students, they may read with profit Vol. XII, Chap. VII.

CHAPTER LX

THE SMALLER STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE[1]

799. Besides the great states, the usual map of Europe shows fourteen[2] small states. All these, except Switzerland and Portugal, are constitutional monarchies. Six — the Slav and Greek states — are in the southeast of Europe in the Balkan region. The other eight belong to western Europe and claim a brief notice at this point.

Of these small states of western Europe, two are in the south, in the Iberian Peninsula, three are in the north, in the Scandinavian peninsulas; two lie at the mouth of the Rhine, and the remaining one at its source. Four of the eight — Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland — formerly ranked as Great Powers.

A. Spain

800. From 1800 to 1833. — We saw how Napoleon broke into Spain, overthrew the old monarchy, and imposed upon the Spaniards a foreign ruler, his own brother Joseph (§ 602). The Spanish people, however, would not brook this humiliation. Aided by the English under Wellington, they fought a war of independence (1809–1813), resulting in the downfall of the Bonaparte régime. But while they were shedding their blood in defense of their faith, their country, and their legitimate

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[1] It is suggested that, if time presses, this chapter be merely read, and talked over, without much attempt to fix details.

[2] There are also four or five others, like the little republic of San Marino in the Apennines, so small that few maps take notice of them.

king, the Liberals, that is, those politicians who were infected with the ideas of the French Revolution, *drew up a constitution* (1812), resembling in many points the French constitution of 1791. This constitution was far from embodying the wishes of the majority of Spaniards. When King Ferdinand VII returned after the fall of Napoleon he rejected it, but in 1820 a revolt in the army forced him to accept it. The Holy Alliance, however, determined to wipe away every vestige of the Revolution, interfered in Spain, and the constitution was again abolished (1823). The king now, by relentless persecution, took revenge on the "Constitutionists," as the Spanish Liberals were called. Although public sentiment condemned the Constitution of 1812, its rejection failed to establish peace. The defeated Liberals continued to plot in the dark against the government, until their chance came for open revolution. It so happened, too, that the *revolutionary movement became intertwined with the question of succession to the throne.*

801. From 1833 to 1873. — According to the Spanish law Ferdinand's successor, as he had no son, was to be his brother, *Don Carlos*. But the king, under the influence of his ambitious wife, *Christina*, arbitrarily changed the law of succession and willed the crown to his daughter *Isabella*. At his death (1833) Isabella was a child of three years. During the minority of the queen the regency was to be in the hands of her mother Christina. The Catholics and all opponents of the Constitution of 1812 rallied around Don Carlos ("Charles V"), while the regent allied herself with the Liberals. A seven years' war (1833–1839) was waged between the "*Carlistas*" and the "*Christinos*," marked by great bitterness and frightful deeds of cruelty on both sides. Gradually the Christinos became masters of the situation. Don Carlos left Spain, and the northern provinces, the strongholds of the Carlists, came to an understanding with the regent.

Meantime, however, the Liberals themselves had split into

parties, the *Moderates* and the *Radicals*. Both were hostile to the Catholic Church, showing themselves on this point true disciples of the French models, but utterly at variance with the vast majority of their own countrymen. In 1840 the Radicals got control, deposed Christina, and put in her place one of their leaders, General Espartero. Then came a period of military insurrections on the part of rival generals, after the fashion of the South American republics. Usually the rebels succeeded for the time. There was not much bloodshed, so that a writer wittily remarked, "Revolution in Spain has become a fine art." Confiscation of church property and its public sale, interrupted by more atrocious acts, such as the burning of monasteries and the slaying of their inmates, became the program of these Spanish Jacobins. The peace-loving element was weakened by divisions in its own ranks, — chiefly through the question of succession and of a new constitution.

The young queen Isabella had in the meantime been declared of age, and, under the Moderate ministry of Narvaez, the country enjoyed a spell of tranquillity. A concordat, regulating ecclesiastical affairs, was concluded with the Holy See in 1851. But seventeen years later a new revolution deposed the Bourbon dynasty in the person of queen Isabella. The Spaniards cast about for a new ruler. Leopold of Hohenzollern at first accepted the candidature, but soon withdrew on account of the protest of the French government (§ 710). Prince Amadeo of Savoy was elected, but finding it impossible to conciliate the warring factions, he abdicated.

802. Then, in 1873, the Cortes, made up chiefly of Liberals, declared the Republic. During its two years' life it had four presidents. The Carlists arose anew, in favor of Don Carlos' son. They gained substantial successes, but the aristocracy and the financial interests effected a restoration of the female line of the Bourbons, and the crown was bestowed on Isabella's son, Alfonso XII. He landed in Spain in 1875. The Carlists

were soon suppressed. The leaders of the Moderates and of those Liberals who were willing to support the government came to an agreement. One result of this is a curious arrangement, according to which the leaders of the parties supporting the government take turns in filling the ministerial posts. Alfonso XII died in 1885 and was followed by his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII, the present (1919) ruler of Spain.

803. The present government of Spain is regulated by the constitution of 1876. Although Spain is the result of a coalition of several states (Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Leon, etc.) the old historical states have been wiped out. Their place is taken by forty-nine provinces, which correspond to the French departments. Likewise in imitation of France, the government is strictly centralized. The executive is vested in the king and a responsible ministry. The Legislature — the Cortes — consists of two Houses, a Senate made up partly of life members, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage, for a term of five years. Local government is more developed than in France, each province and commune having its own elected assembly and even, except in some large towns, its elected executive. These local bodies are dependent on the central government, but in practice there is little interference.

The political parties of Spain may be divided into three groups. The *Right*, or the old Carlists, are the defenders of old Spanish traditions and determined opponents of Liberalism. Since they do not support the present ruling dynasty but merely tolerate it, they are never represented in the ministry. The so-called *Loyal* parties take their turn in office. One of them, the Liberal-Conservatives, for many years under their able leader Antonio Maura, are sincere Catholics who work for reform under the present dynasty, while the rest of the practical Catholics have cast their lot with the Right. Another Loyalist party, the Liberal Democrats, takes its cue from modern France, aims at destroying the influence of the Church on education

and opposes in general the union of Church and State. The *Left*, finally, consists of Republicans and Socialists of all shades. Their aims have been clearly manifested in the hideous riots of 1909 in Barcelona, where they murdered persons consecrated to God and burned schools and monasteries. One of their leaders, Francesco Ferrer, was seized and shot by the government, whereupon hysterical sympathizers in Europe and America proclaimed him a " martyr of liberty."

804. Recent Progress. — Until 1881 the energies of the nation were wasted in constant revolutionary disorders. Then there followed a period of comparative tranquillity, during which Spain grew in wealth. Taxation was reformed and various industries were encouraged. As a result trade has mounted, manufactures have developed, railroads and telegraphs have tripled. Population increased from fifteen millions in 1857 to nearly twenty millions in 1910. Above all, peasant landowners began to increase rapidly. Modern Spain is far from being a dying nation, as prejudiced writers sometimes try to make us believe. She is a reviving nation. The increase in prosperity, too, seems to have calmed the revolutionary fever, for revolutions would be too costly. Still the outlook is not entirely reassuring. A certain amount of ill feeling between the different provinces still survives the former civil strife. Recently, too, socialistic and anarchic tendencies have grown alarmingly. It must be admitted that there are reasons for the workmen to rail at the wealthier classes. There are among them numerous representatives of an older order of things who have not as yet realized their responsibilities toward the dependent classes. But this does not fully explain the increasing unrest. Its causes lie deeper, — in the spread of irreligion.

805. Religion and Education. — The religion of the Spanish people is Catholic. According to the constitution it is the religion of the state and as such the only religion which is officially recognized. In practice, however, there is a great deal

of religious freedom. Non-Catholics may erect their own buildings for worship, provided they avoid externally certain characteristics of Catholic churches. Civil marriage exists for non-Catholics. Freedom of the press has been so liberally granted and so extensively abused that many ascribe to it the growing religious indifference of the city population.

By character and tradition the Spaniards are passionately attached to the Catholic Church. The age-long struggle against the Mohammedans for religious and national unity has left its impress upon the Spanish character. The constant attempts of the Moors and Jews (§ 318) to undermine religion and nationality made Spaniards extremely sensitive to the purity of their faith and to all movements endangering its unity. In the nineteenth century, however, owing to the disunion among the Catholics and the systematic work of a few determined infidels and Freemasons, the machinery of government has generally been in the hands of anti-Catholics. This and the activity of the irreligious press have been the most important factors in strengthening the influence of infidelity.

The effects of these causes have been most conspicuous in the field of education and legislation. The aims of the Spanish anti-Catholics may be summarized under two heads, (1) complete separation of Church and State after the example of France, (2) the exclusion of religion from the schools. The first aim has not yet been achieved, but in the field of education the enemies of religion have scored notable successes. The government has established a complete system of state schools from which religious orders, who formerly had entire control of education, have been excluded. Though these schools are not officially hostile to religion, they are often so in practice. Besides these state schools there is still a large number of flourishing Catholic private schools, and the real wishes of the Spanish people appear from the fact that fully two thirds of the pupils prefer them to the government institutions. The

struggle between the forces of irreligion and the Catholic Church is still being waged with great bitterness.

806. The Social Question. — In the second half of the nineteenth century the rapid spread of Socialism and Anarchism among the working classes induced the Catholics to devote themselves energetically to the social problem. Numerous workingmen's associations, savings banks, and farmers' unions under Catholic auspices testify to the earnestness with which Catholic Spain has undertaken the solution of the most pressing of modern problems. Charity, always a beautiful characteristic of Spain, is flourishing more than ever. The state, on account of its perpetual financial embarrassments, has done less than in many other countries; but private enterprise and genuine Christian charity have worked wonders in relieving distress and misery of every kind. This enlightened and well-organized activity is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of Spain.

807. Loss of Colonies. — In 1898 Spain ceased to be a colonial power on a large scale. We have seen how, between 1810 and 1830, she lost her vast colonial possessions in South and Central America (§ 628). There were still left to her Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. A long rebellion in Cuba, often aided and abetted by private American interests, brought about the interference of the United States. The Spanish American War of 1898 resulted in the surrender of all the remaining Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some unimportant districts in northwest Africa. While Spain has thereby lost her influence in international affairs she has not suffered financially. The colonies had long ceased to be a source of revenue to the mother country. The constant revolutions and the consequent drain upon the resources of Spain rather added to the enormous debt under which that country is groaning. Now that Spain is rid of all responsibility for her unruly foreign dependencies she may spend her money more profitably at home. But to achieve real improve-

ment at home she has to purify her administrative bodies, for under the Liberal and Radical régime corruption in the highest quarters has too often disgraced Spanish politics.

B. Portugal

808. Historical Survey. — When Napoleon I seized Portugal (1807) the royal family of Braganza fled to Brazil, then a Portuguese colony. After the expulsion of the French by Wellington, the English, in the absence of the king, practically ruled the country and continued to do so even after the overthrow of Napoleon. But the English representative, *Lord Beresford*, made himself so hated by his harsh and arbitrary rule that, in 1820, a revolution broke out, organized chiefly by sympathizers with the ideas of the French Revolution. They recalled King John from Brazil. The king returned, leaving his son Pedro[1] to rule Brazil. The Radicals had in the meantime drawn up a constitution after the model of the Spanish constitution of 1812, and forced the king to accept it. The Brazilians were so indignant at this action of the Radicals and the weakness of the king that they declared their independence.

For many years Portugal was distracted by revolutions and by civil wars between various claimants of the crown. As in Spain, one side stood for reaction, the other for radical reform in Church and State. Since the latter party was controlled chiefly by Freemasons and followers of Rousseau, the better section of the Catholics largely threw in their lot with the former. But the radical element gradually prevailed, and then carried out its usual program of persecution, confiscation of church property, expulsion of religious orders, and complete subjection

[1] Brazil was an independent empire until 1889. In that year Pedro II (1831–1889) was forced to abdicate. The Brazilians then proclaimed the Republic. Pedro II's empire was the last monarchy on the American continent.

of the priests and bishops to the state. As a consequence a servile clergy gradually filled most of the important ecclesiastical offices. The religious instruction of the people was woefully neglected, while the ranks of the Socialists and Anarchists were swelled by fallen-away Catholics. In the second half of the nineteenth century conditions improved somewhat, and, chiefly through the efforts of Pope Leo XIII, some measure of justice was meted out to the Church.

But suddenly things changed for the worse. In 1908 King Carlos and his oldest son were murdered in the streets of Lisbon by the agents of an organized conspiracy. The succession to the throne devolved upon his second son, Manuel, who, however, after a brief reign was overthrown by a new revolution in 1910. The successful conspirators *proclaimed the Republic.*

809. Conditions and Problems. — The Republic at once set on foot a barbarous persecution of the Church. The whole educational system was remodeled after the example of the recent French legislation on that subject (§ 767). No sign of religion was tolerated in the schools. Important social and charitable works were destroyed if they were even remotely connected with the Church. The wide apathy and religious ignorance of the masses made the success of these Portuguese Jacobins possible, but the Republic is by no means securely established. The material prosperity with which the Radicals deluded the masses has failed to appear under the republican régime. Hence discontent is growing among the working classes. In spite of the extensive robbery of church property, the national finances are in a deplorable condition. Lack of employment, low wages, and socialistic agitation have caused distress, frequent strikes, and riots. Compulsory education exists, but in practice the poverty of the schools and of the people is so great that very few attend schools. Three fourths of the nation are still illiterate.

The Portuguese colonies are still of considerable size (in the

Cape Verde Islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration, too, is inefficient and corrupt. The shortsighted anti-Catholic policy of the new republican government drove many missionaries out of the colonies, though they were there the mainstay of progress and civilization.

C. Belgium

810. The constitution of Belgium is still that of 1831, when the little country gained its independence (§ 642). The Legislature consists of two Houses, Senate and Deputies. The king is no mere figurehead, but, through his extensive nominating power, exerts considerable influence. The Belgians chose for their sovereign Leopold, a Protestant German prince. He understood his people and never interfered with their rights. His successor, the Catholic Leopold II, was a shrewd business man who did much to promote the industrial growth of Belgium. The present king, Albert, is an excellent constitutional monarch.

In 1831 the franchise rested upon the payment of a considerable tax. When the revolution of 1848 was radically changing so many governments, Belgium made merely a slight reduction in the qualification for voting. For nearly fifty years there was no further change; but meanwhile great city populations were growing up, with masses of artisans who had no votes. In the eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise. The proposal to that effect secured little support in parliament, and bill after bill was voted down. The agitation grew more intense, chiefly on the part of the Socialists. The Catholic party, then in power, brought about a revision of the constitution. In 1893 universal manhood suffrage was adopted, modified, however, by a *system of plural voting*. Each man at the age of twenty-five gets one vote; two votes are given to

each man who is over thirty-five years old, if he possesses a certain amount of wealth, or if he is the head of a family with children; and three votes are granted to those who possess certain university degrees or who have held certain important public offices.

811. Parties and Disputes. — The population of Belgium is almost entirely Catholic. But, as everywhere, there are many among the Catholics who are such in name only. These "*Liberals*" at the time of the struggle for independence against Holland united with the loyal Catholics in defense of their common cause. After independence was won the Liberals, for the next fifty years, were nearly always in control of the government. They recruited themselves chiefly from the wealthier classes, and, since the franchise was restricted to those classes, their victory at the polls was comparatively an easy matter.

At first they were a moderate party, most of them sincerely wishing toleration and liberty for all. But gradually an extreme element within the party, consisting mainly of Freemasons, gained predominant influence over the party, and soon betrayed its true character by anti-Catholic legislation. *The chief object of their attacks was the school.* The Belgian school law of 1842 guaranteed the religious character of the primary schools, even of the state schools. And in most of these institutions teaching and teachers were thoroughly Catholic. By various measures the influence of religion upon the young was to be imperceptibly diminished. For a long time Catholic resistance was weak and poorly organized, and the Liberals grew bolder with every election. In 1879 a radical law barred all religious instruction from the state schools.

The Liberals had ventured too far. The unjust measure aroused the Catholics to the importance of religious education. Their enthusiasm worked wonders. In one year they erected over three thousand Catholic private schools, and the state

schools lost large numbers of their pupils. In some cases the schoolhouses were actually empty. The Freemasons were dumbfounded and enraged at such resistance; they tried every means to break the influence of the clergy upon the people. But in vain. In 1884 the country pronounced judgment upon the Liberal policy. In the parliamentary elections of that year the Liberals suffered an overwhelming defeat from which they never recovered. Only two Liberal candidates were returned to parliament. The Catholics assumed control in the parliament and the ministry and have held it ever since. The iniquitous school law was, of course, at once repealed. Otherwise, however, they wisely avoided going to extremes. "We shall surprise the world by our moderation," said one of their leaders. But they did much more.

They gave the country a government by capable and honest men, who energetically promoted the progress and prosperity of the land, undertook vast public improvements, and, in spite of it, made the burden of taxation so light that the administration of the little state has become a model for other and larger ones. Education, too, has correspondingly progressed. And while the opinions of others have been scrupulously respected, religious and Catholic education is amply provided for. The far-famed Catholic university of Louvain has given to the party in power splendid leaders, and to the country at large scholarly and practical men, capable of solving newly arising problems.

812. For many years Belgium has ranked among the leading industrial nations. In 1910 the population was seven and a half millions, more than double that of 1815. There are about 510 people to the square mile (which is more than sixteen times the relative population of the United States). These conditions have produced a certain amount of unrest among the masses. Socialism has found many adherents; irreligion and contempt of the laws of morality have grown, especially in the large cities. The enlightened statesmen at the helm have done much to

remedy the social evils. The extension of the franchise to all male citizens is their work. They have, moreover, enacted a series of excellent laws for the protection of the workingmen. Just before the Great War (1914) a complete reform of the school laws dealt in an admirable manner with the question of religious education, without hurting the feelings of others. When that wonderful little country, so ruthlessly dealt with by the invader, once more takes its place among the nations of Europe it will undoubtedly continue to be an example and inspiration to all men interested in the question of good government.

For Belgium's colonial enterprise see § 862.

D. Holland

813. Government. — The royal family of Holland belongs to the ancient House of Orange[1] (§ 401) and the people are loyally devoted to it. The Upper House of the Estates General (the parliament keeps that ancient name) is chosen by the local legislature of the various provinces for nine years, one third going out each third year. This plan of partial removals of a branch of the legislature has been adopted in many countries, as in the Senate of the United States, but it seems to have originated in Holland some centuries ago. The House of Representatives (Lower House of the Estates General) is elected directly by the people, and it wields by far more power than the Upper House. Since 1896 about three fourths of the adult males have votes, nearly all except paupers, vagabonds, and unmarried sons in poor families. The monarch exercises power through ministers. Until recently the government has been of the Prussian rather than of the English type; but during the long minority of the girl-queen the ministries began

[1] The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who came to the throne in 1890 at ten years of age.

to be truly "responsible" to the parliament, of which they may be members.

814. The country is rich and prosperous. The population (six millions in 1910) in the last century has grown even faster than that of Belgium. Less than one third are Catholics, but there is complete religious freedom. The colonial empire, despite great losses in the Napoleonic wars, is still vast and productive. It comprises the *Dutch East Indies*, that is, the islands of Sumatra, Java, part of Celebes and of Borneo, the Moluccas, and the *Dutch West Indies*, that is, Dutch Guiana in South America.

E. The Swiss Republic

815. The Congress of Vienna restored all territory lost during the Napoleonic wars, but left the Swiss cantons in a loose confederacy, not unlike that of the United States before 1789. The original "Forest Cantons" were pure democracies. They governed themselves (as some still do), not by elected representatives, but by *folkmoots*, — primary assemblies of all the voters who pass upon all laws directly, without the intervention of a legislature. On the other hand, in Bern, Zurich, and in some other rich "City Cantons" a few families had complete possession of the government, so that the rule was rather that of an hereditary oligarchy.

But in 1830, after the success of the French "July Revolution," popular risings established Liberal local constitutions in those city cantons. Political power in most cases, however, fell into the hands of an extreme Radical party.

816. The next change grew out of religious strife. The Radical party that had gained control over the city cantons was anti-Catholic, while the old democratic cantons were stanchly Catholic. Wherever the Radical party was in control it initiated remorseless warfare against the clergy, the monasteries, and ecclesiastical rights. In a conference in 1834

the Radicals openly avowed their intention to fetter the Church in the whole country. A new federal constitution was to give them the legal power to interfere in the purely Catholic cantons.

The struggle was especially bitter in the canton of Aargau. There the Radicals came into power in 1840. In spite of the protests of the people they suppressed the monasteries (1841), though their existence was guaranteed by the old constitution.

A Typical Alpine Town.

In the meantime in the neighboring canton of Luzern the conservative and Catholic party gained the upper hand in the elections. To overthrow their administration, Aargau and Bern organized armed raids, but the people of Luzern routed the raiders. This defeat, however, did not end the attacks upon the Catholic cantons. Hence, in order to protect themselves and their religious liberty seven Catholic cantons formed a league among themselves — the *Sonderbund*.

817. The Sonderbund War. — In 1847 the Federal Diet, now controlled by the Radicals, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve.

The seven cantons refused and withdrew their delegates from the Diet, and *civil war began*, — seven cantons against fifteen. Help from Austria, on which the Sonderbund relied, was not forthcoming. Their opponents, encouraged by England, acted with great rapidity and decision. In less than three weeks the Sonderbund was crushed, and this without much bloodshed. Then the victors put a heavy indemnity on the vanquished, expelled the Jesuits from the Catholic cantons and suppressed about fifty monasteries. Moreover, they remodeled the constitutions of the seven cantons in such a manner as to put the power into the hands of the Radicals. Then they proceeded to revise the national constitution.

818. By the new constitution of 1848, which — with slight amendments — is that of to-day, the Confederacy became a *Federal Republic*, after the model of the United States. The *Federal Assembly* (national legislature) has two Houses: the *Council of the States* (Ständerath) and the *National Council*. The first consists of two delegates from each of the twenty-two cantons (cantons in the federal scheme correspond very closely to the American States). These forty-four deputies are chosen either by the cantonal legislatures or by the people directly. Their term of office, too, is determined by the respective cantons. This Council of States represents the principle of state rights, and, in form, is a survival of the old Diet.

The other provisions of the constitution are new and tend toward nationalism. The Lower House of the legislature, the National Council, represents the people. The members are elected in single districts, like our own Representatives, for a term of three years. The franchise is given to all adult males of over twenty years of age.

The *national executive* is not a single president, but a committee of seven (the Federal Council) whose members are chosen by the Federal Assembly in joint session. One of the seven, especially named for the purpose, is President of the Council;

but he possesses little more authority than the other six. Each of the seven members is head of a department, that of foreign affairs being always reserved to the president. Although they cannot be members of the legislature (as in England), they take part in its sessions and exert a great influence on its proceedings. The president serves only one year, but after that he usually remains a member of the Federal Council. In fact, it is custom to reëlect all the members continually for a long period of time.

There is also a *Federal Judiciary*, chosen by the Federal Assembly; but it lacks the power of our American Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional: it is bound to accept as valid all acts of the legislature.

Each canton, like each of our own States, has its own constitution and government, all of them democratic in character. In a few small cantons the old folkmoot, or primary assembly, is still preserved; in the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In all there are executive councils.

819. Direct Legislation. — As a rule, even in modern democratic countries, the people govern themselves only *indirectly*. They choose representatives (legislators and governors), and these few delegated individuals attend directly to all matters of government. Writers on democratic government, however, frequently demand that some way be found for the people themselves to take a direct part in law-making; and Switzerland was the first country to show how this may be done. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as the *referendum* and the popular *initiative*.

The referendum is the older. It consists merely in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The State of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and 1780, and there were a few other applications of this principle in America at about the same time. The

French Revolution did the same with its constitutions, and the plebiscites of the two Napoleons were in principle such a referendum. In America, after 1820, nearly all our States used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions or amendments; and sometimes other important measures are submitted to popular decision, both in city and state government.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the constitution of 1848 all constitutional amendments, cantonal and national, must be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws. By an amendment of 1874 a certain number of voters, by petition, may require the submission of any federal law to popular vote.[1] This last provision is known as the optional referendum, and it has been in use in cantonal legislation for the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The popular initiative is a purely Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill, or even an amendment to the constitution, and to submit it to a popular vote. A little before 1848 this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. Four cantons had already made use of it, and the new constitution of 1848 required all cantons to permit it in constitutional amendments, if a majority of voters so petitioned.

The cantons themselves rapidly adopted more generous measures than this; and, by 1870, in nearly all of them a small number of voters could put any law they desired before the voters. In 1891, by amendment, this principle was adopted for the national government. A petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote. Thus the people can act directly, without the

[1] Between 1874 and 1906 twenty-nine federal laws were thus submitted to popular vote, and in nineteen cases the decision of the people went against the legislature.

intervention of the legislature. They can frame bills by initiative and reject or adopt those passed by the legislature. These devices and their practical working have excited a great deal of interest in other countries. Recently many of the more progressive States of the American Union have introduced them and carried them even further than the Swiss people. So far, however, we have not applied them to national issues. It is objected that the facility of changing the constitution would introduce an element of instability into our national life, which, in time, would only work to the detriment of the people. The initiative and the referendum work satisfactorily in Switzerland, but then the problems of a small country are relatively simple, and are easily grasped by an intelligent people. The Swiss, moreover, have had centuries of experience in independent government, and tradition has taught them valuable lessons, which make them naturally a cautious and conservative people.

820. Switzerland fills a far larger place in history and human interest than her territory fills on the map. Since 1848 the people have been more closely united than before; and in political contests the defeated parties have ceased to look across the boundaries for allies.

In the last half-century Switzerland has made amazing progress industrially and commercially, though the natural resources of the country are extremely small. To-day she is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The primary schools are perhaps the best in Europe; few other nations have so little illiteracy. Wealth and comfort are more evenly diffused than elsewhere. The population increases steadily, and numbers about three and two thirds millions. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than anywhere else in Europe.

Two thirds of the people speak German; the rest chiefly French and Italian, but French and Italian, as well as German, are official languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. Race feeling, which else-

where threatens to disintegrate nations, works no harm in Switzerland and has practically no influence on political controversies. Switzerland thus furnishes a practical proof that a well-organized and happy commonwealth is possible without unity of race or language. The Swiss are intensely patriotic, while at the same time they have, through their sincere impartiality, gained the respect and good will of their powerful neighbors. Says President Lowell, of Harvard, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

F. Denmark

821. To 1866. — In the later Middle Ages, Denmark was an elective monarchy distracted by feudal anarchy. In 1660, after a shameful defeat by Sweden, it became an hereditary and absolute monarchy. In 1848 the king felt obliged to grant a paper constitution; but not until after the defeat [1] of 1864 did Denmark begin to have any real constitutional development. A Democratic party ("Friends of the Peasants") then began to demand reform, and, after two years of clamor, a constitution was established.

822. This constitution of 1866 promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a Diet (Rigsdag) of two Houses. The Landthing, or upper House, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly of members elected on a very high property basis. The Folkthing, or lower House, is elected by manhood suffrage. All self-supporting men, thirty years of age, can vote. In 1901, after a thirty-years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the Representatives.

823. Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and

[1] Compare with the case of Austria after 1866, and France after 1870.

ignorant. Agriculture was backward. The defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state disrupted and impoverished. Its people were forced to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 15,000 square miles with two and three quarter millions of people. That is, it has more people than Indiana, in less than half the territory. More than a third of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy, — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not merely how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. But they have taught the Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation, and to-day Denmark is one of the most progressive and prosperous farming countries in the world.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every distinct line of farm industry, — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing of eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in loaning one another money (farm credits), and so on. The local societies are federated into national organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Little Denmark supplies England's forty millions with a large part of their eggs, bacon, and butter, — $10,000,000 worth, $32,000,000 worth, and $50,000,000 worth, respectively, in 1911.

The coöperative movement in agriculture is found also, in only a slightly smaller degree, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, — all the other small states of Northern Europe.

G. Norway

824. The Union with Sweden. — The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (§ 615), to reward that country for services against Napoleon. But the Norwegian people declined to be bartered from one ruler to another without their own consent. A Diet assembled

A Fjord in Norway. — Sogudal.

at *Eidvold* declared Norway a sovereign state, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected a king (*May* 17, 1814). Sweden, backed by the Powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but finally a compromise was arranged. The king abdicated, and the Diet elected the Swedish king as King of Norway, *on condition that he should recognize the new Norwegian constitution.*

Thus Norway and Sweden became a dual monarchy. The union was looser, however, than that of Austria-Hungary. The two countries had the same king, but they had no common ministry and nothing to correspond to the Austrian Delega-

tions. Each kingdom kept its own constitution and its own legislature. The arrangement lasted almost a century.

825. Struggle for Self-government. — In 1814 the Norwegian legislature (Storthing) was chosen on the basis of a low property qualification, and in 1884 manhood suffrage was adopted. The Storthing assembles as one House, but divides itself for most purposes into two chambers. The king of the dual state could not dissolve it, and *a bill became law in spite of his veto, if passed in three successive annual sessions.* In the early part of the century the Storthing succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king.

The chief interest in Norwegian politics in the nineteenth century lay in the agitation for a greater amount of self-government. Except for one period of about thirty years in the middle of the century, the contest was incessant, and after 1872 it grew bitter.

In 1872–1874 the Storthing passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II [1] declared truly that this was an amendment to the constitution, and therefore a change in the compact between the two countries. In such a case, he urged, the rule limiting his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. The Storthing impeached the ministers. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded.

826. Independence. — By this success the real executive, for all *internal* affairs, became Norwegian, not Swede. The Stor-

[1] Oscar II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, just before the Norwegian national movement became violent; and his moderation and fairness had much to do with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century. Foreign nations paid a deserved tribute to his ability and fairness, by requesting him frequently to act as arbitrator in international disputes. The United States was interested in some of these arbitrations.

thing passed at once to a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls, separate from the Swedish service. This demand also seemed to the king to involve a change in the constitution, — which put the regulation of *foreign* affairs into his hands, — and the Swedish party exclaimed that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries.

The struggle waxed vehement. In the course of the contest the Norwegians removed the symbol of union from their flag (1886–1888), after passing the bill to that effect each year for three sessions, and both countries at times made preparations for war. Indeed, Norway erected a costly line of fortifications on the frontier toward Sweden.

In May, 1905, when once more a long negotiation for separate consular service had failed, the Storthing, *by unanimous vote*, provided by its own act for Norwegian consuls. This was virtual secession, and the king refused to recognize it. The Storthing then declared the union dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war; but King Oscar was nobly resolute that his two peoples should not imbrue their hands in each other's blood. The Swedish labor-unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians declared in favor of independence in a great national referendum, by a vote of 368,000 to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. *In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms.*

Thus Norway became an independent nation. A small party wished the new nation to become a republic; but, in a second referendum, a large majority declared for a monarchy and chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

827. Woman Suffrage. — In 1901 the Storthing gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. In 1907 the parliamentary

franchise was given to the same class of women. Thus, Norway was the first *sovereign nation* to give the full franchise to women. Women, too, sit in the Storthing. There is a strong demand for the extension of the franchise to *all* women on the same terms as men, — a demand certain to be granted in the near future.

828. Conditions. — Norway has two and a half millions of people; Sweden, more than twice as many. Sweden is also the richer country. The Norwegians, however, have the larger merchant navy, — more than four times as large as Sweden's, and the fourth in size in all Europe. This was one reason why, during the "Union," Norway felt it had a special interest in controlling the consular service.

Despite its poverty, Norway spends large sums on education. It has succeeded in building up one of the best primary school systems in Europe. A relatively large number of Norwegians leave their homes for foreign lands, where, on account of their good education, they are usually well qualified to compete with those of other nationalities.

In each of the three Scandinavian countries there still exists an official state church which has adopted the Lutheran creed. During the Reformation the Catholic religion was almost completely exterminated. But during the second half of the nineteenth century the old intolerance gradually disappeared. At present Catholics are not very numerous, but they are little hampered in the free exercise of their religion.

H. Sweden

829. Until after 1580 the Swedish Diet was made up, medieval fashion, of *four estates* — nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants. Such a body was only a slight check upon royal power. The king could play off one class against the other. In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a

large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower House of the parliament was given to all adult men *and women*.

For Further Reading. — On the small states of Europe there is abundant information to be found in Seignobos and other general histories mentioned in previous chapters. Of great value and authority are the respective articles in the Cath. Encycl., especially those on Spain and Belgium. An interesting little work on modern Switzerland is Virginia Crawford's *Switzerland of To-day*.

PART X. SLAV EUROPE

CHAPTER LXI

RUSSIA

A. Growth and Population

830. Growth. — Russia's destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army, in 1813, changed the fate of Europe and revealed her own tremendous power. The growth of this vast, aggressive, semi-Oriental state upon the edge of Western Europe created new problems for all "Western" peoples.

Church of the Archangel, Moscow.— With the tower of Ivan the Great and the Great Bell.

In the fifteenth century (§ 214), the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war.

a. Until the time of Peter the Great, the advance was made almost wholly by the ceaseless movement of pioneers into the savage wilderness north and east. Like swarming hives, Russian villages along the frontier sent forward bands of

people, each band to advance a little way and form a new village, driving out or absorbing the Tartar barbarians. On the east much of the advance was made by another kind of frontiersmen, called Cossacks. The Cossacks lived partly by agriculture, partly by grazing, and often they waged war on their own account against Turks and Tartars, somewhat as our early American frontiersmen won Kentucky from the Indians and Texas from Mexico. As early as the time of Ivan the Terrible (§ 487) a Cossack horde seized part of Siberia.

b. The most important additions by war come under five heads:

(1) The Baltic Provinces from Sweden, by Peter the Great, about 1700 (§ 491).
(2) Poland, by Catherine II, 1772–1793 (§§ 505, 506).
(3) Finland from Sweden, in 1743 and 1814 (§§ 491, 615).
(4) The provinces along the Black Sea from Azof to the Danube, in a century of war against the Turks, — from 1772 to 1878.
(5) In Asia: (*a*) the occupation of Siberia at the expense of savage Tartar tribes (completed to the Pacific in the seventeenth century), and of Kamchatka in 1707; (*b*) a district of Asia Minor from the Caucasus to the Caspian, and the Trans-Caspian region — between the Caspian Sea and Persia — at the expense of Mohammedan principalities and of Turkey; and (*c*) recently, northwestern China, until checked by Japan.

Naturally Russia has sought outlets to the sea. She reached the frozen ocean of the north early. Peter the Great reached the Baltic. In war, however, the narrow outlets from that sea are easily closed by a hostile power, and hence Russia has been suspected of looking covetously towards the Atlantic ports of Sweden and Norway. Peter began a struggle also for the Black Sea, and Catherine II won those waters; but Constantinople closes the exit from them to the outer world. Russian ambition therefore has aimed, for over a century, at that ancient city, the former capital of the Greek faith. Until the

Great War (1914), England steadily opposed Russian advance in this direction.

In Asia, until recently, Russian advance has been steady and terrifying. In that continent Russia aimed at the Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south (besides the rich realms of central Asia and India). Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century she came into conflict with China on the extreme northwest. In 1858 she advanced to the Amur (seizing northern Manchuria). Two years later she secured Vladivostok, and so obtained a Pacific port ice-free for most of the year. In 1895 the great Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 the vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. This road is more than 5000 miles long, — nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in advance of civilization; and it has been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez or Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (§ 866) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

On the south, just after the opening of the nineteenth century, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus. By the middle of the century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance toward India. In swift succession, heedless of England's threats, she secured Bokhara (1868), Khiva (1873), and Merv (1884), despite explicit pledges to England three years before.[1] In 1893 she reached the " roof of the world," the great Pamir plateau, and soon extended her military railroad to within seventy-five

[1] These Trans-Caspian districts are in the main rich and fertile, with valuable mines, and with a teeming, industrious population.

miles of Herat, the "key to India." Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in Central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the extreme east.

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements, — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. She was still in a primitive stage industrially, and these useful projects were carried on largely by foreign workmen and foreign capital. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her military classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. The story of this struggle is told in another place (§ 867). To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria.

831. Area and Population. — Including her Asiatic territory, Russia covers over eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one sixth the area of the habitable earth. In 1910 she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions,[1] of which all but about thirty millions live in Europe. The population is made up of some twenty different nationalities, but the great central core, comprising over two thirds of the whole, is composed of *Russian Slavs*. These true Russians differ again among themselves, being divided into Great Russians or Muscovites, Little Russians or Ukrainians (Ruthenians) living in the southwest, and White Russians in the west. The Cossacks are Little Russians. There has always been some racial feeling between the Great Russians and the Little Russian minority, and they

[1] This population is just about equal to the whole group of English-speaking peoples in the United States and the British Empire.

differ considerably in character and temperament. In modern times decrees against the use of the Ukrainian language (1876) helped only to emphasize these differences.

Besides these dominant peoples there are a number of *subject races*, forming a fringe about the center. Attempts to Russianize these peoples have been consistently made by the Russian government, especially in the nineteenth century. The largest of these subject nationalities are the *Poles* (twelve millions) and the *Finns* (over three and a half millions). In the Baltic provinces the *German* element is quite strong among the higher classes, while the *Lithuanians* are numerous in the western provinces. There are also about five million *Jews*, dispersed throughout the larger cities of the south and west, and about thirteen million Tartars; but these peoples are widely scattered and never formed a political unit, such as the Poles, Lithuanians, and Finns have done in the past.

The Jews are mostly emigrants from the former Kingdom of Poland, which they left to escape persecution. But in the last century, and even more recently, Russia frequently subjected them to stern measures and instigated popular prejudice against them. Several times they thus became, in bloody massacres, the victims of the fury of the mob. As a result, great numbers of them have been coming to the United States.

In religion there are almost as many differences as in race. The vast bulk of the Russian people belong to the Greek schismatic church (officially called the *Greek Orthodox Church*) and, until the recent revolution, looked upon the Tsar as their spiritual head. The Poles and the Lithuanians are Catholics. There is, too, a strong leaning to the Catholic Church among the people of the Ukraine, an inclination in the past checked only by the repressive measures of the Russian government. The Germans along the Baltic are Lutherans. There are, besides, about fifteen million Mohammedans living within the boundaries of Russia.

B. Economic and Social Movements

832. The Peasants. — The greatest event in Russian history between the reforms of Peter the Great and the recent revolution was the *emancipation of the serfs* by Alexander II, in 1861. The serfs numbered over forty-seven millions (nearly twelve times as many as the slaves who were freed in the United States at nearly the same time). They comprised four fifths of the population of European Russia. Not only were they freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from the obligation to work on the lord's estate, but they were also given land. They had always dwelt in little village communities; in 1861 each village, or mir, was left to manage its own local affairs and was given land for its support. The land, like the serf labor, was taken from the noble, but it was not confiscated: each mir was to pay an annual rent, fixed by the Tsar's commissioners, or to buy the land outright if it so preferred. If the mir wished to buy, the Tsar paid the landlords, and the mir undertook to repay the Tsar in small installments spread over forty-nine years. Most mirs adopted this plan.

833. Results. — Alexander and other well-meaning men hoped that marvelous improvements would follow the emancipation; but such hopes have not been realized during the two generations that have passed since that time. The great bulk of the peasants remain constantly near the starving point. This unfortunate condition has been in great measure due to the fact that the peasantry did not get enough land. The Tsar intended each village to receive at least as much land as the inhabitants had cultivated for their own support before the emancipation. But the nobles who carried out the details of the scheme managed to cut down the amount. They wished that thereafter, as formerly, the peasants should be forced to eke out their scanty income by tilling the land of the larger proprietors about them. Moreover, the taxes were excessive, so

that more than half the peasant's labor went to the tax collector. Nearly one third the entire peasant body, indeed, have been so impoverished that they have pledged their labor for one or more years in advance to neighboring landlords, and so have been forced back to a kind of temporary serfdom.

In addition, the government, until 1907, held the mir responsible as a unit for the annual rent or installment of the purchase price of the land, and for other taxes. Farming methods are antiquated and labor brings small returns. The artisan was not allowed to leave his village to seek opportunities in the cities, except under hampering restrictions; and as a rule agriculture is carried out carelessly and uneconomically by a communal system. The mir assembly each year or two redistributes its lands in strips among the families of the village.

In recent times attempts have been made to remedy these evils. In October, 1906, after a year of terrible anarchy, the Tsar by edict declared the communal system no longer binding. Freedom of movement was granted, some taxes were abolished, and a vast amount of government land, especially in Siberia, was offered to the peasantry, to be paid for on low terms in fifty annual installments. The outbreak of the Great War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 have of course upset all these plans and rendered the future extremely uncertain. It is certain that every true reformer of Russia has to take up the land problem, the most urgent of all the problems that await solution.

834. The Workingmen. — By about 1890 Russia began to feel the effects of the Industrial Revolution which had transformed England a century earlier. Moscow had been a " sacred city " of churches and monasteries, marked by lofty spires and gilded domes. It was now becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoke-hung chimneys. In other cities, especially in the Russian ports, the transformation was even more rapid. In such cities *Socialism* was gaining adherents among the new working class.

There are two distinct tendencies among the Russian Socialists. The larger body of them looks forward to reform by peaceful means, and in this respect resembles the Social-Democratic parties of other lands. A small but reckless part is made up of *Socialist-Revolutionists*. It is largely a *secret society*. It holds that violence is necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which crushes and chokes every attempt at peaceful reform. In these days of perfectly disciplined standing armies, equipped with modern machine guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain extinction in blood. So the revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The secret revolutionary society selected its victims with careful deliberation; and, when one had been killed, secretly posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of "crimes" for which he was "executed." Despite every precaution, the Revolutionists, this "*Underground Russia*," as it has been aptly called, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated tools of the Tsar.

835. The Higher Classes: Slavophil Sentiment. — Besides the peasants, the rural population comprises a numerous nobility and other landed proprietors; and in the cities there are small professional and mercantile classes.

For two hundred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes have had a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books and their ideas were imported from Paris. A little before the middle of the century, however, a reaction began in favor of native ideas and customs. This was the beginning of the *Slavophil movement*.

Notwithstanding their recent humiliation by Japan, the intellectual leaders of Russia believed zealously in themselves

as the future leaders of civilization. They looked forward to an *All-Slavic Empire* which should include the Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary and of the Balkans. They considered Russia, moreover, the *natural heir of the defunct Eastern Roman Empire:* the Turk was to be driven back to Asia, and Constantinople was to become the second capital of the empire of their dreams. This All-Slavic Empire, in power and in the character of its culture, was to surpass the Western civilization which so far has swayed the world. Hence, in their opinion, the Russian state was the natural protector of Slavic interests beyond the Russian boundaries, — for instance, in the Balkan peninsula.

C. Government and Politics

836. The government was, until 1917, an absolute despotism. The Tsar possessed unrestricted power in civil and religious matters. It was, moreover, a highly centralized despotism, reaching down into the trifling details of the conduct of its subjects. Not a scholarship in a school, nor a bed in a hospital could be introduced without the solemn approval of the Tsar. Such a system requires of course the appointment by the central government of a veritable army of officials, and enables the government to exercise an enormous amount of patronage and favoritism. This Russian bureaucracy has all along been noted for its corruption, and has perhaps more than any other cause utterly discredited the government with the masses. But there were other sources of revolutionary unrest.

837. Russianizing the Favored Provinces. — The western provinces of Russia — Finland and the Baltic provinces — had drawn their civilization from Sweden and Germany. The former had, indeed, belonged for centuries to Sweden, whilst the civilization of the latter is almost entirely the work of the Teutonic Knights (§§ 240, 247), and the upper classes are still mainly German in blood and speech. In both these regions the predominant religion was, until recently, the Lutheran creed.

The Poles, too, have been marked off from the Russian Slavs by a higher degree of western culture and, above all, by their loyal attachment to the Catholic Church. Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces excel Russia proper in civilization; and each at its incorporation into the Russian state was solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own religion, language, customs, and laws. Despite these pledges the Slavophils determined to Russianize these peoples. Russianizing meant a certain amount of real progress for the barbarous races of Siberia and the Caucasus, but it was bitterly resented by the progressive western districts. Since 1881, the German language has been forbidden in the schools and churches and for all public communications. In Poland, after futile insurrections in 1830, 1848, and 1863, Russification has been carried on with persistent brutality. Confiscation of Polish property and its distribution among Russians, prohibition of the Polish language in schools and churches, but especially attacks upon the religion of the Poles have been the means employed by despotic government.

838. Finland, after the Congress of Vienna, was connected with Russia only through "personal union"; the Tsar was also Grand-duke of Finland, but the duchy had its own constitution, its own representative Diet, and its free institutions, all guaranteed in the most solemn manner by each grand-duke at his accession. Moreover, the Finns were industrious, peaceful, and prosperous, and thus gave no pretext for interference. Still the Slavophils had their way. In 1900 the process of making Finland a mere Russian province began; and, despite the sympathies of the Western world for Finland, it was carried on rapidly, until by 1902 the last vestiges of the ancient liberties of this little northern land had been swept away.

The revolutionary disorders of 1905–1906 (see below), however, gave the Finns an opportunity which they were quick to seize. The helplessness of the Russian state forced the Tsar to yield to their demands and to restore to the Finns their an-

cient rights. A Diet, elected by manhood suffrage, adopted a new constitution which received the Tsar's approval in 1906. This constitution provides a single-House legislature elected by universal suffrage. Later (1910) new measures of the Russian government again greatly reduced the Finnish autonomy.

839. The government of Russia has varied with the Tsars. *Alexander I* (1801–1825) has been mentioned several times in connection with the period of Napoleon and Metternich. He had received a French education, and, to some extent, he favored a benevolent policy in the management of Russia and Poland. His brother *Nicholas I* (1825–1855) was wholly Russian and despotic in feeling. His reign marks the beginning of the Slavophil movement. Nicholas despised Western ideas and Western civilization, and he believed in Russia with all his heart. He abandoned all of Alexander I's reforms and returned openly to the policy of despotic autocracy.

In the last years of his reign, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (§ 679) revealed the weaknesses of the despotic bureaucratic system when pitted against Western civilization; and *Alexander II* (1855–1881), the son of Nicholas I, turned again to a liberal policy. He emancipated the serfs against the almost unanimous protest of the nobles, and he introduced local representative assemblies into the provinces, though the people cared so little for such institutions that many times the mirs and towns petitioned to be relieved from the burden of sending representatives. Jury trial was introduced, the press was left more unshackled, the universities were allowed a freedom never before permitted.

But Alexander soon found himself threatened by a revolutionary movement led by extremists. He resorted to repression. Then the Radicals fell back upon terrorism. They organized a secret society, the Nihilists,[1] and by assassination after assas-

[1] The Nihilists derive their name from the Latin Nihil (=nothing) because they approve of nothing in Russian institutions.

sination tried to avenge those of their friends who had been punished by the government and to terrify the Tsar into granting a very liberal constitution.

Alexander finally decided to grant part of their demands. He prepared a draft of a constitution which was to set up a national assembly. Unhappily, the day before the project was to be published, the Nihilists succeeded in murdering him with a dynamite bomb.

Alexander III (1881–1894) returned to the policy of his grandfather Nicholas. Many of the liberal reforms of Alexander II were undone. In nearly half of European Russia the local assemblies were abolished. The press was again subjected to inexorable censorship. The teachers in the universities were muzzled, and the royal officers and the police were given wide authority to interfere in the self-government of the mirs. Merely by decree, without trial, suspected Radicals were imprisoned in secret dungeons, or sent to suffer in Siberia. But these measures did not succeed in stamping out the revolutionary spirit. The Nihilists merely merged into the party of the Radical Socialists and, under this new form, continued their career of crime (§ 834).

840. Nicholas II (1894–1917) continued his father's policy, both as to despotism and to Slavophilism. Though personally not without good intentions, his lack of insight and his weak character made him the victim of ill-chosen advisers. His reign was filled with unrest at home and disasters abroad, until the Revolution of 1917 brought about the downfall of the dynasty and the proclamation of the Republic.

In the beginning of Nicholas' reign the policy seemed to have succeeded in crushing all reform agitation and all open criticism of the government. But below the calm surface, discontent increased. The Liberals and Radicals constantly gained more adherents among the lawyers, physicians, professors, and students of the universities, and even among some of the nobility.

When opportunity came these men would speak out. Many of them, it is true, dreamed only of slight reforms, and were thoroughly loyal to the Tsar. Nevertheless, the prevailing discontent swelled the ranks of the extremists more rapidly than those of the moderate well-intentioned patriots.

841. The Beginning of the Russian Upheaval. — The first opportunity for the dissatisfied elements came in 1904. The failure of Russia in the Japanese War showed that the despotic government had been both inefficient and corrupt. High officials had stolen money which should have gone for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the sufferings of the wounded. Many, too, were convinced that the war was begun merely in the interest of certain wealthy men who had heavily invested in various enterprises in the Far East. The intelligent classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry was woefully oppressed by war-taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment or lost wages in the general stagnation of industries. Early in 1905, while the war was still running its disastrous course, Russia was convulsed, as never before, by strikes, peasant risings, and mutiny in army and navy.

For a while longer the government thought to stifle such popular manifestations in blood. One instance, famous because so near the royal palace and the homes of the foreign ambassadors, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. A great number of loyal citizens in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) had sent a petition to the Tsar, asking him to hear them in person when, on the following Sunday, they should march to the palace to present their grievances — since they had lost faith in his officers. Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, dense masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, filled the streets

leading to the royal palace. The Cossack cavalry charged these helpless throngs, and the palace troops mowed them down with machine guns. This was the "*Red Sunday*."

Now, for once, the educated classes spoke out forcefully. The day after Red Sunday, leading citizens of the capital joined in a public declaration that "the government had declared war on the Russian people," and in an appeal to all good citizens to support the cause of reform. For a time the Tsar and his advisers felt compelled to yield. In March a representative assembly was promised, and, soon after, the Tsar issued a decree guaranteeing complete freedom of speech.

Nicholas stated, however, that the *Duma* (assembly) should have power only to advise him, and he excluded workingmen and the professional classes from the right of voting in the election. Then followed a general strike. In October the railways were idle. In the cities the stores were closed. Power-houses shut down, and the electric light went out. This finally brought the government to yield. New rules were issued for the election, and the assembly was promised some slight power.

In May, 1906, amid gathering anarchy, the promised Duma was at last brought together — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The Tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively at the polls against Radical candidates; but the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. A great majority of the members were Liberals or Socialists.

By unanimous vote the Duma asked for four political reforms, — universal suffrage, a "responsible" ministry, the abolition of martial law, and amnesty for all political offenders then in prison or exile. They petitioned, also, for a long program of social reform, including the turning over of state lands to the suffering peasantry. All these demands were refused. After

proper persistence, the Duma wisely withdrew all but the demand for relief of the peasants. Reactionary counsels, however, were gaining ground with the Tsar. He announced that he was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted upon meddling with matters that did not pertain to it; and July 21 he dissolved it, saying that he himself would see to the needed reforms.

Accordingly, in October, 1906, an imperial edict decreed the land reforms mentioned in § 833, and abolished the special privileges of the nobles, making all Russians equal before the law and equally eligible to public employment. Another Duma was promised for March, 1907.

842. Recent Events. — The dissolution was followed by months of anarchy. The government fell back upon stern repression and intimidation, and aimed at suppressing not only disorder, but every form of political agitation. The extreme revolutionists resorted to a new campaign of systematic assassination. Meantime the unhappy land was again distracted by peasant risings and by strikes, which were put down brutally by Cossack "punitive expeditions" in which thousands of unoffending people perished, while a new famine desolated many provinces.

The second Duma met March 5, 1907. The liberal members of the former assembly, so far as they were not already in prison or in the grave, had been made ineligible for election. But a new body of Socialists appeared, and there was a large majority opposed to the government. In June the Tsar ordered the Duma to expel some sixty members on the ground of treason. The Duma appointed a committee to investigate the charge. The Tsar at once dissolved it for this delay, and the police seized the accused delegates.

Then, contrary to plain promises in 1906, the Tsar changed once more the plan of elections, so as to give power very largely to the great landowners. The third Duma, elected on this

new basis, met in November, 1907, and proved submissive to the Tsar's will. On the expiration of its term (in 1912), like methods secured a fourth Duma equally satisfactory to despotism.

But the Revolutionists continued their terrorism and assassinations until the outbreak of the Great War (1914). To all outward appearances the national crisis seemed to have quelled the domestic discord. But disasters in the field and profound mistrust of the government's policy enkindled anew the revolutionary flame. In March, 1917, the world was suddenly surprised by the news that the Tsar had been dethroned. For a while it seemed as if a moderate party was really to give Russia unity and much-needed reform, but soon the extremists overthrew the temporary government, and there followed a season of chaos and a reign of terror. It is impossible to foretell the outcome of it all. The reorganization of Russia presents many difficult problems, chiefly because numerous evils have been allowed to grow unchecked for so long a time.

843. It seems certain that **the religious question** will claim no little attention in the future. The Russian schismatic state church has fallen into contempt with the majority of the intellectual leaders of the people. The Russian clergy is poorly educated and disgraced by many unworthy members. Its influence on the conduct of the people is, therefore, very insignificant. The revolution has deprived it of its mainstay, the government, and it is extremely doubtful whether it will be able to maintain itself on the sole support of the masses.

The Catholic Church, which counts about thirteen million souls, suffered grievously at the hands of the deposed government. It is to be hoped that the new Russia that one day is to emerge from the present chaos will be more tolerant. There are, especially in southwestern Russia, thousands who have been forced into the Russian state church, and thousands are returning to the true fold, now that the state no longer inter-

feres in religious matters. Genuine liberty and the deep religious sense of the Russian people might perhaps lead to a movement towards reunion with Rome.

For Further Reading. — Hayes II, Chap. XXV. Holt and Chilton and other general histories. There is an admirable article on Russia in the Cath. Encycl.

CHAPTER LXII

THE BALKAN STATES

844. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, left the Balkans practically unchanged. — All southeastern Europe, beyond Austria-Hungary and Russia, remained part of Turkey, as it had been ever since the fifteenth century (§ 319). But the *Turk* was merely an *invader;* he never mixed with the conquered races, never raised them to a higher plane of civilization, never even reconciled them to his rule. The modern history of southeastern Europe begins only with the recovery of freedom by these enslaved peoples. The Turks always formed only a small portion of the population; the majority differed from them not only in race and language but also in religion, for the greater number of the native Balkan races had clung to their Christian (Greek Schismatic) church.

In the old Hellenic peninsula dwelt the *Greeks*. North of the Danube, in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, lived the *Roumanians*, a mixture of ancient Dacians, Roman colonists, and Slavic fragments. Their language, however, has preserved the characteristics of a Romance tongue. Between the Roumanians and the Greeks lay two Slav nations, the *Bulgarians* [1] in the east from the Ægean Sea to the Danube, and the *Serbians* in the west. On the Adriatic Sea were the *Albanians*, wild herdsmen who had partly abandoned the Christian religion for Mohammedanism.

The lines between these peoples and their kinsmen in Austria-

[1] The original Bulgars were Mongolian invaders, like the Magyars. But they were too few to preserve their race and language and may now be considered a Slavic nation.

Hungary and in Russia were drawn merely by the accidents of war. A fourth of the Roumanians were in the province of Bessarabia, which Russia had seized from Turkey in 1812. Another fourth was in Transylvania, which was restored to Hungary in the Turkish wars of the seventeenth century (§§ 501–503). The Croats and Serbs living in southern and western Hungary were of the same race as the people just across the southern boundary of Hungary. In the fastnesses of *Montenegro* (Black Mountain) dwell two hundred thousand half-savage Serbians who never yielded to the Turks, but kept their lawless freedom at the cost of five hundred years of "ferocious heroism."

845. Three subject races win freedom, 1829. — The *Roumanians* beyond the Danube and the *Serbians* in their rugged country had risen in various rebellions early in the nineteenth century; but the first successful revolt of a subject people was the *Greek rising* of 1821–1829 (§ 634). In connection with the final settlement (1829) the Roumanian provinces and Serbia were granted a large measure of self-government under rulers of their own. However, they remained tributary to the Turkish Empire.

846. The First Eastern Question. — About the middle of the century Tsar Nicholas II suggested to England that it was time to decide what was to be done with the possessions of the Turks; for it seemed certain that the dominions of the Sultan were approaching their dissolution. This was the first "Eastern Question," as that question was long to be understood. England received this suggestion for the partition of Turkey very coolly. She preferred to bolster up the Ottoman power as a barrier to Russian advance to the Mediterranean. England, France, and Russia had acted in concert twenty-five years before in freeing the Greeks, but in 1854 (in the Crimean War) the two Western states fought Russia to prevent any further breaking up of Turkey (§ 679).

847. Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878. — In return the Sultan promised better treatment of his Christian subjects; but the next twenty years saw no serious attempts to carry out this pledge. The year 1858 saw a massacre of Christians in Arabia; in 1860 several thousand Christians in Syria fell victims to Mohammedan fanaticism. Finally, in 1875–1876, the people of *Bosnia* and *Herzegovina*, driven to desperation by the Turkish tax-gatherers, rose in revolt, and the Bulgarians followed suit. The Herzegovinian herdsmen in their distant mountains were able to carry on a guerilla warfare for some time; but the Bulgarians who had put to death some Turkish officials were made to feel the full measure of Moslem vengeance. This vengeance became known as the "*Bulgarian atrocities*." Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred villages, massacred thirty thousand people with every form of torture and cruelty, and carried off thousands of Christian women into degrading slavery.

Meantime *Serbia* had risen in support of the Bosnian insurgents, and *Montenegro* had followed her example. But, being unequal to the task of coping with the Turkish armies, they begged the Great Powers for assistance. All the Powers, however, except *Russia*, held back, confining themselves to sending notes and remonstrances to the Sultan, who remained defiant. Russia's patience was at last exhausted. In 1877 *Alexander II*, with the hearty and unanimous approval of his people, *declared war on Turkey*. The universal horror and indignation in Western Europe at the crimes of the Turks prevented, for a time, any interference with Russia by the Western governments. In ten months the Russian armies held the Turks at their mercy. They advanced to within seven miles of Constantinople. The Peace of *San Stefano*, 1878, arranged for a group of Slav states in the Balkan peninsula and the withdrawal of the Turk from Europe, except for the city of Constantinople itself. Had this peace remained in force, the map

of southeastern Europe would have resembled very closely that of 1913 (§ 854).

848. The Congress of Berlin. — With consternation *Austria* beheld her own Slavonic frontiers bounded by other Slav states under Russian influence, and *England* saw the dreaded Russian advance to the Mediterranean as an accomplished fact. Hence they decided to interfere and to modify the Treaty of San Stefano. At the invitation of Bismarck a *European congress*

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN.

met at Berlin. It was dominated by Disraeli (§ 737) and meant a diplomatic defeat for Russia. Part of the liberated Christian population was returned to the old slavery, and the liberties of others were cut down.

a. Roumania and Serbia, virtually independent since 1829, became sovereign kingdoms, and the latter kept a small part of the territory she had recovered from the Turks in the war. Roumania lost *Bessarabia*[1] to Russia.

b. Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the revolt had begun, were

[1] Bessarabia, after the Crimean War (1856) had been united to Moldavia.

given to Austria-Hungary, to be kept "temporarily" and to be pacified. No definite time limit, however, was set to the Austrian occupation. It must be admitted that the Austrians did much, and at considerable expense to themselves, to restore peace and order in that lawless section of former Turkish territory. But Serbia had cast a longing eye on these two provinces, inhabited as they are by kinsmen of the Serbs, and the Austrian occupation became a source of permanent friction between the two states.

c. Bulgaria, as the treaty of San Stefano had left it, was divided into three parts. The northern part, between the Danube and the Balkan range, received the same kind of independence which Serbia and Roumania had had before the war, and was permitted to choose a ruler of its own. The middle part (Roumelia) was returned to Turkey, but the Sultan had to pledge himself to appoint a Christian governor whose administration would be under the supervision of the Great Powers. The southern third ("Macedonia") was given back absolutely to the Turk.

d. Greece, at a staggering cost, had built up an army, and in 1877 she wished to join in the attack on Turkey, to recover her ancient teritories, *Thessaly* and *Epirus*. The Western Powers forbade such action, promising Greece that she should gain her end by keeping quiet. Accordingly, soon after the Congress, she was given most of these coveted districts (1881).

849. The Second Eastern Question. — The selfish interference of the Great Powers thus put off the solution of the Eastern Question and gave rise to new complications. It must be admitted, however, that the satisfactory arrangement of affairs on the Balkan peninsula presents extremely difficult problems. Apart from the fears and ambitions of England and Austria, the determination of the boundaries of the Balkan states in accordance with the wishes of the people concerned is well-nigh impossible.

THE BALKAN STATES
AFTER 1878-1881.
Proposed boundaries of San Stefano
Striped Districts to show the parts of Servia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria returned to Turkey by the Congress of Berlin.
Tributary in name to Turkey
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
ROUMANIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
BULGARIA
EASTERN ROUMELIA
TURKEY
GREECE
ITALY
BLACK SEA
Budapest
Venice
Trieste
Agram
Drave R.
Save R.
Theiss R.
Transylvania
Jassy
Moldavia
Pruth R.
Bessarabia
Dniester R.
Kherson
Dnieper R.
Odessa
Akerman
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Sebastopol
Balaklava
(In hands of Austria)
Passarowitz
BELGRADE
Zvornik
Serajevo
Krajova
Wallachia
BUKHAREST
Danube R.
Silistria
Rustchuk
Varna
Spalato
Dalmatia
HERZEGOVINA
Mostar
Nissa
Pievna
(Virtually Independent)
MONTENEGRO
Ragusa
ROME
Prisrend
SOFIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
Samsun
Iskub
Albania
Durazzo
Naples
Monastir
Seres
S. Stefano
Scutari
Avlona
Tarento
Kastoria
Saloniki
Enos
Brusa
Angora
Kizil Irmak
Butrinto
Epirus
Thessaly
Trikala
1881
LEMNOS
MITYLENE
CHIOS
Smyrna
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Corinth
ATHENS
Sparta
Tarsus
Antioch
RHODES
CYPRUS
(To Eng.)
Candia
CRETE
15
20
25
30
35
45
40

A glance at the map will show that the Berlin Congress left of the European territory of Turkey a long narrow strip less in area than the State of Missouri, extending from the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora across the peninsula to the Adriatic. To this strip the name "*Macedonia*" is frequently applied. It is broken everywhere by mountain ranges, and inhabited by such a mixture of peoples that it has been aptly described as a "perfect museum of races." Along the coast of the Ægean Sea and the borders of Greece, the Greeks predominate. In the north central regions are the Serbs, in the northeast the Bulgars. Scattered through the central districts are the Turks and a considerable number of Jews. In the west, bordering on the Adriatic, are the Albanians, a wild people, primitive in their civilization and lawless in their habits. The racial boundaries are not well defined and many districts are inhabited by several of these peoples. From this it will be clear that a partition of this remnant of Turkish territory in Europe bristles with difficulties.

850. After 1878 "Macedonia" was most of the time in a state of anarchy. — Insurrectionary committees, operating from Bulgaria, fomented revolts, and the Turks put them down with cruelties like those of 1876, while jealousies between the Great Powers prevented intervention.

Then, in 1896, the island of *Crete* rebelled against the Sultan and asked for annexation to Greece. Confusion and massacres followed for many months. The Powers, fearing international complications, forbade the union of Crete with Greece. In spite of this opposition Greece sent assistance to the Cretans, well knowing that this meant war with Turkey. She hoped that the Bulgarians would rise and make common cause with her. But when, next spring, the Sultan declared war on Greece the Bulgarians remained quiet and the Powers left Greece to her fate. The Turkish army, reorganized and drilled by German officers, showed a military excellence wholly unexpected.

The Greeks were quickly defeated, forced to pay a war indemnity, and to cede strips of territory along their northern boundary which gave to Turkey the command of all the passes into Greece. A few years later, however, the Powers compelled the Turks to permit the appointment of a Greek governor for the island of Crete.

851. The Eastern Question was reopened by the Turkish Revolution of 1908. — This revolution was the work of a new party, known as the "*Young Turks*," which found its recruits chiefly in the army and among the younger men who had received their education at foreign universities. In 1908 a so-called "Committee of Union and Progress" was formed in the Turkish port of Salonica. In July this committee declared that Turkey must have a constitution and a parliament, after the fashion of the Western states. The aged Sultan Abdul Hamid II was forced to yield; the first Turkish parliament was opened while all the world wondered whether the young and inexperienced reformers would succeed in improving so thoroughly corrupt a government as that of Abdul Hamid and of his predecessors. Indeed, troubles arose soon enough. A counter-revolution had to be put down in Constantinople. Abdul Hamid, who at heart hated the reformers, was deposed and his brother was made Sultan under the title of Mohammed V. But in spite of this initial success the Young Turks found it increasingly difficult to maintain their position against their numerous opponents at home. Still more serious for the reformers were the losses in prestige and territory which Turkey suffered under the new régime.

852. Losses. — As soon as the revolution broke out, *Bulgaria* seized the opportunity to declare herself entirely independent. Next *Austria* proclaimed her control over *Bosnia-Herzegovina* permanent. This was a serious blow to the Serbians, for ever since they had won their independence they dreamed of a larger Serbia which should include these two provinces, and even-

tually, too, Croatia and Slavonia to the north of them. Austria, on the other hand, considered these provinces as of the greatest importance for herself, since they connected her main possessions with Dalmatia and her Adriatic ports.

But the troubles of the Young Turks were not yet at an end. In September, 1911, *Italy* determined to declare war on Turkey, on the ground that Italian subjects in *Tripoli* were not properly treated. All Europe protested against such high-handed action; but the Italians very properly retorted that they were only following the example of other countries, protecting their citizens by annexing territories the governments of which were unable to maintain law and order. In the war that followed Turkey was no match for Italy. There was not much fighting, and Italy took possession of what territory she could hold with her troops. The Young Turks were compelled to give in, chiefly because a new and more formidable danger threatened nearer home. In October, 1912, they ceded Tripoli to Italy. The Italians renamed it *Libya*.

853. The Two Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. — Venizelos, prime minister of *Greece*, had secretly arranged an alliance with *Bulgaria*, *Serbia*, and little *Montenegro* for a war against Turkey. The object of this *Balkan League* was to drive the Turk out of Macedonia and to divide that territory among the members of the League. Hostilities began in October, 1912, immediately after the cession of Tripoli. The Turkish army disappointed every one, and the Bulgarians were able in a short time to defeat it, to invest Adrianople, and to drive the Turkish forces back to Constantinople. The Greeks, meantime, advanced into Thrace and Macedonia, and the Montenegrin and Serbian armies defeated Turkish detachments in the western Balkans.

Austria and *Italy* now began to get nervous lest the Serbians should establish themselves on the Adriatic. They forbade Serbia to hold Albania and particularly the port of Durazzo, which the Serbians had just wrested from the Turks. For

a while there was danger of a general European conflagration, since it was feared that Russia would take sides with Serbia. But Russia did not move, and Serbia had to accede to the Austrian demand. A conference was arranged to meet in *London*.

THE BALKAN STATES.

The Young Turks had to turn over Macedonia and Crete to the Balkan Allies.

854. But now the Allies fell out over the booty. — Bulgaria claimed most of the conquered territory, in accordance with her understanding of the treaty of alliance. She had, moreover, borne the brunt of the fighting and suffered the heaviest losses. Serbia, however, insisted on a revision of the treaty. Since Austria's veto prevented her from acquiring Albania and an outlet to the Adriatic she now asked for compensation in the

Bulgarian share of Macedonia. Greece, Montenegro, and Roumania joined Serbia, fearing that Bulgaria would become the predominant state in the peninsula. (Roumania had not participated in the first war, but now she saw a chance for extending her territory at the expense of Bulgaria.) In June, 1913, the *Second Balkan War* began. After bloody defeats Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace. The Turks had in the

CONSTANTINOPLE. — General view from across the Golden Horn.

meantime reoccupied Adrianople and thus doubled their hold on Europe. The general *peace of Bucharest* again failed to solve the Balkan question. *Albania* was made an independent state. Bulgaria was cheated out of her hopes of Salonica and other territories. *Greece* received Salonica and parts of Thrace; *Serbia* nearly doubled her size, extending southward, while *Roumania* enlarged her possessions between the Danube and the Black Sea, at the expense of *Bulgaria*. The latter state received parts of Macedonia, but was refused a suitable

harbor on the Ægean and other districts which even her enemies recognized as clearly Bulgarian in the race and language of the inhabitants. This bitter disappointment induced the Bulgarians to enter the Great War as enemies of Serbia, to obtain what, in their eyes, was unjustly denied to them in the peace of Bucharest.

855. These Balkan wars gave the world an object lesson of what modern war with the modern engines of destruction was likely to be. The public debt of all participants increased enormously, the losses were appalling, and the hatred engendered by the fierce national animosities was intense. Atrocities of the worst kind were committed on all sides, and it is hard to say whether Christians or Turks went farther in these relapses into barbarism.

The Balkan states are all constitutional monarchies, in form; and Bulgaria, Greece, and Roumania have much real constitutional life. In Serbia, changes in the dynasty and other political changes are still brought about by coups d'état and assassination. Montenegro and Albania are practically absolute monarchies.

The national assembly in each country, except Roumania, has only one House; and manhood suffrage prevails everywhere. Education is still in a primitive state, though much farther advanced in Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece than in the other states. The total population is something over twenty millions. Most of the people adhere to the Greek Orthodox Church, other religions having very few followers. As the Slavs in Austria-Hungary are largely Catholic, many think that the difference in religion would prove a serious obstacle to a permanent union between them and the Serbs.

For Further Reading. — Of the general histories of modern times Hayes and Hazen give the best treatment of Balkan affairs. The international character of the Near Eastern Problem is well brought out in Holt and Chilton.

PART XI. THE NEW AGE

CHAPTER LXIII

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO AFRICA AND ASIA

A. World Commerce

856. Increase in Population. — We have seen how in the first half of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution rapidly transformed Europe into a busy world of mines, factories, and shops. The invention of new machinery constantly increased the bulk and variety of the industrial products. For a while these new products were used chiefly to increase the well-being of the home population. People began to dress better, to eat a greater variety of food, to spend more money on their own comfort and on articles of luxury, to provide more educational facilities for their children.

Among the sciences that can record marvelous progress in the nineteenth century, the science of medicine holds a prominent place. It has learned to recognize and to check almost innumerable causes of sickness; it has thus prevented disease and greatly decreased the rate of mortality. Its achievements lie not so much in the invention of new cures and new medicines as in the education of the masses to a healthier mode of living, to habits of greater cleanliness and greater care on the part of the civil authorities for the physical welfare of the citizens.

All these causes have had one effect which profoundly influenced modern conditions, an *unprecedented increase in population*. A greater abundance of the means of subsistence, more varied opportunities for profitable employment, diminution of the danger to health, these and other causes have cut down mortality and increased the population of Europe so rapidly

that during the last century almost every country has doubled the number of its inhabitants.

857. Expansion of Industry — Markets. — The growth in population in turn led large numbers into the new industries, into the busy life of the cities with their shops and factories, and thus increased the output of the manufactures in the several countries. Simultaneously time-saving machinery was constantly being improved and multiplied, and soon production reached a point where it greatly exceeded the needs of the home population. Hence the manufacturers were compelled to go in quest of foreign markets.

Moreover, the manufacturer, in order to produce his useful articles, needs a great amount of *raw material*, of *coal* or *water power*, and a *vast army of skilled workmen*. Now these things are not distributed in equal shares over all civilized lands. One country may have rich mines of coal and metals; but her soil and her climate may hinder her agriculture; another has fertile lands which produce more than the needs of her people require; still another lacks mines and good farms, but her people are naturally clever and patient and therefore fitted to produce the finest manufactured products. Thus, England, for example, has perhaps the richest coal mines in the world, but her metal mines cannot compare with those of America, and her farms would never feed her teeming millions. Germany mines coal and iron, but no copper and practically none of the precious metals. Switzerland lacks almost completely the raw materials needed in modern manufactures and her beautiful mountains do not furnish her with any coal. But she has an abundance of water power, and her people have a natural instinct for the fine mechanical arts.

Thus the modern factory system compelled the manufacturer in hundreds of cases to go to *foreign markets* to sell the surplus products of one kind and to buy the other kind which he cannot obtain at home.

This *unequal distribution of natural resources* is of course nothing new. But in former times it was hard and often impossible to secure the products of distant lands. *Modern improvements in communication* have changed all that. The railroad has brought inland regions within easy reach of one another and of the seaports, and the steamship links together the most distant productive centers of the world. Transportation and communication have become so fast, secure, and cheap that we hardly stop to think of how many lands and how many nations contribute to our needs and our comfort. Perhaps the coffee you take at your breakfast comes from distant Brazil, the wool in your clothes from Australian sheep, the leather of your shoes from South Africa, and the clock ticking on your desk from the hands of a skilled Swiss watchmaker, and so on indefinitely. Knowledge, too, is diffused more rapidly. The thoughts and discoveries of a lonely scholar become by means of the printing press the common possession of millions. Current events in the most remote parts of the globe can be followed by every man capable of reading his newspaper, almost as soon as they happen. When King Edward of England died in the night of May 6, 1910, the people of San Francisco read the news in their evening paper one hour later. Only a hundred years ago the people of Paris were for weeks in ignorance of the great disaster that had befallen Napoleon's army in the snows of Russia.

858. Effects. — It would seem to the casual observer that all these changes have had only *beneficial results*. Our material well-being has certainly increased, our health is better protected. In former times local failures of crops often produced great hardships and even famines, but with our modern means of transportation deficiency of foodstuffs is readily supplied and calamity averted. Our wishes and even our whims for change and novelty are easily gratified.

But there is a *darker side* to this picture, and modern history

illustrates it only too well. The highly developed industrial and commercial life of a country can be maintained only if there are sufficient markets abroad. Hence the interested parties, private concerns as well as governments, will constantly try to open such markets at any cost. Often civilized foreign countries offer favorable opportunities, but this is not always the case. Perhaps the article hitherto sent to a foreign country is now being produced in that country. At the outset the supply is not equal to the demand, but the governments of foreign countries try to develop their home industries and in order not to succumb to outside competition they put high duties on imported goods which virtually exclude the competitor from abroad.

For these and similar reasons various governments find it advantageous to create markets in foreign lands which are under their political control or, in other words, to acquire territory from which they can easily exclude other competitors, and which in many cases furnish the mother country with valuable raw materials. Hence the general scramble in the nineteenth century for colonies.

But there are other reasons for colonial enterprise. Thousands of emigrants annually leave the different European countries to find elsewhere better means of subsistence, cheap lands, chances for better employment, and so forth. Naturally, the respective governments dislike to lose so many subjects whose taxes might enrich the treasury and whose numbers might swell the ranks of the armies of their native countries. Hence the desire to acquire colonial possessions, attractive enough to invite the surplus population of the mother country.

Still another factor must be taken into consideration. Modern conditions have produced, as we have seen, a new class of society, the capitalist, the man who has millions of ready money to invest in any promising enterprise. Frequently

better returns are expected from investment abroad. Hence capital goes to foreign undeveloped lands, opens mines, builds railroads, establishes banks, and in a hundred other ways tries to develop profitable business. Thus it has been estimated that British capitalists have invested about ten billions abroad; at least one fifth of Russia's industrial enterprises are financed by foreigners. French, German, British, and Belgian capital operates in Chinese mines and railroads; many of the larger banking concerns in Brazil, Argentina, and other South American states are in the hands of foreigners.

It should, however, be noted that capital does not go only to backward countries, but wherever the prospects of big returns are good. Thus American money is invested in British enterprises and vice versa. The reason for this is obvious. The importation of goods may be unprofitable on account of the high tariffs, but capital and its returns are not dutiable commodities. Thus capital often creates or maintains industries abroad. Frequently, too, a firm instead of shipping its products to a foreign country, sets up branches there and manufactures the article in that country into which it could not profitably be imported.

859. Imperialism. — These three tendencies, the desire for foreign *markets*, for *lands* where emigrants may settle, for *investment* of capital, are shaping the commercial and foreign policies of every important European state. They explain why the great industrial nations embark on what has been termed a policy of *imperialism*. It is the policy of adding distant territories for the purpose of exploiting their resources, getting trade with the natives or with European settlers, and of investing capital. Sometimes this imperialism takes the form of outright *annexation*, as in the case of most of the European colonies in Africa. Sometimes it assumes the form of establishing "*Protectorates*" or "*Spheres of influence*," which is a declaration to the effect that, "we are interested in this par-

ticular piece of land, we do not take the responsibility of governing it just now, but we want order and peace in it and shall therefore police it; above all we want to keep out other nations, for sooner or later we intend to annex it." Sometimes imperialism is content with "*concessions*" in undeveloped countries; that is, with the exclusive right to develop mines, build railroads, etc. in a particular district. Such concessions have been obtained by foreigners in China and Mexico.

In case of annexation of lands inhabited by less civilized peoples the annexing government is of course interested in having the natives civilized or "Westernized"; for with the acquisition of Western standards these natives become buyers in European markets, or at least cease to render the colony unsafe for European settlers and merchants. Hence, the governments of colonizing nations generally favor the efforts of the missionaries. But the beneficial effects of such favors, though sometimes really sincere, should not be overestimated. They are almost neutralized by the example of the white settlers whose "civilizing" influence is often confined to making the natives acquainted with Western vices; sometimes, too, the white man would rather see the aborigines exterminated and make room on their lands for the greedy immigrant. Besides, the diversity of creeds, or lack of creed, does not impress the natives very favorably. All these evils more than undo the "favors" or the protection extended to the missionaries by selfish governments.

860. A little reflection on the conditions explained in the previous paragraphs will make the student realize what a complicated situation has been created by modern industrial life. The world has thereby become one enormous intricate mechanism. The slightest change or disorder in one place will often be keenly felt by people thousands of miles away. Thus the increase of the tariff on one article may elsewhere throw thousands of men out of employment. A strike in a

coal mine may bring misery to hundreds of factory workers. A revolution in a South American republic may ruin banking houses or industries in distant lands. In case of great wars, especially between maritime powers, these effects are all the greater, as one nation tries to injure the trade of another. Hence the enormous growth of navies to protect the seaborne trade of the mother country and to destroy that of the enemy.

It is therefore not surprising that commercial and industrial interests frequently try to shape the policies of a foreign country. On account of the vast sums at their disposal they sometimes succeed. Either the governments of foreign countries are approached directly or pressure is brought to bear on them by means of "public opinion," created or directed through the press or through the great news agencies. Such means are often very questionable and at best create mutual distrust between one nation and another or between the people and their government. A frank and open discussion of the international effects of national policies is much to be preferred. The situation is full of dangers. Competition is so keen, the interests not only of capitalists but also of the masses are so intimately bound up with the action of other nations, and human greed and human passions are so strong that it would be almost miraculous if objectionable means were not sometimes used to influence the policies of other nations. Here above all there is need of a return to the principles of justice and Christian charity. Much hatred and much intriguing would have been avoided if our modern age were not so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of materialism which subordinates everything to the acquisition of wealth and comfort.

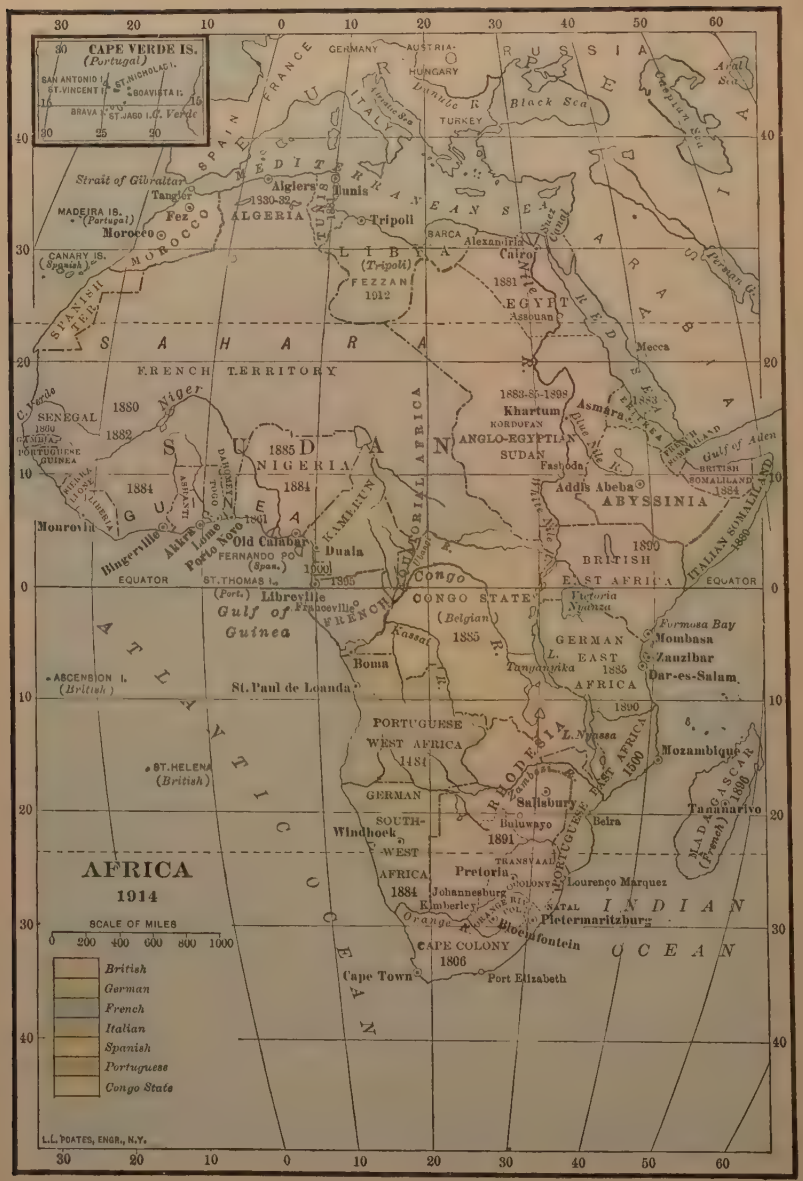
The eagerness for the acquisition of markets and colonies is nowhere better exemplified than in the recent partition of Africa and in the commercial penetration of the backward countries of Asia. Hence we will have to take a brief survey of these two fields of European enterprise.

B. Partition of Africa

861. When the hunt for colonies began it had, after all, to confine itself chiefly to parts of the less densely inhabited earth. Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States or England. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine. Africa, however, was largely unappropriated, and in Asia the stationary and apparently helpless empires of China, Turkey, and Persia invited attack.

862. The division of the vast continent of Africa was swift and, on the whole, peaceful. In 1880 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 the whole continent was mapped out between European claimants. For half a century France had been extending her sway over Algeria on the north. For nearly double that time England had held the Cape Colony in the south. She has in recent years enormously extended her South African possessions by annexing the two Boer republics (§ 755); and the events of 1881 (§ 753) put the Nile valley into English control. A little earlier the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley had awakened interest in the heart of the "Darkest Continent."

Various explorers had traced the *Nile* to its source, discovered the great inland lakes, and found the sources of the *Zambesi*. *Stanley*, in the early seventies, had proved that the *upper Congo* extended into the neighborhood of the great lakes and that the immense region constituting the heart of Africa was a rich and accessible country. In 1876, at the suggestion of King Leopold II of Belgium, the *Congo International Association* was organized to explore Central Africa and to stop the horrible slave trade carried on by the Arabs. In 1879 Stanley in the service of Leopold and the Association returned to the upper Congo and made there the beginnings of an organized state.


AFRICA
1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
British
German
French
Italian
Spanish
Portuguese
Congo State
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
CAPE VERDE IS.
(Portugal)
SAN ANTONIO I.
ST. VINCENT I.
ST. NICHOLAS I.
BOAVISTA I.
BRAVA I.
ST. JAGO I.
C. Verde
MADEIRA IS.
(Portugal)
CANARY IS.
(Spanish)
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Morocco
Fez
Algiers
Tunis
1830-32
ALGERIA
Tripoli
BARCA
LIBYA
(Tripoli)
FEZZAN
1912
Alexandria
Cairo
1881
EGYPT
Assouan
Mecca
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
SENEGAL
1880
Niger
1882
SUDAN
1885
NIGERIA
1884
GUINEA
Monrovia
Bingerville
Assini
Lahou
Porto Novo
Old Calabar
1901
Duala
1884
KAMERUN
FERNANDO PO
(Span.)
1900
ST. THOMAS I.
(Port.)
1885
EQUATOR
Libreville
Fernandville
FRENCH CONGO
Gulf of Guinea
CONGO STATE
(Belgian)
1885
Congo R.
Kassai R.
Boma
St. Paul de Loanda
ASCENSION I.
(British)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ST. HELENA
(British)
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
1484
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
1884
Windhoek
Walvish Bay
Orange R.
CAPE COLONY
1806
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Blœmfontein
Pietermaritzburg
NATAL
TRANSVAAL COLONY
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
1500
Sofala
Beira
Buluwayo
1891
Salisbury
RHODESIA
Zambesi R.
L. Nyassa
Mozambique
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR
(French)
1896
INDIAN OCEAN
Suez Canal
Red Sea
ARABIA
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Danube R.
Venice
Sea of Marmora
TURKEY
HUNGARY
AUSTRIA-
GERMANY
FRANCE
SPAIN
ITALY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RUSSIA
PERSIA
Khartum
1883-85-1898
KORDOFAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
Asmara
1885
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
1862
BRITISH SOMALILAND
1884
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
1889
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
1890
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika L.
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
1885
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salam
Nile R.
Blue Nile R.
Niger R.
Gambia R.
Senegal R.
Volta R.
Benue R.
Shari R.
Lake Chad
Tripoli
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
Tangier
Morocco
Windhoek
Walvish Bay
Salisbury
Buluwayo
Beira
Sofala
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Pietermaritzburg
Blœmfontein
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Zambesi R.
Orange R.
Limpopo R.
Suez Canal
Red Sea
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Danube R.
Venice
Sea of Marmora
Khartum
Fashoda
Asmara
Addis Abeba
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salam
Mozambique
Tananarivo
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika L.
L. Nyassa
Formosa Bay
Mecca
Alexandria
Cairo
Assouan
Tripoli
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
Tangier
Morocco
Windhoek
Walvish Bay
Salisbury
Buluwayo
Beira
Sofala
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Kimberley
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Pietermaritzburg
Blœmfontein
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
Zambesi R.
Orange R.
Limpopo R.
Suez Canal
Red Sea
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Danube R.
Venice
Sea of Marmora

In 1884 Bismarck called an international congress to Berlin to discuss African affairs. As a result the "*Congo Free State*" was formed with a territory of one million square miles and with some thirty million inhabitants. For a while it was governed by a private company. Its irresponsible officials made themselves guilty of horrible atrocities against the defenseless natives. An agitation against these misdeeds resulted, in 1904, in the Belgian government taking over the Free State. It now became a Belgian colony, and the Belgian government is responsible for its administration.

The establishment of the Congo State and the Berlin conference were followed by the raising of the German flag in Africa (§ 789), and then began a wild scramble for territory which quickly made all the continent European, except Abyssinia and Liberia. The three foremost European Powers in Africa were England, France, and Germany. Of these *England* so far is in the lead. Aside from small territories at other points of the coast her sway extends over the whole Nile valley (the richest part of the continent) and over large territories in the south. Her ambition has been to unite her possessions in the north and south; but the Congo State and German East Africa were thrust between. However, in the near future an English railway, already far advanced, will join Cairo and Cape Town (probably through the Congo State) and thus open all Africa to English commerce.

France would have liked to join her colonial realms on the east and on the west of the continent; but she found English territory thrust between. German ambitions were thwarted in like manner. Other European colonies belong to smaller states. Of these the Portuguese are the most extensive. But the poverty and maladministration of that state make it probable that they will be divided by her powerful rivals. In general, it seems certain that the final results of the Great War will change the map of Africa very considerably.

C. European Expansion in Asia

863. The occupation of Asia by European states had proceeded more slowly than that of Africa, but it has moved with increasing rapidity in recent years. Central and northern Asia is Russian. The great, densely populated peninsula of Hindustan, with adjoining Burma, is English. The southeastern peninsula, since 1896, is mainly French. The only independent states left in this greatest of the continents are Asia Minor (so far Turkish but soon to be divided into several national states), Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and China.

Of these, Afghanistan and Siam are mere remnants of "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other. Of recent years England has sought to preserve them as barriers to her rivals. Persia, too, is virtually a dependency either of England or Russia, according to the varying fortune of those countries; and in the closing years of the nineteenth century it seemed that even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces. In those same years **two new actors appeared upon the stage of world politics.** A war between Japan and China and the Spanish-American War added the United States and Japan to the group of World Powers interested in China.

864. Until the year 1900 the United States found scope for its energies in peopling its great territories and in developing resources at home. Content with primacy on the American continents, it resolutely kept out of European complications. But the Spanish-American War left it in possession of the Philippines; and during the war it annexed Hawaii. Thus it held the mastery of the Pacific and was brought to the door of Asia. In particular, the United States is desirous of securing a fair show for its trade in China, one of its important customers.

Americans, despite this change in our foreign policy, still desire peace, commerce, and honest friendship with foreign

countries. But these acquisitions abroad put an end to our attitude of splendid isolation. "Isolation," said President McKinley, "is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked nations together." There are some who fear that this new policy will eventually endanger long-cherished American principles embodied in the Monroe Doctrine and in Washington's warning, in his Farewell Address, against "entangling alliances." Others, however, refuse to share these apprehensions for our future.

865. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, **Japan** had kept herself sealed to the outer world. For more than two centuries, indeed, to hold communication with foreigners had been a capital crime. But in 1853, Commodore Perry, under orders from the United States Government, by a show of force secured the admission of American trade to certain Japanese ports; and Japan began swiftly to exchange her Oriental civilization for Western culture. Before the close of the century this transformation had been carried to a marvelous completeness. Army and navy, schools and industry, took on modern character; and in 1889 the liberal Mikado (emperor) proclaimed a constitution which created a limited monarchy, with a parliament of two houses and a responsible ministry.

In 1894–1895 Japan and China engaged in war over Korea. With amazing rapidity little Japan overcame her huge antagonist on land and sea. China agreed to cede the island of Formosa, Port Arthur, and the kingdom of Korea. Russia, however, was already longing for these districts, and, backed by France and Germany, she forced Japan to renounce her gains upon the mainland. Japan was unprepared for war with these powers, and was wise enough to yield, but she began at once to make ready, patiently and skilfully, for the struggle with Russia which was to come ten years later (§ 867).

866. The Opening of China. — In return for her interference against Japan, Russia secured from China the right to extend

her Trans-Siberian railroad through Manchuria (§ 830). Then in 1898 she secured Port Arthur, the strongest naval fortress that China possessed. Roused by this advance of her rival, England at once demanded and obtained Wai-hei-wai, on the opposite shore of the Gulf, to enable her to check Russian movements. Somewhat earlier (§ 789), on a curious pretext, Germany had seized Kiau Chau, with the surrounding district; and now France seized the port of Kwang-Chau-Wau. Still earlier, France had begun to occupy the far southeast, and England had held the island of Hong Kong ever since 1842; but the recent seizures commanded Pekin itself, and it began to look as if China were doomed to partition.

In 1900 the Chinese resentment at this prospect culminated in popular patriotic and fanatical uprisings which sought to exterminate the "Western barbarians." The movement was organized by a secret society known as the *Boxers*. Missionaries and scattered Europeans were massacred and the foreign embassies themselves were besieged at Pekin. The Powers (the United States and Japan included) sent joint forces to relieve their beleaguered representatives. After horrible and almost incredible barbarities by the invading armies, especially by the Russians, Pekin was taken and sacked and the European residents were rescued.

867. The Russian-Japanese War. — Largely through the insistence of the United States, no territorial indemnities were taken from China. During the campaign, however, Russia occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated; but, before 1904, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial prosperity

(in Korea), but her independence as a nation; and after months of futile negotiations, and a pressing ultimatum for Russian withdrawal, she resorted to war.

Diplomacy had assured Japan that she would have only Russia to fight. England and Japan, in 1902, in a treaty designed to preserve the integrity of China, had agreed to aid each other in war if either were attacked by more than one power. Still the case for Japan looked dark. To most of the world, Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the little island-state was thought doomed to defeat.

But Russia fought at long range. She had to transport troops and supplies across Asia by a *single-track* railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her forms of engineering), and her rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. Congestion of traffic and long delays at critical moments were the inevitable results. To be sure, it was supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials had made way with the larger part of the money and that neither army nor navy was properly equipped. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful overconfidence and silly contempt for the foe. These drawbacks could not be counterbalanced by Russia's immense but unavailable resources nor by the desperate bravery and heroic endurance of her poorly led soldiery.

Japan, on the other hand, had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were patriotic, honest, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of ardent self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization, Japan was able, at all critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war, when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than Japan's whole navy; but (February 8, 1904) Japan struck the first blow, torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and, to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Korea was swiftly overrun, and, on February 23, its government recognized a Japanese protectorate. The Russians were driven back from the *Yalu* in a great battle, and *Port Arthur* was invested (May 28) by land as well as by sea. Seven months later (January, 1905), that fortress, which had been boastfully declared invulnerable, capitulated, after terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice of life on both sides. Meantime, in September, the Japanese army won a remarkable victory at *Liaou Yang*, and, soon afterward, repulsed a desperate attack, driving the Russians back on Mukden.

The severe northern winter interrupted the campaign; but in March, 1905, the Japanese resumed their advance. The *Battle of Mukden* was the most tremendous military struggle the world had seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battlefront extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed. They lost more than a hundred thousand men, and were driven back on Harbin in disorder. It seemed that Russia would be unable, for that summer at least, to gather another army in the East able to take the field.

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, an attempt had been begun. A huge fleet, far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, set out on the long voyage from the Baltic. By a

breach of strict neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near Southern China; and in May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in one of the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, now "offered his good offices" to secure peace; and a meeting of envoys was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire), at which the *Treaty of Portsmouth* was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the Port Arthur branch of her railroad to China, (3) to recognize the Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, — an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875.

868. The most important results of the war were indirect results. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and toward India, as well as in the Far East, and the failure of her despotic government gave opportunity for the beginning of a revolution in society and politics (§ 841). The appearance of Japan, on the other hand, as one of the foremost "World Powers," went far to check the European greed for Asiatic territory. It seems probable that Asia will hereafter be left to the Asiatics. During the great European war of 1914, Japan took Kiau Chau from Germany.

For Further Reading. — Read the excellent chapters on *National Imperialism* in Hayes. For a more detailed explanation of the interaction between trade and imperialism see Paul Reinsch, *World Politics*. Jan Hamilton's *From the Scrap Book of a Staff Officer* gives a vivid account of the military events in the Russian-Japanese War.

CHAPTER LXIV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1871

A. Alliances

869. Intense political and commercial rivalries mark the period between 1871 and the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The objects of strife may be conveniently grouped under two headings, *Imperialism* and the *Eastern Question*. We have seen how the nations of Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century began, as rivals in the world's trade, to seize colonies and trading posts in Africa and Asia, and we have also seen how they stood eying one another greedily and suspiciously as to which was to profit more from the decline and eventual partition of Turkey.

870. The Triple Alliance. — The whole system of alliances as it had existed in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was recast, owing to the advent of two new Powers, *Germany* and *Italy*. Previous to 1871 central Europe consisted of a large number of petty states which no one feared. In that year the strong new German Empire came into existence, which had been made chiefly by military force and relied for its maintenance and prestige on its army and (after a while) on its navy. On account of the harsh terms imposed on vanquished France it had to reckon with the permanent hostility of that country. France was bent upon regaining her lost prestige and upon recovering her lost provinces Alsace-Lorraine. Bismarck, the guiding spirit of the new empire, cast about for allies. He found one in *Austria-Hungary*, and that in spite of her recent defeat at the hands of Prussia (1866). At first he also planned an alliance with Russia, and his efforts seemed for a while suc-

cessful, but in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, the Tsar suffered a diplomatic defeat, and, rightly or wrongly, ascribed it partly to Bismarck. The year after the Congress the alliance with Austria was definitely concluded, and from that moment a German-Russian alliance appeared well-nigh impossible. For Austria and Russia in their foreign policy were so diametrically opposed that membership in the same alliance could never be lasting and sincere.

The reasons for this must be sought in the Balkan Question. We have seen how Russia considered herself the natural heir to decaying Turkey. Formerly Austria, who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries herself had most persistently opposed Mohammedanism, viewed these Russian ambitions rather indifferently. But when in 1878 the Russian victories over the Turk freed most of the Balkan peoples from Turkish rule, and set up independent Balkan states, Austria grew alarmed. For these states arose just across her southern boundaries. Their inhabitants were mostly Slavic in race and sympathy and looked upon Russia as their natural protector. The Tsar and with him the Slavophils were not slow in responding to this sentiment. Now, as the student has learned in the chapter on Austria-Hungary, a large part of that empire is Slavic. Austria's fears seemed, therefore, justified. "If those little nations to the south of our territory achieved their independence with Russia's help, might not their Slavic kinsmen within our realm try to do the same, and that too, with the help of Russia," was the reasoning of the Austrian statesmen. They knew very well that the Austrian Slavs, especially in the Hungarian half of the empire, had many well founded complaints. When, therefore, Bismarck approached Austria with proposals of friendship and alliance he found a ready welcome, and the former enemies became friends, drawn together, not so much by mutual sympathies, as by common political interests.

Three years later *Italy* joined this alliance. She had long

entertained the idea of annexing Tunis, the ancient Carthage, situated just across the narrow strip of the Mediterranean which separates Sicily from Africa. But France crossed her, and in 1881, added Tunis to her own colony Algeria (§ 771). This angered Italy and drove her into Bismarck's arms. Thus, in 1882, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy leagued themselves into a union known as the *Triple Alliance*. But the Alliance was never very popular in Italy. It seemed more natural that Italy should look for friends among her Latin sister nations, France or Spain. Moreover, "Unredeemed Italy" and Italian designs on the eastern Adriatic coast (§ 791) were a source of friction and distrust between herself and Austria.

871. France and Russia. — The formation of the Triple Alliance left out two notable continental Powers, France and Russia. Both had reasons of their own to be hostile to that Alliance and to fear its hostility toward themselves. It surprised no one, therefore, when shortly after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance various signs of friendship and mutual understanding between France and Russia showed that each wished to put an end to its isolation. Bismarck so long as he was in power labored hard to prevent this Dual Alliance, but in vain. Shortly after his resignation it became an accomplished fact. Thus the continent was thrown into two hostile camps, jealously watching each other's slightest move and straining every nerve to increase their armaments to be ready for a possible clash.

872. Recent Changes. — England, for a long while, kept aloof from these continental combinations. In the early eighties she looked with some jealousy and fear upon the swift French advance in North Africa. It was thought that it might endanger her interests in Egypt and the Sudan. When, in 1898, *General Kitchener* had conquered the Sudan (or the upper Nile regions), a French explorer, Colonel Marchand, rapidly

crossed the heart of Africa from the west, and, under orders from the home government, planted the French flag at *Fashoda* in the upper Sudan, before Kitchener could get there. When the news of this reached Paris and London the excitement was intense, and for a short while war seemed inevitable. But wiser counsel prevailed in Paris and the French government gave in. The bitter feeling in France over this disappointment was, however, not so easily allayed.

All was changed when, in 1901, Queen Victoria died and Edward VII came to the throne. The new king was personally fond of France and — averse to the Hohenzollern in Berlin. Skilful statesmen made the most of the situation, and, in 1904, France and England came to a "cordial understanding" (*entente cordiale*) on all outstanding matters of dispute. France was to recognize British interests in Egypt, and England those of France in Morocco, — which country France had begun to penetrate from the Algerian border. The Entente was hailed with delight in France. In addition to her powerful ally in the east she had now the support of the world's greatest naval power.

In England, too, the policy of drawing closer to France was viewed with general satisfaction. Englishmen had begun to see the future enemy in Germany rather than in France. The former seemed to be developing into a dangerous rival in Africa and Asia, more to be dreaded than France. Germany's commercial activity and invasion of English markets threatened England's supremacy in trade. Especially did German enterprise in Asia Minor (§ 789) create ill feeling in England. The estrangement of Germany and Russia had brought about a closer understanding between the Kaiser and the Sultan, and as a consequence German capitalists invested heavily in developing the long neglected regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, and were favored on the part of the Turkish government by numerous concessions and trade privileges. A gigantic scheme, the build-

ing of a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, created alarm in England, for it would eventually prove a dangerous competitor to British trade routes through the Suez canal to India and the Far East.

In addition to this the German government in the first years of the twentieth century began the construction of a large navy. Before this time the empire possessed a rather insignificant fleet. But from that time on William II in season and out of season insisted that "Germany's future lay on the sea," that "Germany's interests demanded a navy second to none." Large sums were voted for the construction of a powerful battle fleet, and since there was only one strong maritime rival in the field, England considered all these measures as directed against herself. Many utterances of leading men in Germany left no doubt that the new empire meant to enter definitely upon the field of world-politics and to play an important part in the settlement of every international issue. In short, Englishmen saw in German activities the dangers of a prospective world-empire to their already established British world-empire, and, for this reason, tried to strengthen themselves by an understanding with France.

Even before this, England had concluded an alliance with Japan (1902). Then when after the Russian-Japanese War the Russians and the Japanese decided instead of fighting over Manchuria to join together and penetrate it, and so became friends, England, too, made terms with Russia. This seemed almost incredible, for England had long been suspicious of Russian designs upon India (§ 830). Moreover, Russian autocracy was particularly hateful to liberty-loving Englishmen, and London had always been the refuge for Russian political exiles. The incredible happened, however. In 1907 Russia and England settled their boundary disputes north of India and agreed on their respective "spheres of interest" in Persia.

The tension produced by these alignments of the Great Powers

on several occasions very nearly precipitated a world war. Thus, when in 1908 Austria proclaimed the permanent annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (§ 852), Serbia and her powerful friend, Russia, protested energetically and partial mobilization of the armed forces on both sides threatened a general conflict, but at the last moment Russia, overawed by Germany and weakened by domestic disturbances, acquiesced in the annexation.

Another acute crisis grew out of the *Morocco question*. There, as we have seen, by agreement between England and France, the latter was to have a free hand. Rather unexpectedly Germany claimed to have interests there, too. These interests were very slight, but France thus threatened had to agree to a conference at Algeciras (Spain) of all the Great Powers, including the United States. France was given police power in Morocco, but the latter's independence was guaranteed. Frequent disturbances gave France the opportunity to exercise this police power so extensively that soon there was little left of the " independence " of Morocco. In 1911 Germany sent a cruiser to Agadir on the coast of Morocco, as a warning to France to stop. War was very narrowly averted, especially as Great Britain intimated her intention of supporting France. France gave up some of her possession on the Congo to Germany in order to be allowed to continue her occupation of Morocco.

This " Agadir incident " showed how near Europe had come to the brink of war. In Germany an arrogant war party declared it a humiliation for their country, since France was left in sole possession of Morocco, and demanded stronger action in the future. In France and England statesmen were angered at the bold way in which Germany had tried to humble them before the world and rightly claimed that Germany was not entitled to any satisfaction at all. The result was that the nations redoubled their military preparations. To be sure, each side

professed to be anxious to maintain peace. Many who saw the enormous progress in armies and navies and pictured to themselves the frightful consequences of war were inclined to think that the very magnitude of such a disaster would restrain the nations from war. But suddenly, in July, 1914, Europe was plunged into the most terrible of wars. We shall study it in a special chapter. All right thinking men hope that it will put an end to the old Europe with its system of hostile alliances and its appeals to the sword.

B. Other Movements

873. Agencies for Peace. — It must not be thought that nothing had been done to prevent the catastrophe of a great war. Quite the contrary. The proximity of the danger led many thinking men of all nations to cast about for means of preserving peace. The first attempt was the International Arbitration movement. By such an arbitration treaty two nations bind themselves to submit differences on a particular point to a committee of expert judges and to abide by their decision. An example of such an agreement is a clause in the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, whereby the two countries bound themselves to submit boundary disputes between Maine and Nova Scotia to an impartial committee of judges. Since that time hundreds of other cases were settled in this peaceful and sensible manner.

But all these cases concerned some particular dispute regarding which a special treaty had to be negotiated before arbitration could begin. This left much to be desired. The closing years of the nineteenth century saw a widespread agitation for general arbitration treaties by which nations should agree in advance to submit all disputes to a court of arbitrators. The agitation bore some fruit. In 1898 Tsar Nicholas II proposed a great conference of the Powers at the Hague, the

capital of Holland. It was to consider how peace might be maintained indefinitely and how military expenditures could be reduced. It accomplished little with regard to the latter point, owing chiefly to the refusal of Germany to entertain such a proposal. But the conference recognized the right of any nation to offer to mediate between two countries at war. It recommended, further, that nations, unable to come to an agree-

The Hague Peace Palace.

ment on some point, should submit the matter to an impartial international committee of inquiry. Finally the Powers agreed to establish such a Commission at the Hague which would be permanent and be composed of four representatives from each nation. However, the matters to be submitted were to be only those which "involved neither honor nor vital interests." A number of arbitration treaties followed the close of this first Hague Conference, but all excluded these "vital" questions.

And it is precisely these "vital" questions, or rather projects of national selfishness and national aggrandizement, which give rise to wars.

A *second* conference met at The Hague in 1907, in which forty-seven nations were represented. A proposal made by the United States to make the submission of certain matters to the court obligatory was defeated. The pressing question of reducing armaments was answered by the recommendation to the governments "to resume the study of the problem." The principal work of the conference consisted in the acceptance of certain rules by which the actual conduct of war should be regulated; these rules limited the use of submarine mines, improved the lot of war prisoners, and tried to safeguard the rights of neutrals.

When these conferences began it was suggested that the Holy Father, the one great power not identified with any international rivalry, should be represented. But Italy objected, and the suggestion was dropped. Still, if any one could have given prestige and general esteem to the conference, it was the Father of Christendom. He, more than any one else, would have enjoyed the confidence of the nations; for his subjects are everywhere, and he has at heart the welfare of all.

The real difficulty in compulsory arbitration is the absence of an authority strong enough to enforce the decisions of such an international court. In medieval times the pope sometimes compelled kings and nations to keep within law and justice by his spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict. But since European nations in the sixteenth century broke away from the authority of the Holy See they recognize no common superior in things spiritual and moral, no really binding law, except that of their own selfish interests.

874. Democracy. — A predominant characteristic of modern times has been the growth of democracy. The desire for a

greater coöperation of the people in the government, quite common in the Middle Ages, received in modern times its greatest impulse in the French Revolution. Ever since that tremendous event the struggle against absolutism of monarchs or the privileges of classes has spread from country to country until we have at present everywhere either government by the elected representatives of the people or at least constitutions limiting the power of sovereigns. As late as 1832 England, Norway, and Switzerland were the only genuine democracies in the Old World. Since that time constitutional government granting more or less power to the people has been introduced in all western Europe. In the first years of the twentieth century Russia, Turkey, Persia, and even old unchangeable China, have been converted into republics or limited monarchies. On the whole, it is better so. Democracy is more suited to our age with its wide diffusion of knowledge, its general education, its facility of keeping oneself informed of the current events. But it would be folly to deny that democracy as practiced in many states has its dangers as well as its advantages. The intricate character of modern, and especially of international, politics makes it increasingly difficult for the people to take an intelligent part in public affairs or even to form a correct judgment of the actions of their elected representatives. Thus the masses easily become the victims of unscrupulous leaders and of an "inspired" press. Liberty, too, is sometimes mistaken for license, for contempt of all, even spiritual, authority. Modern Socialism has largely appropriated the watchwords of liberty and equality, only to use them against all legitimate authority.

And so the world is in sore need of recognized authority as well as true liberty. It imagines that it has gained wondrous freedom by the religious revolt of the sixteenth century and the political revolution of the eighteenth. Instead we now frequently behold rebellion against God and His law, coupled with a slavery to greed and unchecked passions. And this latter

slavery naturally leads to the oppression of the weak and less aggressive element in society. Thus unrestricted liberty is the greatest enemy of true liberty. The modern world has strayed far from God, and only a return to Him can remedy the evils from which it suffers and insure the continued possession of true liberty and true happiness.

CHAPTER LXV

THE GREAT WAR

A. Outbreak of the Great War

875. Despite the strained relations between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente there appeared, in the beginning of 1914, a few hopeful signs pointing to a lessening of international hard feeling. Both in England and in Germany it was realized by leading men that the interests of their respective countries demanded a peaceful settlement of outstanding difficulties. The question of the Bagdad railroad (§ 872) and of the development of Asia Minor were on the point of being adjusted, and a beginning was made in negotiating an agreement for mutual limitation of armaments. It almost seemed as if the English people had come to accept the idea of a strong German navy and as if the Germans had learned to appreciate the reasons why the British navy must be supreme. But the hopes built on these negotiations were rudely shattered by the sudden outbreak of the Great War (1914–1918).

876. The Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. — On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of Emperor Francis Joseph and heir to the Hapsburg throne, was murdered, together with his wife, at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The crime caused sorrow and deep indignation in Austria-Hungary. Many hopes had been built on the murdered prince. His manly character and solid piety endeared him to the Catholic population, while his vigorous patriotism, energy, and administrative ability seemed to guarantee the continued existence of the Dual Monarchy. Moreover, he was believed to favor a special project which would, it was hoped, apply a radical cure to the

racial difficulties of Austria-Hungary. The project was to change the Dual Monarchy into a Triple Monarchy in which the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatians and the Slovenes would enjoy autonomy similar to that of the Magyars.

To him, however, was attributed the hostile attitude of Austria against Serbia since 1908. The Serbs, at any rate, considered Ferdinand their special enemy and an obstacle to the realization of their national aspirations. From 1908 to 1914 they organized secret societies and conducted a propaganda in Bosnia for the purpose of fostering in that province a movement for annexation to Serbia. Austria's refusal, in 1912 (§ 853), of a Serbian harbor on the Adriatic served only to intensify Serbian hatred of Austria.

An inquiry into the murder of the archduke, set on foot by the Austrian government, developed the facts that the assassins (two attempts had been made by two different persons) were natives of Bosnia but members of a Serbian secret society, founded for the purpose of carrying on a pro-Serb propaganda, — that they were instigated by officials of this society who were at the same time Serbian state officials. This caused the Austrian government to charge the Serbian *government* with complicity in the murder, though it failed to furnish proof.

877. The Austrian Ultimatum. — For three weeks after the crime of Sarajevo the Austrian government remained silent. It is now known, however, that drastic action against Serbia was planned and that Germany, Austria's ally, gave assurance of full support of any measure Austria saw fit to take. On July 23, the latter presented an ultimatum to Serbia, couched in the most peremptory terms.[1] It stated that Austria had been compelled to abandon her attitude of patient forbearance, to put an end to the intrigues which formed a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the monarchy, and to demand effective

[1] See full text in Holt and Chilton, p. 543.

guarantees from the Serbian government. To give such effective guarantee of good behavior Serbia was asked to suppress anti-Austrian publications and societies, to dismiss such officials as the Austrian government would charge with anti-Austrian propaganda, "to accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government for the suppression of the subversive movements directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy," and to signify unconditional acceptance of these and other demands within forty-eight hours. Serbia agreed to all these demands, except to that of admitting Austrian officials to participate in the Serbian investigation, and offered to submit even this point to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the representatives of the Great Powers. Austria-Hungary at once severed diplomatic relations with Serbia and, July 28, declared war.

878. As soon as the Austrian ultimatum became known the statesmen and diplomats of the Great Powers made frantic efforts to bring about a settlement without recourse to arms. They at once realized that Serbia would not accept its harsh terms and that Russia, the traditional champion of the Balkan states against Austria, would stand by Serbia. Between the publication of the ultimatum and the declaration of war the diplomatic efforts of England and France were directed towards mitigating Austria's attitude. But the government at Vienna insisted that the matter concerned Austria and Serbia alone and that the other Powers had no business to interfere. In this contention she was strongly supported by Germany. While England and France urged international settlement, Germany proposed that all should endeavor to "localize" the conflict, that is, that England and France should use their good offices in Petrograd to prevent Russia from coming to Serbia's assistance. She refused, however, to counsel moderation in Vienna. *Such a policy, in view of the existing alliances and understandings, meant risking a world war.* The leaders of Germany

undoubtedly realized this, but they believed themselves strong enough to face the ultimate issue with confidence. Just at the moment Germany was ahead of her rivals in the race for armaments. Russia and France had recently introduced military reforms, but the details had not yet been carried out. The chances of recovering her dominant position in Europe, so seriously weakened by the formation of the Triple Entente, seemed fairly favorable.

879. Thus the Austro-Serbian dispute was permitted to develop into a world war. As soon as Austria declared war on Serbia, Russia began a rapid mobilization, and Germany, interpreting this to be a menace to herself, *declared war on Russia*, August 1. Then she demanded of *France*, Russia's ally, what she proposed to do and gave her eighteen hours to reply. The French government returned an evasive answer and ordered a general mobilization. Thereupon Germany declared war on France, August 3.

Germany's military leaders, who for years had considered the possibility of war simultaneously on the eastern and western frontiers, had planned first to defeat France and then to turn with their full force against the mightier but slower armies of Russia. In order to avoid the loss of time which the forcing of the strong line of fortresses along the eastern boundary of France would have entailed, the German general staff, on the mere ground of expediency and in order to strike at France more quickly, chose to disregard the solemn obligation, entered into in 1839, of respecting the neutrality of *Belgium*. Numerous strategic railroads converging toward the Belgian boundary had long ago awakened suspicions of Germany's plans. And these suspicions proved correct. On August 2 Germany issued an ultimatum to Belgium giving her twelve hours to decide whether she would permit the German troops to cross Belgian territory on their way to France. If she consented, Germany promised to respect her sovereignty and territorial integrity; if not, she would be

treated as a hostile state. The Belgian government replied in a dignified manner that Germany together with the other Powers had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium and the Belgian forces would resist any attempt to violate it. On August 4 German troops invaded Belgian soil.

From the beginning of the war it seemed very unlikely that *England* should not be drawn into the conflict. Her sympathies and her interests alike lay on the side of France. Already on August 2 *Sir Edward Grey*, the British secretary of foreign affairs, warned the German government that England could not tolerate an attack on the French coast. Two days later when the German march to Belgium had begun Sir Edward Grey sent an ultimatum to Berlin demanding respect for Belgium's neutrality. On the same day, however, German troops crossed the Belgian frontier, the British ambassador in Berlin was recalled, and hostilities began. In the last interview of the British ambassador with the German chancellor, *Bethmann-Hollweg*, the latter remarked that England ought not to enter war just for the word "neutrality," a word which in wartime had so often been neglected, — just "for a scrap of paper." This contemptuous reference to solemn international obligation did much to estrange popular opinion everywhere from Germany.

Japan, England's ally, soon followed with a declaration of war against Germany, but after having taken the German colony of Kiau Chau practically desisted from further military operations. *Turkey*, early in November, 1914, joined Germany and Austria. *Italy* declared herself neutral despite her membership in the Triple Alliance. That alliance, she insisted, obliged her to assist the Central Powers only if they were attacked. But in the present war they were the aggressors.

880. The Conflict Widens. — Thus within three months the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, were face to face with a coalition of Russia, France, England, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro (who made Serbia's cause her own), and

Japan. Germany and England, however, were on all sides recognized as the leading antagonists.

Italy had declared herself neutral because she realized that her entrance into the war on the side of the Central Powers exposed her long coast line to the combined attacks of the English and French fleet, that it would paralyze her commerce and endanger her colonies. As the war progressed the Allied Powers made every effort to bring Italy into the war on their side. For a long while the Italian government resisted, but popular clamor and the hope of obtaining the " unredeemed " provinces from Austria (§ 791) finally induced Italy to enter into a formal alliance with the Entente Powers and to declare war on Austria, May 23, 1915. The formal break with Germany followed later.

In the *Balkans* the outbreak of the Great War aroused the national passions to the highest pitch. With Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey involved, every state felt that sooner or later it would be drawn in, too, and that the results would be all important for its future. The bitterness between Serbia and Bulgaria which was the fruit of the treaty of Bucharest (§ 854) finally determined the *Bulgarians* to cast in their lot with the Central Powers, October, 1915. In Roumania the diplomacy of the Entente Powers was more successful. Roumania like Italy coveted a part of the Austrian territory. The rich province of Transylvania bordering on Roumania is partly inhabited by people of Roumanian speech. In the hope of obtaining this territory *Roumania*, on August 27, 1916, declared war on Austria-Hungary.

B. The Course of the War

881. The Western Front to 1917. — The main forces of the Germans advanced into France in three divisions: One marched through Belgium, another through Luxemburg towards Verdun, and a third from Metz towards Nancy. The little

Belgian army, however, offered such heroic resistance that the German advance through that country was delayed for ten days. Thus France and England gained time to prepare for the onslaught. But the Belgian fortresses, unsupported as they were by natural barriers, could not long resist the heavy German artillery. After their fall Von Kluck, the able German commander of the western army, rapidly marched towards Paris. But just north of the French capital he swerved east, probably with the intention of enveloping the French and English forces stationed along the Marne River. The second German army had, in the meantime, advanced through Luxemburg and along the valley of the Meuse to join hands with Von Kluck. The French commander-in-chief, *General Joffre*, decided at this point to make a halt and to give battle. It was the famous *battle of the Marne*. Quietly, new forces had been collected on Von Kluck's western flank. That general seems to have underestimated the danger threatening him from these new forces. At any rate, in the terrific fighting during the first days of September, 1914, the extreme right wing of the Germans was the first to give way. As a consequence the whole German army was forced to retreat from the Marne and to take up a strong defensive position on the Aisne River.

After the failure of the Germans to take Paris in their first onrush the Germans transferred their efforts to another field, to the remainder of Belgium. They captured Antwerp, October 10, and soon gained possession of the whole country, except a tiny corner southwest of Ostend. Then they made a desperate attempt to reach Calais on the English Channel. But the Belgians cut the dikes and flooded the lowlands along the coast, while the Allied armies offered strenuous resistance on the Yser River. Calais was never taken.

Meanwhile very harsh treatment was meted out to the unfortunate Belgian population behind the German lines. Huge sums were exacted, civilians were severely punished for resistance

to military authorities, machinery in factories was dismantled and partly carried off to Germany. In Louvain the Germans alleged that civilians had shot upon German soldiers and in retaliation laid part of the city in ashes. This treatment of the helpless people aroused everywhere great bitterness against Germany and her methods of warfare.

After the failure to reach Paris and Calais the two opposing armies intrenched themselves on a line extending from the North Sea near Ostend to the Swiss border in southern Alsace. This line remained more or less the same until 1917. Costly attempts to break through were made on both sides, but without decisive results. Thus, late in autumn, 1915, the English under Sir John French after terrific fighting gave up forcing the German lines near *Arras*. From February to July, 1916, the German Crown Prince sacrificed thousands of men in a fruitless attempt to take the strong French fortress of *Verdun*. Soon afterwards, July–November, 1916, the Allies using a new type of armored automobile, the so-called "tanks," launched a violent drive along the *Somme River*. They merely succeeded in bending back the German lines a few miles. In these and other drives both sides fought with the utmost bitterness and made use of all the means of destruction that modern science could devise. The losses in killed and maimed went into the millions, while the definite results were insignificant.

882. The Eastern Front to 1917. — If the German commanders counted on a slow mobilization and advance of the Russian armies, they were utterly mistaken. Already in the first half of August, 1914, the Russians in large numbers invaded East Prussia and rapidly overran that province. For a short while it seemed as if nothing would impede their march into the very heart of the empire. But towards the end of August fortune turned against them; they were severely defeated in the battle of *Tannenberg*. In September another Russian army suffered disaster in the same region, at the time when the Germans

themselves were checked on the Marne. In these operations *Von Hindenburg*, a retired German general called back to active service, held the chief command and, owing to his successes against the Russians, became the most popular leader in Germany. His victories, however, were made possible by the withdrawal of large forces from the western front.

The main attacks of the Russians were delivered against Austria. They overran almost the whole of Galicia and, during the winter of 1915, made fierce attempts to pass the Carpathians. They failed, however, and hundreds of thousands of lives were sacrificed in vain. In the spring, 1915, the Central Powers prepared for a decisive blow against Russia. By concentrating enormous masses of troops and artillery in eastern Galicia on the Dunajec River they were able to deal a terrific blow to the Russian forces and to break through their lines (May 2). Soon the entire Russian army from the Baltic Sea to the boundaries of Roumania gave way and started on a precipitate retreat. The whole of Russian Poland, most of Galicia, and the Baltic province of Courland were evacuated by the Russians. Except for a few local successes the Russian army had to be content with holding the long line extending from the Gulf of Riga to Roumania.

Unable to achieve any decisive results, Tsar Nicolas seems to have sought peace with the Central Powers. But in March, 1917, a secretly organized revolution broke out, declared the Tsar deposed, and proclaimed the Republic. For some time the control of affairs lay in the hands of the more moderate Socialists, led by Kerensky. They attempted to continue the war, but the revolutionary spirit weakened discipline to such an extent that the Germans advanced almost at will. Finally, in November, 1917, the Kerensky government was overthrown by the extreme Socialists (*Bolshevists*), who repudiated Russia's obligations to the Allies and concluded peace with the Central Powers. But while fighting at the front ceased the Bolshevist

rule threw Russia into a chaos of internal strife, anarchy, and famine.

883. Other War Fronts. — The scene of the Austro-Italian war was along the mountainous frontiers of northern and eastern Venetia. Little advance was made on either side until October, 1917, when the Italians were driven back from the *Isonzo* River and the Austrians invaded Venetia as far as the Piave River. When Turkey entered the war the Allies made an attempt to strike at the heart of the Ottoman Empire by forcing the straits of the *Dardanelles* and storming Constantinople. The Turks, well supplied with German officers and equipment, defended themselves so effectively that after heavy losses the Allies were forced to give up the enterprise (December, 1915). Better results awaited the English troops operating in *Mesopotamia*. After some initial reverses they succeeded, in 1917, in ascending the Euphrates and in occupying the important city of Bagdad. The German colonies in Africa and elsewhere, cut off as they were from assistance by the mother country, one after another fell into the hands of the Allies.

Until 1918, the fortunes of war in the *Balkans* favored the Central Powers. At first Serbia was quite able to defend her territory, but, in 1915, the Austrian and German troops overran Serbia and Montenegro from the north, while a Bulgarian army invaded it from the south. The two joined hands and thus opened free communication between Turkey and her allies in the north. The disastrous end of the Allies' expedition to the Dardanelles was in part the result of their failure to give timely assistance to Serbia. Roumania, too, almost immediately after her entrance into the war shared the fate of Serbia (December, 1916). Thus the Central Powers, in 1917, controlled an area which extended from the North Sea and France to Riga and the eastern boundary of the old kingdom of Poland, and from the Baltic Sea and Mesopotamia.

884. America Enters the War. — Had the war been confined to the operations of the armies it might never have extended beyond Europe and her colonies. It was the war at sea that raised the chief problems for the world at large and in particular for the United States. Very soon after the outbreak of hostilities the Allied navies swept the German commerce off the sea. The Germans were helpless against the might of the British fleet, except for the recently invented and rapidly improved submarine. It was easy for these elusive boats to evade the British ships guarding the exits from the North Sea and to sink vessels of the Allies, and the German military authorities were determined not to be hampered by any moral considerations in the use of this weapon.

General Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American forces in France.

Making use of certain questionable features of the English blockade of German commerce the Germans established a war zone around England within which zone all enemy merchant vessels were to be sunk, whether it was always possible to save the passengers and crews or not. This was clearly a violation of international law, which permitted the sinking of merchant vessels only after all persons on board had been taken off. On February 15, 1915, the German submarines began their opera-

tions along the English and Irish coast, sometimes giving an opportunity to crew and passengers to take to the small boats, but frequently sinking them without warning and even at times shelling their helpless occupants. Thus, on May 7, the great English liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed without warning. Nearly 1200 lives of men, women, and children were lost, over a hundred of whom were Americans. This atrocious deed excited a storm of indignation, not only in England, but also in America. President Wilson protested energetically against the violation of the right of American citizens to travel in safety on merchant vessels of belligerents. After the exchange of several notes and after vain attempts of the German government to evade a definite promise, an apparent settlement was reached when Germany promised that henceforth merchant ships should not be sunk without warning. It demanded, however, as a condition for keeping this engagement that the United States should coerce England into strict observance of international law. The President declined to accept such a condition, and there the matter rested for some time.

But in January, 1917, Germany suddenly proclaimed that she would resume her unrestricted submarine warfare and sink all vessels bound for any harbor of the Allied countries. On February 1 her submarines began their activity and many vessels were sunk in the very first days. The President of the United States at once broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. He then summoned a special session of Congress and asked for a declaration of a state of war with Germany. Both Houses by large majorities passed this declaration (April 6, 1917).

The President had shown great patience before he determined upon this momentous step, but finally realized that national interest and national honor alike required America to bear no longer with German insolence and provocation. Americans had gradually reached the conviction that they could not remain indifferent to the outcome of the gigantic conflict beyond the

seas. A German victory, they saw, would mean the establishment of Germany as a world power, strong enough to impose her will on the democratic nations of the West. Such a world power, governed as it was by ambitious and unscrupulous militarists, would constitute a constant menace to other nations and eventually endanger the security of the United States. Americans saw, too, that defeat of Germany was in the interest of mankind in general, since a government which so openly violated the principles of law and honor could be made to respect them only by forcible means. Not a little fuel was added to the flame of indignation against Germany by the discovery of numerous German plots contrived for the purpose of stirring up labor troubles in American munition factories and of spreading ideas hostile to America's participation in the war. The American government even obtained possession of a note of the German Secretary of Foreign Affairs in which he instructed the German ambassador in Mexico to propose an alliance with Mexico and Japan against the United States and to offer American territory if they would attack the United States. In Germany, on the other hand, the press and the government stirred up ill feeling against America, because of American exports of supplies and munitions to the Allied countries. Although this was perfectly legitimate and has often been practiced by those who were in a position to do so, the Germans declared this unneutral and a proof of American unfairness.

When, therefore, Congress declared war it decided to make every effort toward bringing the conflict to a speedy and victorious end. Large sums of money were voted, obligatory military service was introduced, while patriotic citizens everywhere heartily coöperated with the government in creating and supporting a vast armed force worthy of America's strength and greatness.

885. Meanwhile the German submarine campaign gradually proved a failure. — True, the Allies were at times hard

pressed for the tonnage necessary for providing their civilian population with food, but the operations of their armies were never hampered for lack of ammunition and supplies. German statesmen had confidently boasted that the submarine in a few months would bring England, their principal enemy, to her knees. Instead, Germany had now to face the mighty army and the almost unlimited resources of America. The latter were at once put at the disposal of the Allies. The building of new ships was accelerated while at the same time the methods of thwarting the submarine were constantly improved. The hopes built on America animated the people of the Allied nations with new courage and banished all thought of defeat. Moreover, the public utterances of President Wilson made them see the gigantic conflict in a new light. It was to be not merely a war waged for their own immediate rights and interests, but a struggle for a new order of things in which all peoples should be emancipated from fear of unjust attacks by their neighbor, of rival schemers after world empire. Henceforth no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy. It was thus to do away with the chief cause of wars and in that sense be "a war on war."

Gradually the great American army with its perfect equipment was being landed on French soil and soon made its presence felt. Evidently with the intention of preventing concerted action and of defeating if possible the Allied forces before the Americans were completely in the field the Germans once more launched a terrific drive in northern France and Belgium, chiefly toward Amiens and Arras, March and April, 1918. After some initial successes it came to a halt without achieving anything decisive. In July another attempt farther to the east carried the German troops once more to the river Marne. This was their last success. The command of the Allied armies and the American troops had in the meantime been unified. *General*

(later *Marshal*) *Foch*, a French soldier of brilliant talent and great experience, was made commander-in-chief of all the forces on the western front. The effects of this unified command soon showed themselves. With masterly strategy Foch handled the vast armies at his disposal, now delivering a blow at one point and then suddenly at another. Thus he never gave the enemy the chance which he so often used before, of leisurely concentrating large forces at a desired point. In this last and decisive phase of the Great War an important share of the fighting fell to the American troops, and they more than fulfilled the hopes built on them. At *Château Thierry* on the Marne they brought the last German advance to a standstill, to turn it almost at once into a precipitate retreat. To the east and west of Reims, near *St. Mihiel* and in the *Argonne Forest*, they took positions that for almost four years had withstood every assault. Friend and foe alike were in admiration of the skill and heroic courage displayed by these troops who but a few months before had been without training and experience. America gratefully and proudly rejoiced over the noble deeds of her sons, who proved that they could be relied on to defend the rights and honor of their country in any emergency.

Soon the strongly fortified German lines began to crumble. By October the German armies had everywhere abandoned the positions held for the last four years. Previously, in September, 1918, Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally to an army advancing from Salonica. Then the Turk gave up the hopeless struggle. Austria followed in October after a disastrous defeat by the Italian troops. Finally, in November, Germany asked for a cessation of hostilities. On the 11th of that month she accepted an *armistice* under conditions which made it impossible for her to resume the struggle. Two days previously revolution in Germany forced the emperor to abdicate and to seek a refuge in Holland. At his fall practically all the German princes were compelled to hand over the government

of their states to hastily formed committees, made up mostly of Socialists.

886. Peace Proposals. — On different occasions during the bloody struggle more or less sincere attempts were made to bring about peace. An offer of Germany, in December, 1916, to meet her enemies in a conference was rejected by them, as manifestly insincere since it failed to state anything definite on such vital points as the evacuation of Belgium and other invaded territories. Shortly afterwards President Wilson attempted to elicit a clear statement of their aims from both sides. Germany's answer again was too vague to form the basis of further negotiations. There was, however, a widespread and intense desire for peace among the German people; it found expression in a resolution of the Reichstag, July, 1917, which favored a peace without annexations or economic restrictions. In August of the same year Pope Benedict XV sent forth a peace message in which he proposed a peace without indemnities, the evacuation of invaded territories, and negotiations concerning the boundary disputes between Austria and Italy and between France and Germany. Belgium should be restored and given full political economic independence. Germany's answer, though friendly in tone, again avoided a precise statement of its attitude toward the question of Belgium. President Wilson replied in effect that the pope's proposal would mean a return to conditions as they existed before the war. This, he said, was impossible, for the word of the "present rulers" of Germany could not be taken as a guarantee of anything that was to endure. Here, then, was an unmistakable demand to the German people to change their government, and it seems certain that it helped to bring about the revolution of November, 1918. On January 18, 1918, the President stated a program of world peace which embraced fourteen points. The chief of these were: no secret international understandings or treaties, absolute freedom of navigation of the seas in peace and war, removal of economic

barriers, reduction of armaments, impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, the restoration of Belgium, righting the wrong done to France in 1871 by the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Finally, a *general association of nations* was to be formed, "under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike." When the armistice was signed it was agreed by all that these fourteen points and other similar declarations of the President of the United States should form the basis of the peace negotiations.

887. Peace. — Soon after the signing of the armistice the President of the United States and the delegates of the Allies met in Paris to settle the various problems arising out of the war. They first agreed on the terms to be imposed on Germany. These were handed to the German delegates on May 7, 1919. After a vote taken in the National Assembly Germany accepted these terms on June 28. The chief provisions of the treaty may be summarized under the following heads:

(1) Territorial and political terms. Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France. France, too, temporarily occupies the Saar basin, that is, the mining region north of Lorraine. After fifteen years its definite political status is to be decided by a vote of the inhabitants. Two small districts between Holland and Luxemburg are to be ceded to Belgium. The city and harbor of Danzig is separated from Germany and put under international control. A strip of land along the Vistula becomes part of the new Poland. The province of Posen, parts of East Prussia and Silesia are given to Poland, either unconditionally or after the taking of a plebiscite. Likewise, the vote of the people concerned is to decide the allegiance of the Danish parts of Schleswig. All colonies and "spheres of influence" outside of Europe are to be surrendered to the Allies. (2) Military terms. Conscription within the boundaries of Germany is forbidden. The army is reduced to 200,000 men, and fortifications near the boundaries are to be destroyed. The navy is almost entirely to be surrendered to the Allies. (3) Economic terms. Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused to her former opponents. Besides handing over most of her merchant ships to re-

place those sunk by her submarines, she is to devote her resources to new construction. Commissions appointed by the Allies will from time to time decide the sums Germany is to pay to make good the damages caused by her armies. Other provisions prevent Germany from discriminating against her former opponents by high tariffs and guarantee to them freedom of transit through German territory.

The treaty with Austria was signed October 26, 1919.

Bohemia and Moravia form the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia. Galicia is restored to Poland. The Slavic portions of Hungary are joined to Serbia and, together with that state, constitute the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Southslavland). The larger portion of Transylvania is given to Roumania. Italy is enlarged by the addition of southern Tyrol, Istria with the harbor of Trieste, and strips along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. These changes reduce the former Dual Monarchy to a little state of about seven million inhabitants. The terms regarding army, navy, and indemnity are similar to those imposed upon Germany.

At the present writing many questions arising from the war still await solution. No matter what the outcome will be, to the American army and the American people belongs the proud distinction of having brought the Great War to a successful issue after having drawn the sword not for any private gain, but to vindicate their ideals of justice and freedom for all.

BOOKLIST

Modern Catholic books are marked with *. Those not thus marked are recommended for their good treatment of some political or economic subject, though they are not always reliable on religious topics.

With a few exceptions only such books are here mentioned as seem suitable for high school libraries. The prices given are to be considered as only approximate, as they are subject to frequent changes.

A. Source Material

Joinville, *Memoirs of St. Louis IX* (Various editions).

Chronicles of the Crusades. Bohn Library. $1.50.

Contains among other accounts Joinville's Memoirs of St. Louis (see above). An appendix gives extracts from an Arabian account of the crusade of Louis IX.

Giles, J. A. (Editor), *The Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England.* In the same volume: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* With notes, etc. Bohn Library. $1.50.

St. Bede died in 735. His Ecclesiastical History is at the same time the oldest history of the English nation.

Lanier (Editor), *The Boy's Froissart.* Scribners. $2.50.

Froissart (died 1404) graphically chronicles events of the fourteenth century, of many of which he was eyewitness. He is often frivolous and not always unbiased.

Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne.* American Book Co. $0.30.

Einhard (or Eginhard) was Charlemagne's friend and secretary.

Pollen, John H., S.J., *Acts of the English Martyrs Hitherto Unpublished.* Benziger. $1.50.

Robinson, James H., *Readings in European History.* Edition in 2 vols. $3. Abridged edition in one vol. Ginn. $1.50.

Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History.* 2 vols. (1650–1908). Ginn. $2.50.

These two source books are probably the most suitable for high schools. But sometimes, especially in regard to ecclesiastical abuses, the documents quoted leave a one-sided impression, — a caution which applies to some of the following source-books also.

Ogg, Frederic A., *Source Book of Medieval History.* American Book Co. $1.50.

Hill, Mabel, *Liberty Documents.* Longmans. $2.00.

Lee, Guy Carleton, *Source Book of English History.* Holt. $2.50.

West, Willis M., *Source Book in American History to 1787.* Allyn and Bacon. $1.50.

Anderson, F. M., *Constitutions and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of France.* (1789–1907.) H. W. Wilson, White Plains, N. Y. $2.00.

Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints from Original Sources. 7 vols. $1.50 each. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

B. Modern Accounts

* **Allies, Thomas William**, *The Monastic Life. From the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne.* Herder. $2.50.

While setting forth the development of monastic life and the monks' benefits to mankind, it throws light upon the conditions, religious and political, of the times.

* **Antony, C. M.**, *Jeanne D'Arc, the Maid of France.* With a preface by R. H. Benson. Herder. $0.80.

* **Belloc, H.**, *The French Revolution.* $0.50. Holt.

Good sketches of leading characters and military events.

* **Betten, Francis S., S.J.**, *A Partial Bibliography of Church History.* Sent upon application to Rev. F. W. Howard, Columbus, Ohio.

* **Blundell, Odo, O.S.B.**, *Ancient Catholic Homes of Scotland.* Benziger. $1.50.

Bryce (Viscount), (Editor), *Two Centuries of Irish History 1691–1870.* Herder. $3.60.

* **Campbell, T. J.**, *Pioneer Priests of North America.* 3 vols. $2.50 each. America Press.

* **Cannon, (Miss) Mary Agnes**, *The Education of Women during the Renaissance.* Herder. $1.50.

* **Casartelli, Rt. Rev. L. C.**, *Sketches in History.* Chiefly ecclesiastical. Benziger Bros. $1.60.

* **Catholic Truth Society**, *Catholic Biographies.* 8 vols., each, $0.75. Herder.

———, *Historical Papers.* 5 vols., each $0.60. Herder.

* **Cathrein, V.**, *Socialism.* (Tr. by Gettelman.) $1.50. Benziger Bros.

For advanced students. Contains many official pronouncements of the party and excellent criticism.

Cheyney, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England.* $1.40. Macmillan.

Cobbett, William, *History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland.* Revised with preface and notes, by F. A. Cardinal Gasquet. Herder. $0.75.

* **Conway, Bertrand, L.C.P.**, *Studies in Church History.* Herder. $0.75.

* **Crawford, V.**, *Switzerland To-day.* $1.00. Sands & Co. London.

Cunningham and McArthur, *Outlines of English Industrial History.* Macmillan. $1.50.

* **D'Alton, Canon E. A.**, *History of Ireland.* Vol. I to 1547; Vol. II, 1547–1782; Vol. III, 1782–1908. Herder. $18.00.

* **Devas, Chas. Stanton**, *Key to the World's Progress.* Longmans. $1.60; popular edition $0.20.

A brilliant philosophy of History.

* **Drane, Mother Theodosia**, *The Knights of St. John.* With an account of the Battle of Lepanto and the Siege of Vienna. Herder. $0.90.

* **Edmonds, Columba, O.S.B.**, *The Early Scottish Church.* Benziger. $1.00.

Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England.* Longmans. $3.00. Very clearly written. Gives much information on economic and constitutional matters.

* **Gasquet, Francis A.** (Cardinal), *English Monastic Life before the Reformation.* Herder. $2.00.

——— *The Eve of the Reformation.* Herder. $2.00.

——— *Parish Life in Mediaeval England.* Benziger. $2.00.

* **Gerard, J.**, *What Was the Gunpowder Plot?* Harpers. $1.00.

* **Grisar, Hartmann, S.J.**, *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages.* Herder. 3 vols. Each $4.50.

Richly illustrated with pictures and maps. The narrative covers the period from A.D. 394 to the end of the sixth century.

* **Guggenberger, Anthony, S. J.**, *A General History of the Christian Era.* 3 vols. Each $1.50. Herder.

This work will be found very useful throughout the whole course, though its arrangement is different from that of the present book.

Hayes, C., *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe.* 2 vols. $4.25. Macmillan. Vol. I, 1500–1815; Vol. II, 1815–1915.

One of the best modern histories. Fair and judicious in appraising modern movements.

Hazen, C. H., *Europe since 1815*. Holt. $3.00.

* **Hill, George J.**, *The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouanerie*. With pictures and maps. Burns and Oates, London. $0.60.

Holt and Chilton, *History of Europe from 1862 to 1914*. Macmillan. $2.50.

Narrative begins with accession of Bismarck. Emphasis on international affairs.

* **Houck, Frederick A.**, *Life of St. Gerlach*. Benziger Bros. $0.60.

Hughes, Thomas, *Alfred the Great*. Macmillan. $1.50.

* **Husslein, Jos., S.J.**, and **John C. Reville, S.J.**, *What Luther Taught*. America Press. $0.15.

* **Janssen, John**, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*. 16 vols. Each two vols. $6.25.

This monumental work covers the time of 1500–1618.

Johnston and Spencer, *Ireland's Story*. Houghton Mifflin. $1.40.

* **Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D.**, *A Short History of Ireland* to 1608. Longmans, Green, and Co. New York. $3.50.

* **Kerr, Lady Amabel**, *Joan of Arc*. Herder. $0.45.

* **Kurth, Godefroid**, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*. Translated from the French by Rt. Rev. Victor Day. Herder. $1.25.

The work of an eminent Belgian scholar.

* **Lingard's** *History of England*. Newly abridged and brought down to the accession of King Edward VII. by H. N. Birt, O.S.B. Herder. $1.00.

* **MacCaffrey, J.**, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the Revolution*. 2 vols. Each $1.75. Herder.

———, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*. 2 vols. Each $1.75. Herder.

Two scholarly works almost indispensable to the student.

* **MacCarthy, Justin**, *England in the Nineteenth Century*. Putnam's. $1.50.

Macdonald, J. R., *History of France*. 3 vols. $2.00 each. Macmillan.

Full of condensed information on political events but not reliable on religious topics.

* **McDonagh, Michael**, *Life of Daniel O'Connell*. Herder. $0.75.

Macy and Gannaway, *Comparative Free Government*. Macmillan. $2.25.

Good for a detailed description of the various European governments.

* **Maguire, J. F.**, *The Pontificate of Pius IX.* Longmans. $1.00.
A contemporary account of Italian events between 1848 and 1870.

Mallet, C. E., *The French Revolution.* Scribner. $1.00.

* **Moran, Cardinal**, *The Catholics of Ireland under the Penal Laws.* Catholic Truth Society, London. $1.00.

* **Muenchgesang, R.**, *In Quest of Truth.* Glimpses of Roman Scenes (Fiction). Herder. $0.60.

* **O'Brien, Robert Barry**, *Four Years of Irish History.* 1845–1849.

* **Parsons, R.**, *Studies in Church History.* 5 vols. Pustet.

Ploetz, *Manual of Universal History.* (Tr. by Tillinghast.) Houghton Mifflin. $3.00.
A condensed epitome, very useful for quickly finding information on facts.

Reinsch, P., *World Politics.* Macmillan. $1.25.

* **Riguet, Abbe**, *Life of St. Patrick.* Herder. $1.25.

Rose, J. H., *Life of Napoleon I.* 2 vols. in one. $3.00. Macmillan.

———, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era.* Cambridge Press. $1.25.
Perhaps the best of the shorter histories of this momentous period.

Seeley, J. R., *Napoleon I.* Little, Brown & Co. $1.50.
A sober estimate of the great Corsican.

Seignobos, C., *A Political History of Europe since 1814.* (Tr. by Macvane.) Holt. $3.00.
Very detailed on purely political matters, but little stress is laid on the economic side of recent history.

———, *The Feudal Régime.* Holt and Co. N. Y. $0.75.

* **Shahan, Rt. Rev. Thomas**, *The Beginnings of Christianity.* Benziger Bros. $2.00.

———, *The Middle Ages.* Benziger Bros. $2.00.
Both these volumes consist of excellent essays.

* **Stang, Rt. Rev. William**, *Martin Luther,* Fr. Pustet, Cincinnati. $0.25.

———, *Socialism and Christianity.* Benziger. $1.00.
Very well suited for high school students.

* **Stone, J. M.**, *The Church in English History.* Herder. $0.60.

———, *Studies in Court and Cloister.* Herder. $1.50.
Essays dealing mainly with subjects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

* **Taylor, John Francis**, *Life of Owen Roe O'Neill.* Fisher Unwin Co. New York.

* **Walsh, James J.**, *The Century of Columbus.* (1450–1550.) Herder. $2.00.

————, *The Thirteenth the Greatest of Centuries.* Herder. $3.50.

* **Willibald**, *Life of St. Boniface.* (Translated by G. W. Robinson.) Harvard University Press. $1.15.

* **Wiseman, Nicholas** (Cardinal), *Fabiola, or; The Church of the Catacombs.*

The classical novel on the early Church. Benziger. $0.50 to $1.50.

Woodward, W. H., *Expansion of the British Empire.* 1500–1902. Putnam. $1.00.

* **Wyatt-Davis, E.**, *History of England.* Benziger. $0.85.

Zimmern, H., *The Hansa.* Putnam. $1.50.

Catholic Church Histories

Alzog, John, *Manual of Universal Church History*, 3 vols. Benziger. $8.00.

Brothers of Mary, (Dayton), *Church History.* Herder. $0.75.

With glossary of technical terms.

Brueck, H., *History of the Catholic Church.* 2 vols. Benziger. $3.00.

Sisters of Notre Dame, *Compendium of Church History.* Herder. $0.75.

With sketch of Church History of the United States.

Wedewer, H. and McSorley, Jos., *A Short History of the Church.* Herder. $1.00.

INDEX

INDEX

The index may be utilized for reviews upon "cross-topics," or topics that call for an arrangement different from that of the text, or for the writing of essays or "reports" on such topics.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Pronunciation, except for familiar names and terms, is shown by division into syllables and accentuation. When diacritical marks for English names are needed, the common marks of Webster's Dictionaries are used. *German and French pronunciation* can be indicated only imperfectly to those who are not familiar with the languages; but attention is called to the following marks: the soft aspirated guttural sound *g* of the German is marked G; the corresponding *ch* (as in *ich*) is marked K; the sound of the nasal French *n* is marked *ñ*: for the German *a* and *au* the equivalents are indicated, to prevent confusion with English *ă*; *ö* is always the German letter; and *ü* is the German diphthong or the equivalent French *u*.

Aachen (äK′en), see *Aix La Chapelle.*
Aargau (är′gou), 816.
Abbot, term explained, 59.
Abdul-Hamid (ăb-dōōl-hă-mēd′), 851.
Ăb′e-lärd, Peter, 272 note.
Absentee landlords, 392, 738.
Absolutism in government, in England under Norman kings, 160; under Tudors and Stuarts, 301, 424; growth of, in France, 296; in Spain, 318; in Germany, 362; general in sixteenth century, 475; decline, see *Liberalism;* surviving in Europe in Albania and Montenegro, 855; vanishing even in Asia, 874.
Abyssinia, Italy in, 825.
Accident Insurance, see *Social Insurance.*
Accolade, 136.
Acre, 243, 245.
Act of Settlement (English), 460.
Act of Supremacy (English), 372, 385.
Act of Uniformity (English), 456.
Act of Union (England and Scotland), 486.
Adalbert, St., 247.
Adelheid, St. (äd′el-hīt), 201.
Adrian IV, Pope, 208, note 1.
Adrianople, in Balkan War, 1813, 853, 854.
Ăf-ghăn-is-tan′, 863.
Africa, northern, prosperity under Romans, 26; Moors in, 72; Europe expands into, 861–862; see *Algeria, Egypt*, etc.
Agincourt (äj′in-kōrt, or, Fr., ä-zhäñ-koor′), battle of, 294.
"Agreement of the People," 448, 453.
Agriculture, monastic, in seventh century, 60; in Charlemagne's day, 89; in age of Feudalism, 129; revolution in, in England, eighteenth century, 646; in France, 770; in Russia, 832.
Aidan, St., 112.
Aix La Chapelle (āks-lä-shä-pĕl′), capital of Charlemagne's empire, 91.
Ăl′aric, 51.
Alban, St., 109.
Albania, 320; kingdom of, 854.
Albert the Great, Bl., 273.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Albigĕn'sēs, 193.
Albrecht of Brandenburg, 347, note, 354; of Brandenburg-Ansbach, 370.
Älcälä', University of, 350.
Älemanni (-än'-nē), 52, 62; conquered by Clovis, 69; see Suabia.
Alexander the Great, 16.
Alexander III, Pope, 170, 208.
Alexander VI, 348.
Alexander I, Tsar, and Napoleon, 598, 599, 601; and Congress of Vienna, 615; and Holy Alliance, 619, 4; policy, 839.
Alexander II, Tsar, 839; **A. III**, 839.
Alexandria, in Egypt, under Rome, 27, 29; Patriarchate of, 41, note.
Alfred the Great, 115.
Algē'ria and France, 638, 666, 771.
Äl-häm'brä, 74.
Ällăh, explanation of term, 71.
Alphonso XII, 802; **A. XIII**, 802.
Alsäce', 197; acquisition by French begun, 366, 412; completed, 480; see *Lorraine;* Prussian demands for, 618; lost by France, 713; recovered by France, 887.
Alva, Duke of, 402.
Ä-mä-de'o, prince, 801.
America, discovery, 344; expansion of Europe into, 469 ff.; Spain in, (405) 470; France in, 472; England in, 473, 474; and European wars in eighteenth century, 482, 495–497; and Holy Alliance, 633; and the Industrial Revolution, 647–652; and world politics, 864; in Great War, 884 ff.
American Revolution, 497; and French Revolution, 507; and English Reform, 716; effect on Ireland, 739.
Amiens (äm-yăñ'), Peace of, 586.
Ancient History, term explained, page 1.
Angelico, Fra, 343.
An'ge-vins, Kings of England, see *Plantagenet;* Kings of the Two Sicilies, 216, 298.
Angles, in Britain, 52, 110.
Anglican Orders, 385, note.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the, 263.
Anjou (än-shoō), see *Angevins.*
Anne, Queen of England, 464, 465, 482.
Anne of Cleves, 378.
Anselm, St., 280.
Ansgar, St., 102.
Antioch, Patriarchate of, 41, note; conquered in Crusades, 238.
Aquitaine (äk-wĭ-tān'), in Merovingian kingdom, 73; English, 167; won back by France, 285, 297; Dukedom of, 188, 280 ff., 284.
Arabesques, term explained, 74.
Arabia, before Mohammed, 71; see *Saracen, Mohammedan.*
Arabic Numbers, 74.
Aragon, origin, 318; acquires Sicily, 216; united with Castile, 318.
Arbitration, between nations, 873.
Arc, Joan of, 294, 295.
Archbishops, origin, 41, note.
Architecture, feudal, 126, 128; Mohammedan, 74; Basilica style, Byzantine, Romanesque (Norman), 277; Gothic, 278; Renaissance, 343.
Ärgonne' Forest, 885.
Ā'rĭanism, 41; adopted by Teutons, 42, 51.
Ā'rius, 41.
Är'istŏtle, 14; authority in Middle Ages, 271.
Arkwright, Richard, 644.
Ärmä'dä, Spanish, 404, 478.
Armaments, increase after 1870, 779, 872.
Armenia, reconquered by Greek Empire, 235.
Arminianism, 437.
Armor, feudal, 126.
Armō'rica, 111.
Arnold of Brescia (brĕ'shĭă), 208.
Arnulph the Carin'thian, 99, 104, 108.
Arräs', 881, 885.
Arthur, King, Legends of, 116, note.
Ā'ryans, 4.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Aspern, battle of, 603.
Assignat (äs-in-yä′), 550.
Assize of Arms, 168, 182.
Astu′ria, 318.
Athelstan the Glorious, 116.
Athens, under Rome, 29.
Attila, 53.
Augsburg Confession (ougs′-boorg), 367, note; Religious Peace of, 366, 412.
Augustine, St., of Canterbury, 112.
Augustus, Roman Emperor, 19, 23.
Austerlitz (ous′-), battle of, 598.
Australia, becomes English, 497; Commonwealth of, 756.
Austria, foundation of duchy of, 200; given to Hapsburgs, 309; head of Holy Roman Empire, 512; and Turks, 365, 412, 501–503; and Switzerland, 314; and Burgundy with Netherlands, 316; acquires Hungary and Bohemia, 367; and Frederic the Great, 494, 496; system of administration, 500; and the Turks, 501–503; and Poland, 506; and the French Revolution, 554, 557, 559, 580; and Napoleon I, 581 ff.; and Congress of Vienna, 614, see *Metternich*; and Revolution of 1848, 682 ff.; composite nature of empire, 683; crushes Hungary, 685; crushes attempt at German unity, 684; and Bismarck, 703 ff.; Danish War, 704; Six Weeks' War, 705, 706; expelled from Germany, 707; see *Austria-Hungary*.
Austria-Hungary, creation of dual state, 793; government, 794; race question in, 795; manhood suffrage, 796; in the Great War, 876 ff.
Austrian Succession, War of, 494.
Ävärs′, 104.
Avignon (ä′vē-nyoñ), Papacy at, 328; annexed by France, 551.

Babylonians, civilization of, 7, 9.
Bacon, Francis, 388; Roger, friar, 275, 344.
Bägdäd′, Caliphate, 74.
Balance of Power, 476; wars to maintain, 479 ff.
Baldwin of Flanders, king of Jerusalem, 239.
Balkan States, 844 ff.; Turks in, 844; first three to win freedom, 845; "Eastern Question," 846, 849; Russian-Turkish War, 847; Balkan War, 853; see *Greece*, *Albania*, *Bulgaria*, *Montenegro*, *Roumania*, *Serbia*.
Barbarian Invasions: Scythians, 11; Teutons in fourth and fifth centuries (31), 50–55; Huns, 49, 53; Slavs, 49, 53; Hungarians, 49, 108, 199, 200; Mohammedans, 72, 73; Tartars in Age of Crusades, 214; Norse, 101, 102.
"**Barrack Emperors**," 23.
"**Bartholomew's Night**," massacre of, 406.
Bä′sel, Council of, 333.
Bä′sil, St., 59.
Basil II, Greek Emperor, 235.
Bästille (bäs-teel′), fall of, 537.
Bavaria, conquered by Franks, 69, 84; stem duchy of Germans, 197; see *Germany*.
Bayeux (bäi-û′) Tapestry, 132.
Beaton, Cardinal, 393.
Becket, Thomas à, St., 169, 170.
Beet Sugar, 601.
Belgium, part of Burgundian Netherlands, 316; separate group of provinces, 502; overrun by French, 563; annexed to Holland, 615; revolution of 1830, 642; present constitution, 810; kulturkampf, 811; and war of 1914, 879 ff.
Bel′grade, capture of, 503.
Belisarius, 64.
Benedict, St., 59.
Benedict XIII, anti-pope, 333.
Benefice, feudal, 119; plurality of ecclesiastical, 347.
Benefit of Clergy, 143; struggle over, in England, 169, 170.
"**Benevolences**," 302; and Charles I, 431.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Bĕréngar, emperor, 98; king of Italy, 201.
Berlin, and Napoleon I, 599; revolution of 1848, 686; Congress of (1878), 848.
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux, 150 *a*; and Crusades, 240, 242; and Abelard, 272, note.
Bethmann-Hollweg, 880.
Bible, as source of history, 1; Wyclif's translation, 288; polyglot edition of, 350; Luther's German, 359, note; and Henry VIII, 373, note.
Bill of Rights, 460; and results, 462, 463.
Bills, origin of, in parliament, 292, 9.
Bishops, origin of office, 21; during time of later Carolingians, 100; appointment of, 142; revenues of, 142; in the French Constitution of 1791, 551; see *Clergy*.
Bismarck, Otto von, and making of Germany, 703 ff.; and kulturkampf, 782; and German colonies, 789; and Socialism, 785.
Black Death, 286.
Black Hole, at Calcutta, 498.
Black Prince, the, 283, 290.
"**Black Rent**," 307.
Blanc, Louis (bläñ), 668, 670.
Blen'heim (blĕn'im), Battle of, 482.
Blois (blwä), 187.
Blücher (blü'ker), 617.
Boccaccio (bok-kät'sho), 338.
Boers, and England, 755.
Boethius (bo-ē'thee-us), 58.
Bohemia, 103; and Rudolph of Hapsburg, 309; and Hussites, 332, 334, 335; under Charles IV, 311; Revolution of 1848, 683; after '48, 793, 795.
Bo'leslaus (-lous) **I**, Chrobry, 104.
Boleyn (bool'in), Anne, 372, 378.
Bolingbroke, 520.
Bologna (-on'ya), university of, 267.
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 570, 583; in Italy, 581, 582; overthrows Directory, 585; see *Napoleon*.
Bonaventure, St., 276.
Boniface, St., 76.
Boniface VIII, Pope, 185, 327.
Borodino (-dee'no), battle of the, 610.
Boroughs, origin of, 154.
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 847, 848.
Bossuet (bŏs-süā'), 485, 523.
Bothwell, Earl of, 394.
Boulanger (bōō-läñ-zhā'), 765.
Boulogne (boo-loñ'), Napoleon at, 598.
Bourbon (boor-boñ'), Royal House of, 407 ff.
Bourdaloue (boor-dä-loo'), 485.
Bouvines (boo-veen'), battle of, 213.
Boxers, Chinese, 866.
Boyne, battle of, 467.
Brandenburg (brän'dĕn-boorG), origin, 200; Hohenzollerns in, 333, note; acquisition of Prussia, 370; growth under Great Elector, 412, 493; Elector of, assumes title of King of Prussia, 493; see *Prussia*.
Bré'beuf (brebŏf'), 471.
Bretigny (brĕ-tīn-yē'), peace of, 284.
Bretwaldas, the, 113.
Brian Boru, 102.
Brief, papal, term explained, 141.
Bright, John, 735.
Britain, under Roman Empire, 109; Saxon conquest, 110, 111; Christianized, 112; see *England*.
Brittany, 111 (2), 188, 192.
Bruce, Edward, 305; Robert, 275.
Brunetto, Latini, 275.
Bruno, St., 150 *a*.
Brunswick, Duke of, 560.
Buckingham, Duke of, 430, 431, 432.
Bulgaria, 53; conquered by Greek Empire, 235; by Turks, 319; and Congress of Berlin, 848; and Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, 853–854; and Great War, 880.
Bull, papal, term explained, 141.
Bundesrath (boon'des-rät), German, 775.
Bundschuh (boond-shoo), 361.
Burgundians, 47; invasions by, 51; conquered by Franks, 69.
Burgundy, Carolingian kingdom, 98, 206; later meaning of term, division

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

of Burgundies, 316; Dukedom of Burgundy, 297, 316; County of, 479.
Byron, Lord, and Greek freedom, 634.
Byzan'tine Empire; see *Greek Empire*.
Byzantinism, see *Church*.

Cabinet, government, in England, 463–465.
Cæsar, Julius, 19.
Calais (kă-lā'), captured by England, 283; recovered by France, 383; in Great War, 881.
Cā'lĭphs, 72.
Calixtus II, Pope, 229; **C. III**, 320.
Calmar, Union of, 322.
Calonne (kă-lon'), 528.
Calvin, John, and Calvinism, 369, 370; see *Huguenots*, *Presbyterianism*, *Puritanism*.
Campion, Bl. Edmund, 386.
Campo Formio, Peace of, 581.
Canada, Dominion of, 754, 756.
Canals and locks, 646.
Canning, and the New World, 643.
Cannon, first use of, 283.
Canon, term explained, 142, note; Canon Law, 63.
Canossa, Henry IV at, 228; and Bismarck, 783, 784.
Capet (kă-pā'), Hugh, 188; tables of Capetians, 189, 281, note; 407, note.
Capitalism, 655–659.
Capitularies, of Charlemagne, 90.
Capuchins (kap-yu-sheens'), 398.
Carbonari (-nä'ree), 630, 632, 640.
Cardinals, 141, 225, 348.
Carlowitz, Peace of, 503.
Carlsbad (karls'băd), Decrees of, 627, 635.
Carnot (kär-nō'), 569, 571.
Carolingians, Accession, 77; later Carolingians, 97–100, 188, 197; see *Charlemagne*.
Carrier (kă-rē-ā'), 572.
Carthusians, 150 *a*.
Cartwright, Edmund, 647.
Castile (kas-teel'), 318.
Castles, medieval, 126.
Catacombs, 39.
Cathedral, term explained, 142, note.
Catherine II, of Russia, 491; and Poland, 506; and Jesuits, 523, note; of Aragon, 371 ff.; of Medici, 406.
Catholicism, see *Church*.
Cavaignac (kă-vän-yăk'), 673, 674, 676.
Cavaliers, 442.
Cavour (kă-voor'), 679, 694 ff.
Caxton, Wm., 341.
Celts, 4; in the Roman Empire, 44, 56; in Ireland, 45; and Franks in Gaul, 69; and Anglo-Saxons, 110, 111; see *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brittany*.
Centralization in Government, Roman, 33; English, 157, 160; French in 1798, 513, 514; Napoleon's, 588; French after 1815, 636; Russian, 836.
Cervantes (ser-văn'tes), 138.
Chaldeans (-dee'ans), 7.
Chambord (shäñ-bor'), Count of, 761.
Champagne (shampān'), 188, 192.
Champlain, 471.
Champs de Mars (shŏñ de märce'), Massacre of, 547.
Chapter, Cathedral, term explained, 142, note.
Charlemagne (shär'le-mān), 82 ff., character of his wars, 83; his wars, 84, 85; union of German peoples, 84; and Roman Empire, 86, 87, 88; civilization in his time, 89; government, 90; education, 91; place in history, 92.
Charles IV, Emperor, King of Bohemia, 311.
Charles V, Emperor, inheritance, 359; and Lutheranism, 359, 363, 366; wars, 364–366; abdication, 367.
Charles I, of England, 429–446; and Ireland, 449; **Ch. II**, 451, 453–459.
Charles V, of France, 285; **Ch. VII**, 294–296, 319; **Ch. VIII**, 298; **Ch. X**, 637 ff.
Charles I, of Spain, see *Charles V, Emperor*; **Ch. II**, 482.
Charles XII, of Sweden, 490.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Charles Albert, of Sardinia, 692 ff.
Charles Martel (märtĕl′), 70; and the Mohammedan power, 73, 75.
Charles of Anjou, 216.
Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, 316; **Ch. the Fat**, Emperor, 99; **Ch. the Simple**, 102.
Château-Thierry (shä-tō-tĭ-er-rĭ′), 885.
Child Labor, in England, 658; prohibition of, 733.
China, known to missionaries in thirteenth century, 344; war with Japan, 865; "opening of," by European powers, 866; Republic, 874.
"**Chronicles**," 263.
Church. I. *Origin and Government:* 20, 21, 42, note; 141–143.
II. *Extension:* first extension, 37, 38; further development, 41; propagation in Ireland, 42; in Persia, 42; among Germans on border of empire, 42; among the Franks, 69; in Germany, 76, 84; among Northmen, 102; southern Slavs, 103; Moravians, 104; northwestern Slavs, 106, 200, 250; Poland, 107; Hungary, 108; Anglo-Saxons, 112; Prussians, 247; Lithuanians, 321; in New World, 398.
III. *Influence:* life of Christians, 21; Ch. and Slavery, 41; people in Middle Ages, 144–150; charity, 21, 145, 257; penance, 146, 147; veneration of Saints, 148; chivalry, Christian, 137; the gilds, 257; Ch. saves civilization, 57–62; a bond of union, 139; Ch. and rising nations, 140, 57, 69, 76, note, 77, 100, 102, 107, 108, 112, 127; contributions to Western civilization, 95; see also *Monasticism;* Ch. in nineteenth century, 625; and Social Question, 663.
IV. *Obstacles:* persecutions in first centuries, 39; in England, 374, 386; in Ireland, 391 ff.; in French Revolution, 551; in Germany, 625, 782–784; heresies of Arius, 40 (41); of Albigenses, 235; Wyclif and Lollards, 288, 289; Hussites, 332, 334, 335; Protestants, see *Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Church of England;* see also *Inquisition;* Eastern Schism, 235; Great Western Schism, 329–333; Ch. supported by secular powers, 40, 76, 78–81, 84, 86–88, 91, 102–108, 115, 159, 359, 380–384, 405; Ch. interfered with by secular powers, 63, note, 94, 220, 226–230; Gallicanism, 523; Josephism, 504; "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," 550; Evils in the Church: during Wandering of Nations, 55, 57; in Middle Ages, 219–223; at the time of Reformation, 346–348; true reform, 219, 231–234, 346, 349–352, 398.
Church of England, established, 372–377; under Edward VI, 379; suppressed by Mary, 380–384; restored by Elizabeth, 385; Presbyterian during the Civil War, 445, 448; Episcopalianism restored, 456; condition in early nineteenth century, 734; disestablished in Ireland, 737, 745.
Cid, Song of the, 264.
Cinque (sănk) **Ports**, 259.
Circuit Judges, in England, origin, 173.
Cisalpine Republic, 582.
Cistercians, 106, 130.
Cities, see *Towns*.
"**Civil Constitution**" of French clergy, 550.
Civilization, before and after the Deluge, 5; of Babylonians and Assyrians, 7; of Egyptians, 9; of Persians, 11; of Greece, 13–15; of Rome, 19, 25–36; of Celto-Romans, 44, 56; of ancient Irish, 45; of Teutons, 46–48; how preserved in Migration of Nations, 56 ff.; merits of Church in preserving civilization, 57–62.
Claire, St., 233.
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 169.
Clement V, Pope, 246, 328.
Clement VII, anti-pope, 329.
Clement VII, Pope, 364.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Clergy, privilege of, 143.
Clerics, term explained, 142, note.
Clermont, Council of, 237.
Clive, Robert, 498.
Clontarf, battle of, 102 (2).
Clothilda, 69.
Clovis, King, 54, 69.
Cluny, Monastery of, 150; and Reform of, 102 (3), 152, 159, 224.
Cobden, Richard, 735.
Code Napoleon, 591.
Colbert (kōlber'), 478.
Colet, John, 338.
Coligny (ko-le-nye), 406, note.
Columbanus, St., 62, 58.
Columbus, and America, 344.
Commendation, 119.
Commerce, in Roman Empire, 28; revival of, as result of Crusades, 252; and towns, 254, 257 III, 259 ff.; and colonies, 857–860.
Committee of Public Safety, 569–577.
Common Law, the English, 173.
Common Life, Brethren of, 351.
Common Pleas, Court of, 181.
Common Prayer, Book of, 379, 385.
Commons, House of, origin, 184.
Commonwealth, English, 447.
Commune, of Paris, in French Revolution, 561, 562, 568, 574, 575, 576; in 1871, 758–760.
Compass, invention of, 275, 342.
Concordat, French, of 1801, 598; abolished, 767; of Worms, 229.
Confederacy of the Rhine, under Napoleon, 607.
Confessor, term explained, 152, note 2.
Congo Free State, 862.
"Congregations" of Cardinals, 324, note.
Conrad I, King of Germany, 198; **C. II**, Emperor, 207; **C. III**, 208.
Conradin, last of the Hohenstaufens, 216.
Conservatives, an English Party, 722.
Constantine the Great, 24, 40.
Constantinople, capital of Roman Empire, 40; of "Greek" Empire, 45, 94; the most civilized city of Middle Ages, 94, 235; patriarchate of, 41, note; repels Saracens, 73; captured by Turks, 319.
Continental System, of Napoleon, 601.
Conventicle Act, 456.
Copenhagen, bombardment of, 601.
Copernicus, 345, 351.
Cordova, Caliphate of, 74, 93.
Corneille (kŏr-nā'y), 485.
Corn Laws, Repeal of, 735.
Corporation Act, 456.
Corsica, 583.
Corvée (kŏr-vā'), 519.
Cotton Gin, 647.
County Councils, in England, 727.
Coup d'état (koo-dĕ-tä'), 585, 676.
"Court," term explained, 155, note; feudal court, 121 (2); of the manor, 131; King's Court, in England, 163, 173; division of King's C., 181.
Covenanters, 437.
Cranmer, Archbishop, 372; and Book of Common Prayer, 379.
Crécy (krĕs'si), battle of, 283.
Crete, center of civilization, 12; and the Turks, 850.
Crimē'an War, 679; and Italy, 695.
Croats (krō'äts), 795.
Crompton, Samuel, 647.
Cromwell, Oliver, and Civil War, 444: strife with parliament, 446; and Rump, 446; in Ireland, 450; Protector, 453.
Crusades, origin and nature, 237; First Crusade, 238; Kingdom of Jerusalem and other "Latin" states, 239; Knightly Orders, 240; letters from Crusaders, 241; second Cr., 242; third Cr., 243; fourth Cr., 244; destruction of Greek Empire, 244; other Crusades, 245; further history of the Knightly Orders, 246–247; results of Crusades, military, 249; for the Church, 250; intellectual, 251; commercial, 252; political, 253.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Cū'nēiform Writing, 7.
Curials, in later Roman Empire, 34.
Custine (küs-teen'), 566.
Custozza (-stot'sa), battle of, 692, 706.
Cyprus, Kingdom of, 245.
Cyrillus and Methodius, Saints, 104.
Cyrus the Great, 11, 10.
Czechs (cheks), 103, 795.

Daguerre'otype, 652.
D'Alembert (däl-añ-ber'), 521.
Damietta, 245.
Danelaw (or Danelagh), 115, 153.
Danes, see *Northmen*.
Danish War, in 1864, 704.
Dante, 265.
Danton (dañ-toñ'), 556, 561, 562–564, 568, 569, 575.
"Dark Ages," 57, note.
"Dauphin," 294.
David, King, 10.
Decius, Emperor, 23.
"Declaration of Indulgence," 456, 459.
Deluge, 3; civilization before and after, 5.
Democracy, in Teutonic nations, 67, 95 (*d*); see *Liberalism*.
Denmark, empire in eleventh century, 151; later, 322; becomes Lutheran, 370; and Napoleon, 601; and Congress of Vienna, 615; historical review, 821; constitution in 1866, 822.
Desmoulins (dā-mōō-lăñ'), **Camille'**, 536, 575.
Diaz (dē-äs'), **Bartholomew**, 344.
Diderot (dē-drō'), 521.
Di-o-cle-tian, Emperor, 24, 32; edict on prices and wages, 35; persecutes Christians, 39.
Directory, the French, and Napoleon, 580–585.
Disraeli (dĭz-rā'lĭ), Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield, 722, 737.
Dissenters, 456; recover political rights, 717.
Divine Right Theory, of the Stuarts, 425, note, 428.
Domesday Book (dōōms-), 162.
Domestic System, in manufactures, 654.
Dominicans, 234.
"Do-Nothing" Kings, 70.
Drake, Sir Francis, 404, 473.
Dramatics, during Middle Ages, 256, note.
Drogheda (drō'ĕ-dä), Massacre of, 450.
Dumouriez (dü-mōō-rē-ā'), 563, 566.
Duns Scotus, 276.
Dupleix (dü-plā'), 495.
Dürer, Albert, 343.

East Anglia, 110.
East Goths, 56, 64.
Eastern Empire, see *Greek Empire*.
Ebro, 84.
Edessa, 238.
Edgar the Peaceful, 116, 151.
Edgehill, battle of, 443.
Edward I, of England, 180; and judiciary, 181; and feudalism, 182; and parliament, 183–185; **E. II**, 186; **E. III**, 280 ff., 290, 292; **E. IV** and **V**, 300; **E. VI**, 377, 379; **E. VII**, 308, 872.
Edward the Confessor, 152.
Egbert of Wessex, 113.
Egypt, ancient civilization, 8, 9; St. Louis in, 245; Napoleon in, 584; revolt from Turkey, 666; English Protectorate, 753.
"Electors," of Holy Roman Empire, 311.
Eliot, Sir John, 430, 433, 437.
Elizabeth, of England, 383, note, 385–389; of Russia, 491, 496; of Thuringia, St., 214.
Emigrants, French, 542, 554, 589.
Ems dispatch, 710.
Enclosures, see *Inclosures*.
Encyclicals, papal, term explained, 141 (1).
Encyclopedists, French, 521.
England, see *Britain*. Britain be-

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

comes England, 113; Alfred the Great, 115; his successors, 116; part of Knut's empire, 151; first Norman influence, 152; Norman Conquest, 153; Saxon local institutions, 154, 155; Norman centralization and Feudalism, 157, 158; Church in Norman England, 159; strife over investiture, 230; results of Conquest, 160, 161; the Norman kings, 162–165; Henry II, 166 ff.; French possessions of, 167; weakening of feudalism, 168; and the Church, St. Thomas à Becket, 169, 170; expedition to Ireland, 171, 172; administration of Justice, 173, 174; Richard I, 176; John (Lackland), 177, 178; Magna Carta, 178; Henry III, 179; Edward I, 180 ff.; wars, 180; judicial reforms, 181; further weakening of feudalism, 182; beginnings of Parliament, 183; the Model Parliament, 184; "No Taxation without Representation," 185; Edward III and Hundred Years' War, 280 ff.; first two periods of the war, 280–285; Black Death, 286; disappearance of serfdom begins, 287; Wyclif and Lollards, 288, 289; Richard II, 290 ff.; Rising of 1381 (Wat Tyler), 292; growth of Parliament, 292; Henry IV, 292; third and fourth periods of Hundred Years' War under Henry V and VI, 294 ff.; Joan of Arc, 294, 295; Wars of the Roses, 299–301; their results: the New Monarchy, 301–303; English power in Ireland, 304–307; the Reformation in England, under Henry VIII, 371 ff.; suppression of monasteries, 375–377; Edward VI, 379; Mary the Catholic, 380–384; Elizabeth, 385 ff.; material prosperity, 388; religious and political interference in Ireland, 390–392; "Plantations," 392; English influence in Scotland, 393, 394; defeat of the Armada, 404.

Summary for 1450–1600, 413 ff.; inclosures, 415; rise of towns, 415, 416, 419; manufactures and trade, 416, 417; Puritanism, 420, 423; political conditions, under the Tudors, 424; under James I and Charles I, 425 ff.; the nation's hope, 426; struggle between parliament and James I, 428; Charles I and his early parliaments, 429–433; Petition of Right, 432; 11 years of "No Parliament," 434; Long Parliament, 438 ff.; Civil War, 441–445; Commonwealth, 447; Protectorate, 453; Cromwell in Ireland, 449; Restoration, 453, 454; Charles II, 454 ff.; policy, 456, 457; rise of political parties, 458; James II, 459 ff.; Revolution of 1688, 460; results, 462 ff.; fate of Dissenters and Catholics, 462, 466; ministerial government, 463, 464; the early Georges, 465; society in eighteenth century, 461; expansion to Great Britain, 468; in America, 473–474; and in eighteenth century wars, 482, 494–497; loss of American colonies, 494; and wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 566, 580, 584–586, 597 ff.; Napoleon's Continental System, 601; victory over Napoleon, 610–613; gains in 1814, 615; against Holy Alliance at Troppau, 631; checks attempt of Holy Alliance upon Spanish America, 633; and Industrial Revolution, 644–659; review of eighteenth century reaction, 715; pocket boroughs, 715; attempts at reform to 1815, 716; penal code and reform, 717; political rights restored to Dissenters, 717; reform bill of 1832, 718, 719; ministerial government confirmed, 720; Victorian Age, 721; political leaders, 722; agitation for extension of franchise, 723; Chartists, 724; reform bill of 1867, 725; of 1884, 726; local government reform, 727; the British Constitution, 728 ff.; social reform in nineteenth century, 732 ff; factory reform, 733; "Oxford movement," 734; corn law repeal, 735; free

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

trade, 736; Gladstone's ministry of 1867–1874 (schools, disestablishment, etc.), 737; Disraeli's aggressive foreign policy, '74–'80, 737; England and Ireland, 738 ff.; Home-Rule struggle, 746 ff.; colonial empire, 749 ff.; self-government, 751; colonial federation, 756; imperial federation, 757; alliances of the New Age, 872; enters the Great War, 879.
English language, 161.
Era, Christian, 88, note; French Revolutionary, 574.
Escheat (ĕs-cheet'), term explained, 119, 121 (3).
Estate, in politics, term explained, 184, note.
Estates General, French, 195, 296, 477.
Ethelred the Redeless, 151.
Eugene, Prince, 482, 503.
Evans, Oliver, inventor, 650.
Eves'ham, battle of, 179.
Exarch of Ravenna, 64.
Exchequer (-cheker), Court of, 181.
Excommunication, 147.

Factory System, 654–658; factory reform, 733.
Falkirk, battle of, 182.
Falkland, Lord, 439.
Fatimites, 236.
Fénelon (-loñ'), 485.
Fenians, 744.
Ferdinand I, Emperor, 363, 367; **F. II** and **III**, 409.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 298, 318; **F. VII** of Spain, 629; **F.** of Naples, 632.
Ferdinand, Archduke, murder of, 876.
Feudalism, 117 ff.; the system explained, 118, 119; origin, 123, 124; fief, lord, vassal, investiture, subinfeudation, subvassal, homage, escheat, 118; the working and the fighting class, 122; castles, armor, etc., 126; private wars, 127; life in feudal times, 128–138; in the manor, 128–131; of the nobility, 132–138; chivalry, 136, 137; feudalism weakened, in England, 158, 168, 182, 301; in France, 194; in Sicily, 214; in Spain, 319; generally by Crusades, 253; by rise of infantry, 208, 283, 284, 314, 315, 360.
Fief, 118.
Finland, conversion 250; part seized by Russia, 491; all ceded to Russia, 615 ff.; attempts to Russianize, 837, 838; diet of 1907, 838.
Fisher, Blessed, John, bishop, 338, 374.
Fitch, John, inventor, 650.
Fitzgeralds, revolt of the, 391.
Five Members, 441.
Flanders, 188, 192, 316.
Florence and the Medici, 259.
Florida, ceded to England, 497.
Foch (fōsh), French Marshal, 885.
Folkmoots, 67, 152 note; in Switzerland, 815; 818.
Fortescue, Sir John, 414.
Fourier (fōō-ri-ā'), 661.
France, West-Frankish Kingdom, 98, 99; accession of Capetians, 188; nature of first kingship, 190; growth of territory, 192, 193; growth of royal power, 194, 196; Estates General, 195, 296; Hundred Years' War, 282 ff.; territorial growth completed, 297; growth of absolutism, 296, 297; wars of Francis I, 364; abandons Italy for expansion towards the Rhine, 367; religious wars in, 406; under Henry IV, 407; and Richelieu, 408; Thirty Years' War, 408, 412; under Louis XIV, 478–486; seizure of new territory, 479; intellectual leadership, 484; wars with Frederick the Great, 494 ff.; in America, 471, 472; wars for America, 495–497; loss of America, 497. See *French Revolution* and *Napoleon*. After 1814, charter, 636; Charles X, 367 ff.; struggle against despotism, 638 ff.; Revolution of 1830, 640; Louis Philippe, 640; liberal constitution, 641;

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

reaction of Revolution upon Europe, 642, 643; Orleans monarchy, 665; overthrown by Revolution of 1848, 667 ff.; influence of Industrial Revolution upon France, 668; national workshops in 1848, 671, 673; overthrown, 673. See *Napoleon III.*
Franco-German war, 735 ff.; Third Republic, 786; peace, with loss of Alsace-Lorraine, 789; the Paris Commune, 791, 792; attempts to restore monarchy, 793–798; presidency of Thiers, 762; of MacMahon, 762; the Constitution, 763–764; Republicanism victorious, 762; France today, 766 ff.; stability and progress, 765; Church and State, 766–767; administration, 768; schools, 769; advance in industry, 770; wealth and its distribution, 770; colonies, 771; recent international relations, 871, 872; entrance into Great War, 879; acquisitions from Germany in peace of 1919, 887.
Francis, St., 233.
Francis II, Emperor (Fr. I of Austria), 555, 605, 607.
Francis Joseph, of Austria, 685.
Francis I, of France, 364.
Francis of Sickingen, 360.
Francis Xavier, Saint, 398.
Franciscans, 233, 250, 344.
Franconia, 197.
Frankfort Parliament, of 1848, 687.
Franks, 47; rise and conquests, 52, 69; Mayors of the Palace of, 70, 73, 75–77. See *Carolingians*, *Charlemagne.*
Frederick I, Barbarossa, Emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 208–210; as Crusader, 209, 243; **Frederick II**, Emperor, 213–215.
Frederick II, the Great, 476, 494, 496, 499, 505, 506.
Frederick III, 493.
Frederick William, the Great Elector, 493; **F. W. IV**, 686 ff., 701.
Free-Thinkers, 520.
French and Indian War, 496, 497.
French Revolution of 1789, 507 ff.; a true revolution, 507; abuses leading to, 508 ff.; government's need of money, 517; taxation, 511, 512, 518; abuses of government, 513–516; the men of ideas, 520–524; and American Revolution, 524; attempts at reform, 525; Estates General, 511, 528–531; becomes National Assembly, 532; Tennis Court Oath, 533; Paris and the Palace of Louis Philippe, 535; Bastille, 526, 527; mob rule in Paris and the provinces, 536–538, 547; middle-class organization, 539; "August 4," abolition of privilege, 540; peasantry, 540, 592; March of the Women, Assembly and king at Paris, 542; mob and clubs, 542, 543; parties in Assembly, 544; Constitution of 1791, 547–551; Legislative Assembly, 552; parties in, 553; foreign perils, 554; attitude towards war, 555 ff.; mob in the Tuileries, 557; foreign invasion, 559; Brunswick's proclamation, 560; deposition of king, 561; September massacres, 562; "at war with kings," 593; Republic declared, 564; Convention of '93, 563; execution of king, 565; Girondists and Jacobins, 567, 568; Gironde Rebellion, 568, 570; Committee of Public Safety, 569 ff.; "Terror," 572, 573; war on religion, 574; fall of Jacobins, 575 ff.; end of "Terror," 577; Directory, 578–585; Consulate, 585; see *Bonaparte* and *Napoleon.*
French, English General, 881.
Freya (frä'ya), 46, note.
Friars, 232.
Fulton, Robert, inventor, 650.

Gabelle (gä-bel'), 518.
Gali-leo (-leeo), 342, 345.
Gambetta, 765, 766.
Garibal'di, 691, 699.
Geiler (gī'ler), John, 351.
Genghis Khan, 214.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Genoa (gen'o-ä), 259; Ligurian Republic, 582, added to Piedmont, 615.
Gentry, in parliament, 184.
Geoffrey of Anjou, 166.
George I of England, 465; **G. II**, 465; **G. III**, 716; **G. IV**, 716; **G. V**, 461, note.
George, Lloyd, 748, 722, table.
Geographical discoveries, 344.
German, Germanic, Teutonic, terms explained, 46, note.
German Empire, see North German Confederation; growth of Prussia after 1848, 701–707; Franco-Prussian War, 708 ff.; Empire established, 712; character of government, 773 ff.; Prussia in, 778; army and militarism, 779; the rulers, 780; kulturkampf, 782–784; Socialism, 785–787; trade and colonies, 788–789; foreign relations, 870–872; and the Great War, 878 ff.; peace terms, 887.
Germanic Confederation, 622, 707, b.
Germany, East-Frankish Kingdom, 98, 99; under last Carolingians, 99, 100; German Dukedoms about 900, 197; Conrad I, and accession of Saxon line of rulers, 198; Henry I, 199; Otto the Great, 200, 205 (see *Holy Roman Empire*); crowned emperor, 201; union of imperial dignity with German kingdom, 202; other emperors of the Saxon line, 206; the Salian Emperors, 207; conflict about lay-investiture, 227–229; Hohenstaufen Emperors, 208–218; Frederick Barbarossa, 208–210; his next successors, 212, 213; Frederick II, 214, 215; Germany at the end of their reign, 217; cities in Germany, 260, 261; "Interregnum," 308; Rudolph of Hapsburg and his next successors, 309, 310; Charles IV, 311; Sigismund and the Western Schism, 333, 334; beginning of line of Hapsburg Emperors, 312; imperial institutions at the time of Maximilian I, 312; Germany and Switzerland, 314; German humanists, 338; the Reformation in Germany under Charles V (351), 353–362; other features of Charles V's reign, 363–367; the Thirty Years' War, 409–412. See also *Holy Roman Empire*. For subsequent events see *Austria*, *Prussia*. Definite loss of Switzerland and Holland, 412; wars of Louis XIV and consequent losses, 477 ff.; French Revolutionary wars and consequent losses, 557 ff.; changes within Germany, 606–608, 615; abdication of last emperor, 607 (see *Austria*, *Prussia*, *Germanic Confederation*, *North German Confederacy*, *German Empire*).
Ghibelline, 210.
Gibraltar, acquired by England, 482.
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 473.
Gilds, Roman, 35; medieval, 256–258; decline, 258, 377; restrictions on labor in France in 1789, 511; abolished, 526.
Girondists, 553, 555–557, 564, 567, 568, 570, 571, 573.
Gladstone, William E., 722 ff.; reform ministry of, 737; and Ireland, 745–747; foreign policy, 737.
Godfrey of Bouillon (bōō-yoñ'), 238, 239.
Goethe (Gö'tĕ), 596, note.
Golden Bull, 311.
"**Good Parliament**," 292.
Gör'res, Joseph, 625, 627.
Goths, see *East Goths* and *West Goths*.
Granada, 318.
Grand Jury, origin of, 174.
Great Council, in England, 183.
Great War, 1914–1918, outbreak of, 875–880; on western front, 881; on eastern front, 882; other fronts, 883; America in, 884; defeat of Central Powers, 885; peace proposals, 886; peace with Germany, 887.
Greece, Ancient, 12–16; Modern, 634; and war of 1878, 847; war with

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Turkey in 1897, 850; in 1912, 853 ff. See *Balkan States*.
Greek Empire (Eastern, or Byzantine E.), 43, 64, 73, 78, 88, 93, 94, 211, 235, 239, 244, 277, 319, 339.
Greenland, 102.
Gregory I, the Great, St., Pope, 58, 112; **G. VII**, St., 226–230, 237.
Grey, Jane, 380, note.
Grey, Sir Edward, 880.
Guelf, 210.
Guiscard (Gēs-car'), Robert, 211.
Guizot (gē-zō'), 666, 667.
Gunpowder, first use of, 283.
Gustavus Adolphus, 410.
Gutenberg (goot'ĕn-berg), John, 341.
Guthrun, 115.

Haakon VII, 826.
Habeas Corpus (hā'bē-ăs), 178.
Hadley, William, 338.
Hague Congresses, 873.
Hamites, origin and name, 4.
Hampden, John, 435, 438, 439, 441.
Hamurabi, 7.
Hanoverian Kings of England, table, 460, note.
Han'sa, 261.
Hapsburgs (haps'boorg), see Rudolph of, 309; rulers of Germany, 312; separate Spanish and Austrian lines, 359, note; extinction in Spain, 482. See *Germany*, *Austria*.
Hargreaves, James, inventor, 647.
Harold the Saxon, 153.
Harold, Hardrada, 153.
Harvey, William, rediscovers circulation of blood, 388.
Hastings, battle of, 153.
Hébert (ā-bār'), 575.
Hebrews, 6, 10.
Hedwig, heiress of Poland, 321.
Hegi'ra, 72.
Heimskringla, 264.
Hengist and Horsa, 110.
Henry I, of *Germany*, 198, 199; **H II**, 206; **H. III**, 207; **H. IV**, 207, 227, 228; **H. V**, 207, 228, 229; **H. VI**, 212; **H. VII**, 310.
Henry I, of *England*, 163, 230; **H. II**, 166–175; **H. III.** 179; **H. IV**, 292 *(2)*; **H. V**, 294; **H. VI**, 294, 299; **H. VII**, 300, 301; **H. VIII**, 371–378.
Henry IV, of *France* (Bourbon), 407.
Henry the Navigator, 344.
Heresy, term explained, 235, note.
Herodotus, 14.
Herzegowina (hert-se-go-vē'na), see Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Hindenburg, German general, 882.
Hofer, Andrew, 602.
Hohenlinden, battle of, 586.
Hohenstaufen, 208 ff.
Hohenzollern (hō-en-tsol'lern), see *Brandenburg*.
Holbein (hōl'bīne), 343.
Holland, see *Netherlands*; separate state, 402, 412; colonial empire, 402; and England, 452, 457; and Louis XIV, 479, 482; Batavian Republic, 580; and Napoleon, 605; made Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1814, 615; government and conditions, 813–814.
Holy Alliance, 619 ff., 631.
Holy Roman Empire, revival of Roman Empire in 800, 86–88; under later Carolingians, 98; restored under Otto I, 202–205; see *Germany* after Otto I; end of, 625 ff.
Homage, term explained, 118.
Hospitals, establishment of, 145.
Houses, of Roman aristocracy, 34 (1).
Hroswitha, 263.
Huguenots, 406; wars of, 406; under Henry IV, 407; under Richelieu, 408; under Louis XIV, 459, 480; fugitives in England, 416, 459.
Humanists, 336–337.
Hundreds, English local division, 154, 155.
Hundred Years' War, 280–297.
Hungarians, 104, 108; raids, checked by Henry I and Otto I, 199, 200; Hungary and Turks, 320, 365, 501–503; Hapsburg kings, 367; in 1848, 583–685; to 1866, 793. See *Austria-Hungary*.
Huns, 49, 51, 53.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Hunyadi (hoon'yä-di), 320.
Hus (hoos), John, 323, 332, 334.
Hutten, Ulric, 360.
Hyde, 438.

Iceland, 102, 264, 370.
Illiteracy, in Italy, 790; in Portugal, 809.
Illyrian Provinces, 603, 605.
Imperialism, 859.
Inclosures, in Tudor period, 415; in eighteenth century, 659.
Independents, 423, 444, 446.
India, English trade with, 388; acquisition of, 495, 498; English dependency, 752.
Indians, treatment of, by Spain, 405; by England, 471; by France, 471.
Indulgences, 353.
Industrial Revolution, 644 ff.; conditions before, 655; in agriculture in England, 646; in transportation, 646; in English manufacturing, 647 ff.; steam engine, 648; in iron, 648; age of steam and iron, 649; steamboat, 650; railroad, 651; revolution in manner of living, 653 ff.; conditions under domestic system, 654; hardships of change, 654 ff.; factory system, 655; growth of cities, 657; and effect upon factory workers, 657; child labor, 658; landlord England, 659; in ideas of government, 660 ff.; Socialism, 661 ff.; industrial revolution in France, 668.
Infantry, term explained, 126 (3); growing importance of, 208, 283, 284, 315.
Initiative, popular, in law-making, 819.
Innocent III, Pope, 145, 147, 177, 193, 212, 213, 231, 244; **In. XI**, 502.
Inquisition, 193, note, 323–326.
Interdict, term explained, 147.
Interregnum, in Germany, 308.
Inventions, in Age of Renaissance, 341; agricultural machinery, 646; spinning wheel, 647; cotton gin, 647; weaving, 648; see *Industrial Revolution;* miscellaneous, 652; and America, 649–652.
Investiture, term explained, 118; see *Lay-Investiture.*
Iona (ī-ō'nä), monastery of, 42.
Ireland, conversion, 42; civilization in, 45; monasteries and schools of, 62, 96; and Northmen, 103 (2); Henry II in, 171, 172; after Henry II, to Tudors, 304–307; in Reformation period, 390–392; and Charles I, 436, 449; Cromwell in, 450; James II and William III (Penal Laws), 467; review to 1700, 738; in eighteenth century, 738–739; dawn of better times, 739; first Relief Acts, 740; United Irishmen and "Orange" lodges, 741; the Union, 741; O'Connell, 742–743; Fenian Rising, 744; Land Act, 745; Home Rule, 746–748.
Ironsides, 444.
Isabella of Castile, 318.
Isidore, St., 58.
Islam, 71.
Italy, during Wandering of Nations, 51; divided between Teutons and (Greek) Empire, 64; see *Papal States;* distracted condition in tenth century, 201; union with Germany, 203; under Hohenstaufens, 208, 210–218; French attempt to conquer, 298; in Renaissance, 336–338; loss of commercial importance, 344; and Napoleon, 581, 582, 605; and Congress of Vienna, 615; political reaction, 620; risings of 1821, 630, 632; review to 1815, war with Austria, 679, 696, 689, 690; to 1848, 691; Mazzini and Young Italy, 691; risings of '48, 692; restorations, 692; making of United Italy by Sardinia, 694 ff.; Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, 694; Crimean War, 695; Congress of Paris, 695; steps in growth to "Kingdom of Italy," 696–700; addition of Venetia, 706; of Rome, 792; since 1870, 790 ff.; the Roman Question, 792.
Ivan (ē-van'), the Terrible, 487.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Jacobins, 543, 552, 556–577, 589.
Jacquerie (zhăk-rē′), 284.
Jagello (ya-gĕl′lō), King of Poland, 321.
James I, *of England* (James VI of Scotland), 371, note, 425–428; **J. II**, 456, 458–460, 480, 481.
Jan′issaries, 319.
Japan, Christianity in, 398; war with China, 865; with Russia, 867.
Jellachich (yel′la-kĭĸ), 684, 695.
Jemappes (zhā-măp′), battle of, 563.
Jena (yā′nä), battle of, 599.
Jerome of Prague, 331.
Jerome, Bonaparte, 600.
Jerusalem, destruction of, 23; captured by Saracens, 72, 237; by Crusaders, 238; Kingdom of, 239; captured by Saladin, 243; received back by Frederick II, 214.
Jesuits, 398, 523, 628, 782.
Jesus Christ, birth and life work, 19, 20.
Joan of Arc (jō-ăn *or* jōn), 294, 295.
Joffre, (shōfr) French general, 881.
Jogues (shōg), 471.
John XII. *Pope*, 201, 205; **J. XIII**, 205; **J. XXII**, 328; **J. XXIII** (anti-pope), 333.
John, King of England, 177, 178, 192, 213, 304.
John the Good, of France, 284.
John of Gaunt, 288.
Joinville (shwäñ-vĭl′), quoted, 120, 133, 137, 196.
Joseph II, of Austria, 500, 504.
Jourdan (shōōr-däñ), 583.
Julian the Apostate, Emperor, 40.
"July Ordinances," 639.
"July Revolution," 640.
"June Days," 673.
Jury, Grand, Petty, 174.
Justi′nian the Great, 63.
Jutes, 52, 110.

Kaunitz (kou′-), 496.
Ke′tteler, bishop of Mainz, 786.
Khedive (kĕ-dēv′) of Egypt, 753.
Kiau Chau (kyou-chou), 866.
Kilkenny, Statue of, 306.
King William's War, 481.
Knighthood, 122, 136, 137.
Knights of St. John, 240, 246; **K. Templar**, 240, 246, 328; **Teutonic**, 240, 247.
Knox, John, 393.
Knut the Great, 151.
Koran, 71.
Kosciusko (kōsh-choos′kō), 506.
Kossuth (kŏsh′o͞ot), 684, 685.
Kŏt′zĕbue (-boo), 626.
Kulturkampf (kool-toor′kämpf), in France, 766 ff.; in Germany, 782 ff.; Italy, 790; Belgium, 811.
Kwang-Chau-Wan, 866.

Labor, see *Serfdom*, *Gilds*, *Domestic System*, *Industrial Revolution*, *Factory System*, *Social Insurance*.
Lafayette (lä-fā-yet′), 524, 539, 540, 542, 544, 547, 553, 555, 558, 561, 640.
Laibach (läi′bäĸ), Congress of, 632.
"Laissez Faire" (lĕ-sā fār′) doctrine, 660.
Lallemant (lälmañ′), 471.
Lamartine (lä-mär-tēn′), 668, 670 ff.
Lancastrians, table of, 290, note.
Landtag, Prussian (länt′taĸ), Prussian, 778.
Lanfranc, 159.
Langton, Stephen, 178.
La Salle (-säl), 471.
Lasalle (lä-sälle′), 785.
Lat′eran, IV Council of, 231.
Latin States, in Syria (Crusades), 239 ff.; replacing Greek Empire, 244.
Laud, Archbishop, 437.
Lawyers, rise of, in England, 181.
League of Nations, 886.
Lechfeld (lĕĸ′fĕlt), battle of, 208.
Legnano (lenyä′no), battle of, 298.
Leipzig (līp′tsĭĸ), battle of, 611.
Leo I, the Great, *Pope*, 53; **L. III**, 87; **L. VIII** (anti-pope), 205; **L. IX**, 224; **L. X**, 326, 353, 358; **L. XIII**, 251, note.
Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, 73.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Leonardo da Vinci (dä vĭn'chē), 343.
Leopold (I), Emperor, 546, 554, 555; L. II, 554.
Lepanto, battle of, 403.
"Letters of the Seal," 516.
Leuthen (loi'tĕn), 496.
Liauyang (lee-ou-yäng'), battle of, 867.
Liberalism, in England in 17th century, 424–468; in 19th, 718 ff.; in France before French Revolution, 520–522, 526; see *French Revolution;* after Revolution, in 1830, 636 ff.; in Third Republic, 761 ff.; in Germany, see *Socialism;* in Italy, 630, 632, 643; in Switzerland, 815 ff.; in Belgium, 811 ff.; in Russia, 834 ff.
Liberal party, in England, 722, note.
Lib'ya, 791.
Ligurian Republic, 582.
Limerick, Broken Treaty of, 771.
Literature, of Middle Ages, 263.
Lithuania, united with Poland, 321.
Livingstone, explorer, 862.
Livonia, 370.
Locke, John, 520.
Lollards, 289.
Lombard League, 208, 215.
Lombards, 47, 64, 78, 79, 84.
Long Parliament, 438, 453.
Longwy, lost and retaken by French, 562, 563.
Lords, House of, origin, 184; and Reform bill of 1830, 729; in British Constitution, 730; "mended," 748.
Lorraine, 98, 197; lost in 1870, 713; regained in 1919, 887.
Lothair I, Emperor, 98; **L. II**, 208.
Louis, the Pious, Emperor, 97; **L.**, the Child, 99, 197; **L.**, the Sluggard, 99, 188; **L. II**, 98; **L.**, the Bavarian, 310.
Louis VII, of *France*, 242; **L. IX** (the Saint), 137, 194, 196, 245; **L. XI**, 296, 316; **L. XIV**, 476 ff., 513; **L. XV**, 513; **L. XVI**, 513, 525 ff.; **L. XVII**, 566, 573; **L. XVIII**, 613, 616, 636.
Louis Philippe, "citizen king," 640, 641, 665.
Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, 543, 573.
Loyola, Ignatius, St., 398.
Luther, Martin, 356–361; spread of Lutheranism, 370.
Lyons, Council of, 215.

McCormick, Cyrus, inventor, 652.
McMurrough, Dermot, 171; Kavanagh, Art, 307.
Magenta (-jen'tä), battle of, 679, 696.
Magna Carta, 178.
Magnetic needle, 275, 342.
Magyars (mod'yärz), 104, 107, 795 ff., see *Hungarians.*
Maine (man), County in France, 163, 192.
Malplaquet (mäl-plä-kā'), battle of, 482.
Malta, 246, 615.
Mamelukes (mah'mĕ-looks), 236.
Manchester doctrine, 660.
Manor, feudal, 128–131.
Mantua, Dukedom, 259.
Marat (mä-rä'), 556, 562, 563, 567.
Marengo, battle of, 586.
Maria Theresa, 494, 496, 504.
Marie Antoinette (än-twä-net'), 525 ff., 573.
Marie Louisa, 603.
Mark States, 90, 199, note.
Marlborough, Duke of, 482.
Marlowe, 388.
Marne (märn), battle of, 881, 885.
Marquette, 471.
Marseillaise (mär-sā-yĕz'), Hymn, 557.
Marston Moor, battle of, 444.
Martin V, Pope, 333.
Marx, Karl, 662, 785.
Mary, of Burgundy, 316; Stuart, 386, 394; Tudor, 372, 380–384; **M. II**, of England, 460, 465.
Masovia, 247.
Masters, and Masterpieces, 257, B.
Maximilian I, Emperor, 312, 316, 359.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Maximilian of Mexico, 680.
Mayfields, 67 (c), 70, 90.
Mayors of the Palace, 70, 73, 75–77.
Mazarin (mä-zä-răñ′), Cardinal, 477.
Mazzini (mät-zē′nē), 691, 692.
Mecca, 71.
Medici (mā′di-chē), 259.
Mendicant Orders, 232 ff.
Merovingians, name, 69.
Methodius, see *Cyrillus*.
Metternich (-nĭĸ), 621 ff., 632, 681.
Metz, 366, 412, 711, 713.
Michael Angelo (mī′kĕl ăn′jā-lo), 343.
Middle Ages, Medieval Times, term explained, page 1.
Milan, Edict of, 40; Dukedom, 259; acquired by Austria, 482.
Ministerial Government, see *Cabinet Government*.
Minnesingers, 264.
Minorca, 482.
Mirabeau (mē-rä-bō′), 531, 534, 536, 540, 544, 545, 546, 556.
Missi Dominici, 90.
Modern History, term explained, page 1.
Mohammed, and Mohammedanism, 71–74, 93, 201, 236 ff.; see *Crusades*, *Turks*.
Molière (mō-lyār′), 485.
Moltke, 703, 706.
Monasticism, origin, etc., 59 ff.; new Orders, 149, 150; Mendicants, decline in fifteenth century, 347; Reformation, 232 ff.; Orders of time, 398; suppressed in England, 375 ff.; in France, 551, 767.
Money, lack of, in Roman World, 33; in Charlemagne's time, 89; one of the causes of feudalism, 118; increase during Crusades, 252, 253.
Mongols, invasion of, 214.
Monroe Doctrine, 633.
Montalembert (mōn-tä-läñ′bār), 666.
Montcalm, 497.
Montenegro, 844 ff; enters Great War, 880.
Montfort, Simon de, 179, 183.
Moors, term explained, 71, note.
Morality Plays, 256, note.
Moravia, 103, 104.
More, Sir Thomas, Bl. 374, 338, quoted, 415.
Moreau (mō-rō′), 586.
Morgarten, battle of, 314, 315.
Moriscos, expelled from Spain, 405.
Morocco, French Protectorate, 872.
Morse, inventor, 652.
"Morton's Fork," 301.
Moscow (mŏs′cō), retreat from, 610; industrial center, 834.
Moslem, 71.
"Mountain," in French Revolution, 553, 556, 564, 568.
Mukden (mōōk′den), 867.
Municipal institutions in Roman Empire, 27; survival, 56, 68.
Murat (mü-rä′), 583, 605.
Murillo (mōō-ril′yō), 343.

Nabuchodonosor, 10.
Nantes (năñt), Edict of, 407; revoked, 480.
Naples, Kingdom of, 605 (*b*), 614, 630, 632, 699.
Napoleon I, see *Bonaparte*, to 1800; and the Constitution, 587; and local government, 588; benefits to France, 589–592; emperor, 594; plebiscites, 595; despotism, 596; wars, 597 ff.; greatest power, 609; fall, 610, 611; the "Hundred Days," and Waterloo, 616, 617; death, 618; and Fulton at Boulogne, 650; **N. II**, 676; **N. III**, Louis Napoleon, 674; President, the coup d'état, 675 ff.; economic progress, 678; wars, 679; and United States, 680; and Mexico, 680; and Italy, 695–700; and Bismarck, 705; Franco-German War, 709 ff.
Narva, battle of, 490.
Naseby (nāz′bȳ), battle of, 444.
National Assembly of France, 532, 534, 535, 539.
National Convention of France, 561, 563, 564–579.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

National Guards, in France, 539, 542, 579.
National Workshops, French, in 1848, 671.
Nationality, principle of, 621.
Navarino, battle of, 634.
Navas de Tolosa (nä-väs de tō-lō'sa), battle of, 231.
Navigation Act, 452.
Necker, minister, 527, 530, 532, 536.
Nelson, 584.
Nepotism, 348.
Netherlands, to 1500, 316, 317; become Austrian, 316; become Spanish, 359 and note, 367; Revolution, 399–402; see *Holland* and *Belgium*.
Newfoundland, 482.
"**New Monarchy**" in England, 301.
Newman, Cardinal, 734.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 519.
Nibelungenlied (nē-be-lo͝on'gĕn-lēt), 120, 264.
Nicaea (nĭ-cē'a), Council of, 41.
Nice, overrun by French, 563; annexed to France, 580; regained to Sardinia, 618; returned to France, 679.
Nicholas I, of Russia, 839; and Greek freedom, 634; **N. II**, 840 ff.
Nicholas II, Pope, 225; **N. V.**, 351.
Nicholas of Cusa, Cardinal, 351.
Nicholas of Flue, 314.
Nicolaitism, 222.
Nicopolis, battle of, 311.
Nightingale, Florence, 679.
Nihilists, 839.
Nile, battle of the, 534.
Noah, and descendants, 4.
Nobility, 120, 122.
Nogaret (nō-gä-rā'), 327.
Norbert, St., 150 (*a*).
Normandy, founded, 102; and England before 1066, 152; see Norman Conquest, under *England;* see *Two Sicilies;* lost by John, 177.
North German Confederation, 707.
Northmen, 97, 99, 101, 102; invasions into England, 113, 114; results of their incursions, 117.
Norway, conversion of, 102; Innocent III and, 231; and Denmark, 322; Reformation in, 370; ceded to Sweden, 615; since 1815, 824 ff.
Nova Scotia, 482.
Novara, battle of, 692.

Oates, Titus, conspiracy, 456.
Oath of Strassburg (stras'boorg), 98, note.
Oath of the Tennis Court, 533, 557.
O'Connell, Daniel, 774.
Odo, Duke of Paris, 188.
Odoaker, 43, 51.
O'Donnell, Roe, 391.
Old Sārum, 743.
Olmütz, Prussian humiliation at, 688.
O'Neill, Hugh and Shane, 391; Owen Roe, 449.
Or'dēal, Trial by, 66, 174.
Orders, Clerical, 142.
Organic Articles, 589, 594.
Oriental Civilization, 7–11.
Orlēans (or-lē-äñ') **Monarchy**, 641.
Ormond, Duke of, 449.
Oscar II, of Sweden, 825.
Osman, 249.
Otto I, the Great, Emperor, 200–205; **O. II**, 206; **O. III**, 107, 206; **O. IV** (of Nordheim), 213.
Ottokar, of Bohemia, 309.
Oudenarde, (oo-dĕ-närd') battle of, 482.
Oxford, University, 267.
Oxford Movement, 734.

Paganism, 40.
Pages, training in feudal times, 136.
Painting, medieval, 279; Renaissance, 343.
Palacky, 683.
Palestine, conquered by Mohammedans, 72, 237, 242, 245.
Papacy, origin, 21; rise into greater prominence, 40; and civilization, 58; and Franks, 77; foundation of temporal sovereignty, 78–81; see *Holy Roman Empire;* and Slav nations, 104–107; and Hungarians,

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

108; and Anglo-Saxons, 112; character, and election of popes, 141; establishes religious Orders, 150 (*b*); and John of England, 177; and Otto the Great, 201–205; and Henry III of Germany, 207; and the Hohenstaufens, 208–218; and Two Sicilies, 211, 216; struggle for ecclesiastical liberty, 223–231, 337; and Crusades, 237, 242, 244; and universities, 267; as defender of Europe against the Turk, 319, 320, 403; popes in Avignon, 328; Western Schism, 329–333; and humanism, 337; nepotism, 348; sad conditions of papal court about 1500, 348; and Luther, 358; zealous popes, 398.

Papal States, foundation, 78, 79; importance of, 80; during next centuries, 98; and French Revolution, 585; and Napoleon, 605; at Congress of Vienna, 615; first decades of revolutionary movements in nineteenth century, 691 ff.; end of, 699, 792.

Paris, Congress of, 679, 887.

Paris, University of, 267, 331.

Parlement (pär-le-mäñ′) of Paris, 515, 529.

Parliament, English, beginning, 183 ff.; "Model P.," 184; develops two houses, 184; growth in Hundred Years' War, 292, 293; loss after Wars of the Roses, 301; under Tudors, 424. See *Liberalism*. Reform in nineteenth century, 715 ff., 748.

Parnell, Irish leader, 747.

Patriarchs, origin, 42, note.

Patrick, St., 42.

Paul, St., 37.

Paulinus of York, St., 112.

Pauperism, in England, in sixteenth century, 377; in nineteenth century, 657, 733.

Peasants, life of, 122, 128 ff.; peasants' risings, 284, 291, 361. See *Serfdom*.

Pedro I, of Portugal, 808; **P. II**, 808.

Peel, Robert, 722, 735.

Penal Laws, 385, 426, 430, 467; abolished, 740, 742.

Penance, 146, 147.

Penda, 112.

Peninsular War, 602.

Pensions, Old Age, 786.

Persia, 11, 16, 22, 72, 872.

Peter, St., position in the Church, 21; arrives in Rome, 37.

Peter Canisius, Bl., 398.

Peter the Great, of Russia, 488–490.

Petition of Right, 432.

Petrarch (pē′trärk), 336.

Petrograd, 490, 841.

Philip II, of *Spain*, 367, 381, 400–402, 404; **Ph. III**, 405; **Ph. V**, 482.

Philip II, Augustus, of *France*, 192, 194, 231, 243, 280; **Ph. IV**, the Fair, 194, 195, 246, 327.

Philip of Suabia, 213.

Piarists, Order of, 398.

Picts, in present Scotland, 109, 110.

Piedmont-Sardinia, 432, 630, 695 ff.

Pilgrimage of Grace, 375.

Pilgrimages, medieval, 148, 237.

"**Pilgrims**," 423.

Pippin of Heristal, 70; **P. the Short**, 75, 77, 79.

Pisa (pee′sä), Council of, 331.

Pitt, William, the Elder, 497; the Younger, 741.

Pius V, *Pope*, 403; **P. VI**, 551, 585; **P. VII**, 504, 589, 605; **P. IX**, 691 ff.

Plantä′gĕnet (Angevins), Kings of England, 166 ff.; table of Pl. kings, 187. See *England*.

Plantations, in Ireland, 392, 450.

"**Plain**" in French Revolution, 552, 564.

Pocket Boroughs, 715.

Poitiers (pwä-tĭ-ā′), battle of, 283, 284.

Poland, 103; Christianized, 107; and Teutonic Knights, 247, 321; and Protestantism, 370; King Sobieski, 502; partitions of, 505; 506; as Duchy of Warsaw, 600; after Congress of Vienna, 615; rising of 1830, 643; and Slavophilism, 837.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Pomerania, conversion of, 250, note; Swedish, 412; Prussian, 615.
Pompeii (pom-pā′yē), 27.
"Poor Clares," 233.
Pope, see *Papacy*.
Port Arthur, 830, 866.
Portugal, origin, 318; and geographical explorations, 344; colonial empire, 344, 470; seized by Spain, 402, note; and Peninsular War, 601; review from 1814, 808; republic, 808; present conditions, 809.
Prehistoric, term explained, 1, note.
Premonstratensians, 106, 150 (a), 369.
Presbyterianism, in Scotland, 369, 393, 395, 451; see *Puritanism*.
"Pride's Purge," 446.
Printing, invention of, 339, 341.
Protestants, origin of name, 362, note; in Germany, 356–367; Switzerland, 368, 369; Scandinavia, etc., 370; England, 379–386; Ireland, 392; see *Presbyterianism;* effects of, 396; in the Netherlands, 399–402; France, 406.
Prussia, ancient, conquered and Christianized, 247; losses after wars with Poland, 321; becomes Protestant Dukedom, 370; annexed by Brandenburg, see *Brandenburg*.
Prussia, see *Brandenburg;* under Frederick II, 494, 496, 499, 605; and Poland, 506; and French Revolution and Napoleon, 554, 557, 559, 580, 599, 605; reforms in, 608; and "allies" of 1813, 611; after Congress of Vienna, 615; reaction in, 623; and '48, 686 ff.; humiliation at Olmütz, 688; William I, 701 ff.; the army, 702; Bismarck, 703 ff.; Danish War, 704; Six Weeks' War, 705, 706. See *North German Confederation, German Empire*.
Pül-tā′vă, battle of, 490.
Puritanism, explained, 369, 420; English divisions, 421, 423–451; and Restoration, 436; and America, 473. See *Calvin, Presbyterianism*.
Pym, John, 438, 439; Grand Remonstrance, 440; one of the "Five Members," 441.

Quadrivium, 29.
Queen Anne's War, 482.
"Quia Emptores" statute (kwē′a), 182.
"Quo War-ran′to," writ of, 182.

Racine (rä-cēn′), poet, 485.
Radetski, general, 692.
Railway, invention of, 651.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 473.
Ramillies (rä-mē-yē′), battle of, 482.
Raphael, 343.
Rationalists, 520.
Red Cross, origin of, 679, note.
Redemption of Captives, order of, 250.
Referendum, in Switzerland, 819.
Reform in the Church, need and possibility of, 219–234, 346–352.
Reform Bill, English, of 1832, 718 ff.; of 1867, 725; of 1884, 726.
Reformation, term explained, 396; true R., 398, 224–234, 349–352; Protestant Ref., see *Protestantism*.
Reichstag (rīĸs′tāg), German, 774.
Relics of Saints, 148.
Religious Orders, see *Monasticism*.
Religious Wars, 399 ff.
Rembrandt ('-brant), 343.
Renaissance, 336 ff.
Ribault (rē-bō′), 471.
Richard I, of *England*, 176, 192, 243; R. II, 291, 292; R. III, 300, 302.
Richelieu (rē′shĕl-yû), 408, 477.
Riga, 247, 822.
Rights of Man, Declaration of, 548.
Roads, 11, 28, 660.
Robert, Duke of Normandy, 163.
Robert the Strong, 188.
Robespierre (rō-bĕs-pĭ-ār′), 54.
Roland, Song of, 84, note.
Rolf the Dane, 102.
Rollin Ledrun (ro′leñ lĕ′druñ), 670.
Roman Empire, origin, 17; territory, 22, 25; prosperity for two centuries,

Notre Dame

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

25 ff.; municipal life and industries, 27; roads and travel, 28; literature and learning, 29; morals, 30, 31; decline of two centuries, 31 ff.; retarded by Diocletian, 32; classes of society, 34–36; end of, in the West, survival in the East, 43; see *Teutons;* contributions to civilization, 95; restored by *Holy Roman Empire.*

Roman Law, 23, 63.

Roman Question, 792.

Romance languages, 55, 98, note.

Romanow, family of the, 102.

Rome, Ancient, geography and character, 17; limitations in government, 18; see *Roman Empire.*

Romilly and Penal Reform, 717, 732.

Roncalian Fields, Assembly of, 228.

"Root and Branch" men, 439.

Rossbach (-bäĸ), battle of, 496.

Rotten Boroughs, 715.

Roumania, wins freedom, 845; war of 1913, 854; in Great War, 880, 883.

"Roundheads," 442.

Rousseau (rōō-sō′), on Voltaire, 521; doctrines, 522.

Rubens, 343.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, 309.

Rudolph of Suabia, 228.

Rump Parliament, 446.

Runnymede, 178.

Rurik, founder of Russia, 102.

Russell, Lord John, 718 ff., 722.

Russia, 102, 235; and Mongol invasion, 214; recovers independence, 487; expansion towards seas, 490, 491; and Poland, 506; and Napoleon I, 599 f.; gains at Congress of Vienna, 615; and Holy Alliance, 619; and Greeks, 634; and Crimean War, 679; growth reviewed, 830; government, 836 ff.; emancipation of peasants, 832–833; Slavophil movement, 835; Russianizing of Poland and Finland, 837; Tsars since 1801, 839; Terrorists, 834; liberal movement since 1904, 841 ff.; "Red Sunday," 841; first Duma, 841; later Dumas, 842 ff.; and Great War, 878 ff.; revolution of 1917, 882.

Russo-Japanese War, 867.

Russo-Turkish War, of 1877, 847.

Ruyter (roi′tĕr), Admiral, 479.

Sadowa (sä′dō-vä), battle of, 706.

St. Gotthard, battle of, 502.

St. Helena, and Napoleon, 618.

St. Just, and plans for reform, 569.

St. Petersburg, see *Petrograd.*

Saint-Simon (-sĭ-mŏn′), 661.

Sakhalin (sä-ĸä-lyĕn′), 867.

Saladin, 243, 245.

Salian Emperors, 207.

Salm, Count, 365.

Să-lō-nĭ′că, 851, 854.

Săn Stef′ä-no, Peace of, 847.

Saracens, term defined, 71, note; see *Mohammedans.*

Sardinia, see *Piedmont-Sardinia;* and Congress of Vienna, 614, 618; and revolution of 1821, 630; see *Italy.*

Savoy, annexed to France, 580; returned to Piedmont-Sardinia, 618; regained by France, 679.

Saxons, 47, 52; see *Britain;* and Charlemagne, 84; German "stem" duchy, 197, 199.

Scanderbeg, 320.

Scandinavia, see *Northmen, Denmark, Norway, Sweden,* also 322.

Schism (sĭsm), term explained, 235, note 2; Great Eastern, 235; Great Western, 329–333.

Schoolmen, the, 269–276, 836.

Schools, Roman, 29; Irish, 45, 62; and monasteries, 60; and Charlemagne, 91, 266; see *Universities.*

Schools, English Board, 737.

Schurz (shŏŏrts), **Carl**, 687.

Science, in Middle Ages, 273–276; during Renaissance, 342.

Scotland, Christianization, 42; wars with England, 167, 180; Presbyterian, 393–395; united to England, 425; and Civil War, 437–443; Act of Union, 468; see *England.*

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Scrooby Pilgrims, 423.
Scutage, 168.
Sedan (sā-dăn′), battle of, 738.
Seljuk Turks, see *Turks*.
Semites, origin, 4.
Sempach (-pak), battle of, 321.
Senlac, battle of, 153.
Separatists, 421.
"September Massacres," 562.
Serbians, 319; in recent times, 844 ff.
Serfdom, Roman, 36; feudal, 120, 122; disappearance in England, 287 ff.; in France, 509–512; in Germany, 609; Prussia, 608; disappearance in Russia, 832–833.
Servetus (sĕr-vā′tus), 369.
Servians, see *Serbians*.
Seven Years' War, 494–497.
Severus, Alexander, 23.
Seymour (sē′mŏr), **Jane**, 378.
Shakspere, William, 388, 413.
Sheriff, English, 154, 155, 157.
Ship-Money, in England, 435, 438.
Shire, English County, 154.
Si-ăm′, 863.
"Sicilian Vespers," 216.
Sicily, see *Two Sicilies, Kingdom of*.
Sieyès (sy̆ā-yās′), 531, 532, 544, 587.
Sigismund, Emperor, 311, 333, 334.
Silesia, 494, 496, 887.
Simon of Montfort, 179, 185.
Simony, 221.
Slavery, 15, 30, 31; and Church, 41; slave trade and piracy, 619.
Slavs, 49, 53, 85, 96; homes and character, 103; conversion, 104–107, 250; in Austrian Empire, 683, 795, 870.
Smith, Adam, 660.
Snelling, William, 338.
Social insurance, in Germany, 823.
Socialism, rise, 660; in France, 669; in Germany, 785 ff.; in Italy, 790; in Spain, 806; in Belgium, 812; in Russia, 834.
Socrates, 14.
Solferino, battle of, 679.
Solomon, King, 10.
Sol′y̆-man the Magnificent, 365.
Sophia, of Hanover, 461.
Sources of History, 1.
South Africa, and England, 615 *d*, 755.
Spain, Kingdom of West Goths in, 51; Arab conquest, 73; and Charlemagne, 84; gradual recovery, and origin of Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, 318; Innocent III and, 231; Spanish Inquisition, 324; reform work of Cardinal Ximenes, 350; united with, and separated from, Austria, 359, 367; and France, 364; Netherlands and, 399 ff.; and Turks, 403; and England, 404; and Moriscos, and colonial policy, 405; and New World, 405, 470; loses Gibraltar, 482; Revolution of 1820, 629; and Holy Alliance, 633; from 1800-1833, 800; Carlists and Christinos, 801; republic, 802; parties and progress, 803 ff.; loss of colonies, 628, 807.
Spanish America, after French Revolution, 628.
Spanish-American War, 807.
Spanish March, 84, 318.
Spanish Succession, War of, 482.
Spenser, Edmund, 388.
Spires, Diet of, 362.
Squire, feudal training of, 136.
Staël, Madame de, 596.
Stamford Bridge, 153.
Stanley, Henry, explorer, 862.
States General, see *Estates General*.
Steamboat, invention of, 650.
Steelyard, the, 261.
Stein (shtīn), 608; defeated by Metternich at Vienna, 622; on Metternich, 632.
Stephen III, St., Pope, 79.
Stephen of Blois, 241.
Stephen, of England, 164.
Stephen, St., of Hungary, 108.
Stephenson, inventor, 651.
Storthing, Norwegian, 825.
Stralsund (sträl-sŏŏnt′), Peace of, 261.
Strassburg (sträs′bŏŏrg), 98, note, 480; 713.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Strongbow, Richard, 171.
Stuart Kings, 393, 425 ff.
Suabia, see *Alemanni;* 197, 208, 213.
Sully (sül-ȳ′), Duke of, 407.
Sunnites, 236.
Swatopluk (swä′tō-pluk), 103.
Sweden, conversion of, 102; and Denmark, 322; becomes Lutheran, 370; and Thirty Years' War, 410–412; and American colonies, 470; and Russia, 490, 491; at Congress of Vienna, 615; franchise reform, 829.
Switzerland, to 1648, 314, 412; Helvetic Republic, 585; and Congress of Vienna, 615; Sonderbund War, 817; constitution, 818; direct legislation, 819; place in history, 820.
Syllogism, 272.

Talleyrand (täl-ā-räñ′), 550, 551.
Tannenberg, battle of, 311, 882.
Telescope, invention of, 342, 345.
Temporal Sovereignty, meaning of, 81.
Tetzel, John, 355.
Teutonic Law, 66, 67.
Teutonic Order, 240, 247, 321, 370.
Teutons, 22, 46–48; invasions, 50 ff.; fusion with Roman populations, 54, 64, 66–68; contributions to later civilization, 95; in Britain, 52, 110–113; see *Northmen*, and other individual races.
Thē′o-bald, Archbishop, 166.
Theodoric the Great, 51.
Theodore of Canterbury, St., 112.
Thiers (tȳ-ār′), 638, 666, 713, 762.
Third Estate, 253.
Thirty-nine Articles, 385.
Thirty Years' War, 409–412.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 234, 274.
Thomas à Becket, St., 169, 170.
Thomas à Kempis, 351.
Thor (thōr), 47.
Thucydides (thōō-cid′ĭ-dēz), 14.
Thuringia, 69, 70, 197, 214.
Tilly, General, 410.
Tilsit, Peace of, 600.
Titus, Roman Emperor, 23.
Togo, Admiral, 867.
Tō′kō-lȳ, 502.
Torture, in the Middle Ages, 325.
Tory, 458; and Conservatives, 722.
Tostig, 153.
Toul (tōōl), becomes French, 366, 412.
Toulouse (tōō-lōōs′), 188, 193.
Tournaments, 133.
Tours (tōōr), battle of, 73.
Towns, under Roman Empire, 27; survival in parts of Europe, 68, 98; rise in Germany, 199, 207, 214, 260, 261; in Italy, 203, 208, 215, 217, 252, 259; in France, 194, 259; general rise of, 253, 254, 259; in England, 176, 259; growth after Industrial Revolution, 657.
Townships, 154, 155.
Trä-fal′gär, battle of, 598.
Transylvania, 370, 502, 503, 880.
Trent, Council of, 398.
Trĕv′ĭ-thick, Richard, inventor, 651.
Tricolor, 537.
Triple Alliance, 870.
Triple Entente (äñ-täñt′), 872.
Trivium, 29.
Troppau (trop′pou), Congress of, 631.
Troubadours (troo-ba-dōōrs′), 264.
Trouveurs (troo-vŏrs′), 264.
Truce of God, 127, 207.
Tsar, title, 487.
Tudor Monarchs, 300; table of, 371, note.
Tuileries (twēl-rē′), 557, 568, 760.
Tunis, 365, 771, 870.
Turgot (tür-gō′), 526.
Turks, 236; see *Crusades;* in Southeastern Europe, 319, 320, 365, 403; lose Greece, 634; lose Balkan peninsula, 845 ff.; revolution of 1908, 851; in Great War, 879 ff.
Two Sicilies, Kingdom of, 211; separated into Naples and Sicily, 216; united under Spain, 298; see *Naples.*
Tyler, Wat, 291.

Ulm (ōōlm), battle of, 518.
Ulric, St., 200.
Ulster Plantation, 392.

The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

United States, in World Politics, 864; in Great War, 884 ff.
Universities, Roman, 29; in Middle Ages, 267 ff.
Urban II, Pope, 237.
Ursuline Nuns, 398.
Utrecht, Union of, 402; Peace of, 482.

Valerian, Roman Emperor, 23.
Valmy (väl-mē'), battle of, 563.
Valois (väl-wä'), House of, 281, note.
Vandals, 51.
Van Dyck (dīk'), 343.
Varangians, 102.
Varna, battle of, 319.
Vasco da Gama, 344.
Vassals, feudal, 118, 120, 121.
Velasquez (vĕ-läs'keth) 343.
Vendée (väñ-dā'), 570–572.
Venice, and Emperor, 259; after 4th Crusade, 244; and Bonaparte, 581, 582; and Austria, 581, 582, 615; after War of 1859, 697; after War of 1866, 707.
Ver-dun', Treaty of, 98; becomes French, 366, 412; lost and taken by French armies, 562, 563.
Verona, Congress of, 633.
Versailles (vĕr-säy'), 484, 532, 542, 758.
Vespasian, Roman Emperor, 23.
Victor Emmanuel II, 692.
Victoria, Queen, of England, 752.
Vienna, sieges of, 365, 502; Congress of, 614, 620.
Villages, in feudal times, 128–131; in England, 154, 156.
Villeins, see *Serfdom*.
Virginia Company, 473.
Visigoths, see *West Goths*.
Vladivostock (vla-dyē-vas'tok), and Russia, 830.
Voltaire (vol-tār'), 521.

Wagram, battle of, 603.
Waiblingen (vī'bling-en), 210.
Waiheiwai (wī-hā-wī'), 866.
Wales, 111 (2), 167, 180.
Wallenstein (väl'lĕn-stīn), 410.
Wallingford, Treaty of, 166.
Walpole, Sir Robert, 465.
Walter the Penniless, 238.
Walworth, 291.
War of 1812, 612.
Warham, 372.
Warsaw, Duchy of, 600, 615.
Wars of the Roses, 299–301.
Wartburg (värt-boorg), celebration of 1817, 626.
Waterloo, 617.
Watling Street, 115.
Watts, James, inventor, 648.
Wedmore, Treaty of, 115.
Wellesley (wĕlz-ly), 602.
Wellington, and Peninsular War, 602; and Waterloo, 617; and Parliamentary Reform, 718.
Wenceslaus, St., 105.
Wessex, 110, 113–115.
West Goths, 51, 73.
Westphalia, Kingdom of, 600, 605 (3); Peace of, 412.
Whigs, 458, 465; take name *Liberal*, 722, note.
Whitby, Council of, 112.
Whitney, Eli, inventor, 647.
Widukind (vē'dukĭnt), 84.
Wilberforce, 732.
William I, of *England*, 153, 158, 159, 162, 230; **W. II**, 163, 230; **W. III**, Orange, 460, 461, 463, 464, 466, 467, 479, 481; **W. IV**, 718, 719.
William I, of Germany, 701; **W. II**, 780–781; resigns, 885.
William the Silent, 401, 402.
William Tell, myth of, 314 note.
Winchelsey, Archbishop, 185.
Windesheim (vĭn'dĕs-hĭm), Congregation of, 351.
Windthorst (wint'horst), 783.
Witan (wĭ'tăn), 152, 183.
Wittenberg (vĭt'tĕn-bĕrg), 356.
Woden, 47.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 338, 372.
Women, suffrage, in England, 726; in Norway, 827.
Worcester, battle of, 450.

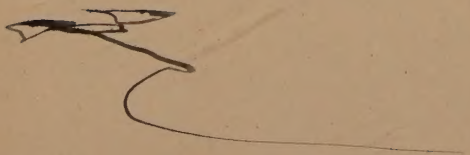
The references are to sections, unless otherwise indicated.

Worms (vōrms), Concordat of, 229; Diet of, 359.
Würtemberg (vür'tem-berg), 411, 606, 607, 624, 707.
Wyclif, John, and Lollards, 288, 289, 332.

Xenophon (ze'nō-fōn), 634.
Ximenes (ki-mā'nes), 350.

Yalu (ya-lōō') battle of, 867.
Yeomen, English, 283.
York, House of, 291 note, 299.
Young, Arthur, 507, 645.
Young Ireland, 743.
Young Italy, 691.
Young Turks, 851, 852.

Zachary, Pope, 77.
Zenta, battle of, 503.
Zorndorf (tsorn'dorf), 496.
Zülpich (tzül'piĸ), battle of, 69.
Zürich (tsü'riĸ), 815.
Zwingli (tsvĭng'lē), 368.



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